

ABSTRACT

This thesis follows the emergence and development of Taḥmīd, the Arabic laudatory preamble, as a literary genre in the Arabic tradition: a genre that imaginatively presents the distinct worldview (*weltanschauung*) that its author embraces and a genre that not only features as a standard introduction for an infinite number of texts, but is also, in and of itself, a rich source of meaning. The dissertation proposes a literary approach for unearthing its depths of knowledge, termed the 'relational approach'. This approach identifies and focuses on the various relations and associations, highlighted and evoked by a Taḥmīd despite its usual conciseness, which are the source of its vitality. Drawing upon a broad range of samples, the study also delineates the common characteristics and trends of the Taḥmīd tradition as a whole, and focuses on its distinctiveness and significance in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature ('Fatimid-Ṭayyibī' refers to Ismā'īlī Musta'lian Ṭayyibī Shiites in Fatimid Egypt as well as their spiritual successors in Yemen and India, commonly known as the Da'ūdī Bohras).

Following the introduction, the thesis is structured on a chronological basis in three parts. Section-I (chapters 1-3) traces the development of Taḥmīd from its origins to maturity as a distinct genre in Arabic prose. Section-II (chapter-4), building on the literary-history presented in the previous section, presents a methodology for the analysis of Taḥmīd and applies it to a selection of examples. Section-III (chapters 5-7) focuses on the unique characteristics of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīds and presents an analysis of a number of examples. The section ends with a case-study of a Taḥmīd in one of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī Syedna Taher Saifuddin's (d. 1385/1965) *risālahs*. The question posited in the title of this thesis, 'is the Taḥmīd a literary genre?' is answered in the Conclusion. An appendix of Taḥmīds referred to in the thesis and illustrative samples, especially from the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī manuscripts, accompanies the dissertation in a separate volume.

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SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN
STUDIES

TAHMID: A LITERARY GENRE?

A STUDY OF THE ARABIC LAUDATORY PREAMBLE
WITH A FOCUS ON THE FATIMID-TAYYIBI
TRADITION

VOLUME-I

AZIZ K. QUTBUDDIN

-2009-

PhD

SUPERVISOR

DR. STEFAN SPERL

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This thesis follows the emergence and development of *Tahmīd*, the Arabic laudatory preamble, as a literary genre in the Arabic tradition: a genre that imaginatively presents the distinct worldview (*weltanschauung*) that its author embraces and a genre that features as a standard introduction for an infinite number of texts, and is also, in and of itself, a rich source of meaning. The dissertation proposes a literary approach for unearthing its depths of knowledge, termed the 'relational approach'. This approach identifies and focuses on the various relations and associations, highlighted and evoked by a *Tahmīd* despite its usual conciseness, which are the source of its vitality. Drawing upon a broad range of samples, the study also delineates the common characteristics and trends of the *Tahmīd* tradition as a whole, and focuses on its distinctiveness and significance in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature ('Fatimid-Ṭayyibī' refers to Ismā'īlī Musta'lian Ṭayyibī Shiites in Fatimid Egypt as well as their spiritual successors in Yemen and India, commonly known as the Da'ūdī Bohras).

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At the beginning of a thesis focusing on ‘*ḥamd*’ (praise and gratitude), I must pause to acknowledge and thank all those who in many ways, large and small, helped in this venture. First of all, *al-ḥamd li Allāh rabb al-‘Ālamīn*. The prayers and patronage of Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin^{TUS}, the Spiritual head of the Dawoodi-Bohra community, to which I belong, have been a source of inspiration and strength for me throughout this endeavour. For the prayers, love and support my parents offered I can never thank them enough. All my life’s good deeds are *ḥamd* for having you as parents. To you I dedicate this humble effort.

وَأَشْكُرُكُمْ وَالشُّكْرَ مِنْكُمْ عَلَيَّ ۖ فَكَيْفَ بِهِ وَالشُّكْرُ لِلشُّكْرِ لَا نَزِمُ

Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Diwān*.

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NOTES

ON REFERENCING, TRANSLITERATION AND DATES

Referencing:

- The referencing follows the Harvard system.
- The references to texts included in the appendices (Volume-II) are in this format: 'Appendix-x:y', where x is the number of the appendix (from 1-4) and y is the number of the Taḥmīd within that appendix.
- The frequently cited *Majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad are cited as xx-yy, where xx is the volume (from 1-8) and y is the number of the *Majlis* within the volume.
- *Encyclopaedia of Islam-II* is abbreviated as *EI2*.
- Where manuscripts are cited, page numbers are not indicated, as most are not paginated.
- ﴿الحمد لله رب العالمين﴾ These brackets and red colored text denotes an unmodified Qur'ānic quote.
- Red dotted underlining denotes a modified Qur'ānic quote.

Transliteration:

- All Arabic words have been transliterated in the thesis. They have also been italicized except proper nouns, and titles.

Dating:

- Dates are give in the format (xxxx/yyyy), where xxxx is the Hijrī year and yyyy is the Gregorian year.

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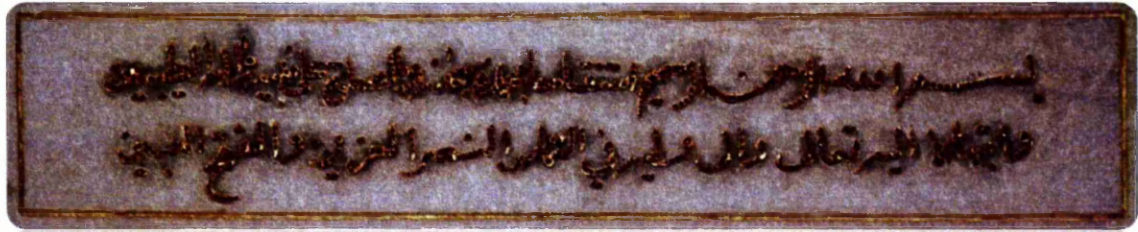


Plate-I

The *'alāmah* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin (d. 1385/1965)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ اسْتَفْتَحَا بِحَمْدِهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَالصَّلَاةَ عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ وَآلِهِ الطَّيِّبِينَ
وَابْتَهَلَ إِلَيْهِ تَعَالَى وَالِى وَلِيَّهُ فِي أَسْمَاءِ النَّصْرِ الْغُرَبَاءِ وَالْفَتْحِ الْمُبِينِ

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INTRODUCTION

THE DEFINITION OF A MULTI DIMENSIONAL FORMULA

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله رب العالمين، الرحمن الرحيم، مالك يوم الدين، الحمد لله الذي اسْتَفْتَحَ بِالْحَمْدِ الْقُرْآنَ، الْمُكْمِلَ بِمَعْرِفَةِ قَرِينِهِ
الْإِيمَانَ، وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ النَّاطِقِ بِالْحَقِّ كِتَابُهُ، الثَّاقِبِ مِنْ سَمَاءِ الْأَعْجَازِ شَهَابُهُ، نَحْمَدُهُ إِذْ هَدَانَا لِحَمْدِهِ، وَجَعَلَنَا مِنْ أَهْلِهِ،
وَأَتَمَّنَا شُكْرَ فَضْلِهِ، وَجَعَلَنَا مِنَ الْمُبْتَدِينَ بِاسْمِهِ سُبْحَانَهُ وَتَحْمِيدِهِ، الْمُسْتَفْتَحِينَ بِنِعْمَتِهِ وَتَعْجِيدِهِ، الْمُسْتَمِدِّينَ مِنْ تَوْفِيقِهِ
وَسَدِيدِهِ، الْمُقْتَدِينَ بِرَسُولِهِ وَأَوْلِيَائِهِ وَخَاصَّةً عَبْدِهِ، وَنَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ الْمُتَعَالَى عَنْ دَرْكِ الْمَرءِ وَفِكَرِهِ، الْقَائِلُ فِي
حَكِيمِ ذِكْرِهِ، الْمُنْزَلُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ وَعَبْدِهِ، ﴿وَإِنْ مِنْ شَيْءٍ إِلَّا يُسَبِّحُ بِحَمْدِهِ﴾، وَنَشْهَدُ بِرِسَالَةِ نَبِيِّهِ الْمُعْظَمِ
الْمُعْجَدِ، الْمُؤَيَّدِ الْمُسَدَّدِ، الْمُسَمَّى فِي التَّنْزِيلِ أَحْمَدَ وَمُحَمَّدَ، صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى وَصِيِّهِ وَلِيِّ اللَّهِ، الْمُبَيَّنِّ مَعَانِي بِسْمِ
اللَّهِ، عَلَيَّ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ سَمِيِّ اللَّهِ، وَعَلَى الْإِنَّمَةِ الْفَاطِمِيَّةِ الْمَهْدِيَّةِ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِهِ أَوْلِيَاءِ اللَّهِ، الْمَعْرُوفِينَ بِأَسْمَاءِ اللَّهِ، وَعَلَى دُعَائِهِمِ
الطَّاهِرِينَ الطَّاهِرِينَ النَّالِينَ لَذِكْرِ اللَّهِ، الْمُسَبِّحِينَ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ، صَلَاةً دَائِمَةً مُتَّسِلَةً مَدَى تَوَالِي اللَّيَالِي وَالْأَيَّامِ، نَرْجُو بِهَا حُسْنَ
الْأَبْدَاءِ وَحُسْنَ الْآخِرَاتِ، لِيَجْزِيَنَا عَلَى ذَلِكَ جَزَاءَ الْمُحْسِنِينَ، وَلِتَكُونَ لِإِحْسَانِهِ مِنَ الشَّاكِرِينَ، وَآخِرُ دَعْوَانَا أَنَّ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ
رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ،

Beginnings and endings, introductions and conclusions, preambles and epilogues, are the most essential parts of a text for they set the first and last impression. Both internalize the author's worldview (*weltanschauung*)¹, highlight the fundamental premise of the subject matter and engage the audience. They place the specific focus in the larger context and create the vital connection and relation between the audience and that focus. In the Islamic tradition, both of these chiefly revolve around *hamd* or praise of the Almighty, a convention called *Tahmīd*². The endurance of this convention for over a thousand years, its widespread usage and adaptation in theological and even non-theological texts³, and not least of all, its artistic encapsulation of meaning, make the *Tahmīd* one of the most common and special introductions and conclusions.

¹ I define 'worldview' as 1-the overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world, and 2-a collection of beliefs about life and the universe held by an individual or a group.

² Various other terms have also been used to refer to Arabic laudatory preambles that begin with the name of God, praise Him, proclaim His Unity and beseech blessings on the Prophet and his progeny. These include *taṣdīr*, *khutbat al-kitāb*, *ḥamd*, *ḥamdalah*, and *sadr al-kitāb*. Through the thesis I attempt to define the specific signification of each even though they are often used to refer to the whole tradition; the part referring to the whole. For the sake of consistency, I use the term *Tahmīd* to refer to the tradition in general, and the other terms to refer to specific sub-types. The reason I choose *Tahmīd* over others is because of its distinction from other words (*khutbah* confused with oration, *taṣdīr* confused with address or other kinds of beginnings etc.) and because it is a compact single word that conveys the essence of the tradition: praise and thanks, in perpetuity and in absolute terms since it is a verbal noun.

³ For examples of theological and non-theological works with *Tahmīd* see Appendix-2.

Beginning an epistle, a monograph, or an oration with the praise of God, such as the preamble above (in the Faṭimid-Ṭayyibī manner) with which I have chosen to begin this chapter, is a tradition that has its roots in Islamic and even pre-Islamic Arabia. Starting as a relatively simple and brief convention, this formulaic beginning gradually evolved into an elaborate literary composition with its own rules and templates, and with its own claim to artistic merit. The archetypal Islamic doxological beginning, the opening of the Holy Qur'ān, *sūrat al-Fāṭihah*, established a trend that continues until this day. Over the centuries the unchanging core structure of Taḥmīd has been adapted and used to provide an eloquent introduction to an array of texts and contexts.

The Taḥmīd tradition, despite its widespread usage and endurance in Arab-Islamic culture, has by and large been ignored in Arab and Western academia. Apart from a few encyclopaedia articles and general words within discussions of artistic or epistolary prose, it is seldom even mentioned as a significant component of the text. The lack of reference to it is motivated by a tendency to take it for granted. However, as this study will demonstrate, far from simply being a formulaic stereotype, the Taḥmīd is a rich, significant and often highly artistic element of Arab-Islamic culture.

The versatility and widespread usage of Taḥmīd as a preamble is only one of the reasons why it merits scholarly attention. That it achieves originality *within* convention, adapting a static structure to such a wide range of contexts, is another motive for investigating it. Its ability to offer insights into the identity, ideology and worldview of the author, makes the study relevant to any scholar dealing with the Islamic literary tradition.

This thesis follows the emergence and development of Taḥmīd, the Arabic laudatory preamble, as a literary genre in the Arabic tradition: a genre that not only features as a standard introduction for an infinite number of texts, but is also, in and of itself, a rich source of meaning. The dissertation proposes a literary approach for unearthing its depths of knowledge, termed the 'relational approach'. This approach identifies and focuses on the various relations and associations, highlighted and evoked by a Taḥmīd despite its usual conciseness, which are the source of its vitality. Drawing upon a broad range of samples, the study also delineates the common characteristics and trends of the Taḥmīd tradition as a whole, and focuses on its distinctiveness and significance in Faṭimid-Ṭayyibī literature.

The name 'Fatimid-Ṭayyibī' refers to the literature of the Ismaili-Shiite Fatimids as well as their spiritual successors in Yemen and India, who believe in the continuity of the line of the Imāmate in the progeny of the twenty-first Imām al-Ṭayyib in seclusion, while his *Da'wah* (mission) is continued by the Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq, as a representative of the Imām for his followers, in their midst. They are also known as Musta'li-Ismailis and are commonly known today as Dawoodi-Bohras⁴. The current base of the community is in India, headed by the fifty-second in the line of Dā'īs, Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin⁵. The Dā'īs and scholars of this community produced a steady stream of literature from Fatimid times to the present day.

My experience with the unique *Tahmīds* written by the fifty-first Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī Syedna Taher Saifuddin⁶ (d. 1385/1965) initially stimulated this research project. Rather than overlooking them, students of the tradition seek 'oceans of knowledge' under each word of the preambles that constitute 30-40% of the length of the Dā'ī's *risālahs*⁷. They draw attention to the historical references, the principles guiding the author, and the ideology and esoteric interpretations embedded in the *Tahmīd*. This kindled my interest and encouraged me to analyze these unique examples, knowing very well that these *Tahmīds* were part of a wider deep-rooted Arab-Islamic tradition.

The study of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Tahmīds* thus prompted an investigation into the origins, characteristics and analysis of the *Tahmīd* tradition in general. For this purpose, I relied essentially on primary sources containing examples of *Tahmīds*, including orations and epistles written in the first few centuries of Islam in addition to monographs that also begin with a laudatory preamble. I also benefited from manuals of chancery writing (2nd/8th-7th/13th century) which contain fragments of information on the rules, expectations and guidelines for the doxological preamble in addition to invaluable examples. It is on the basis of samples from these primary sources (more than 500 *Tahmīds*) that the approach presented in this thesis is developed.

⁴ The Dawoodis are the largest denomination of Bohras; other comparatively minor denominations include 'Aliyas, Sulaymanis and Mahdibaghwalas.

⁵ See Al-Jamea-Tus-Saifiyah Publications (2001) for an illustrated biography. This is the common spelling of the Arabic Sayyidnā Muhammad Burchān al-Dīn. The title 'Syedna' (lit. our leader) has become the universally used official title for the Dā'ī.

⁶ This is the common spelling of the Arabic Sayyidnā Ṭāhir Sayf al-dīn.

⁷ Description of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs* in *wa'z*-sermon by Khuzaima b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin 1984.

The study of the development and general features of *Taḥmīd* is complemented by a focus on the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition in Egypt (4th–6th/10th–12th century), Yemen (6th–10th/12th–16th century) and India (10th–14th/16th–20th century), and Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs* in particular. For this case study, I relied mainly on print editions and manuscripts of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī primary sources, once again due to a lack of scholarship on the subject. I was also fortunate to have access to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* library in Mumbai and Syedi Khuzema b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin's personal library, which have rare manuscripts of *risālahs* that boast excellent examples of *Taḥmīd*, written by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī authors⁸.

Following the introduction, the thesis is structured on a chronological basis in three parts. In the latter part of this introduction, as a foundation for this study, I present a basic definition for the principal components of *Taḥmīd*. I also make a case for their conceptual weight, which I believe is a consequence of their continuation of the pre-Islamic tradition of praise in addition to the prominent theological and political role assigned to them in the early Islamic period. Following this, Section-I (chapters 1-3) traces the development of *Taḥmīd* from its origins to maturity as a distinct genre in Arabic prose. Section-II (chapter-4), building on the literary-history presented in the previous section, presents a methodology for the analysis of *Taḥmīd* and applies it to a selection of *Taḥmīds*. Section-III (chapters 5-7) focuses on the unique characteristics of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Taḥmīds* and presents an analysis of a number of examples. The section ends with a case-study of a praise-preamble in one of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's twentieth century *risālahs*.

Section-I addresses the development, purpose and rules of *Taḥmīd* in the Arab-Islamic tradition. Chapter-1 presents *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* as the archetype of *Taḥmīd* in terms of its function, its substance and its style. It contends that the *Fātiḥah*, and the *Taḥmīds* that are based on its template, must be viewed as 'hybrid texts': texts that are simultaneously oral and written. It is only with this view that a full appreciation of the impact and signification of the *Fātiḥah*, and *Taḥmīds* in general, can be achieved. Chapter-2 argues that outside the Qur'ānic context, the origins of *Taḥmīd* must be sought in the Arabian tradition of orality, the *khutbah* in particular. It asserts that just

⁸ The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī sources are discussed in more detail in the beginning of chapter-V (p.160). Plates-VI, VIIa, VIIb, and VIIIb are examples of such manuscripts.

as the first century chancery *risālahs* assumed the function of the *khutbah* as a medium of communication and persuasion, they also assimilated its formal features, including the laudatory preamble. The nature of the *risālah* and its proliferation, I argue, was crucial in the pervasive spread of the convention. Chapter-3 delineates the basic characteristics, rules and guidelines of Taḥmīd based on a survey of mostly mediaeval manuals of chancery writing. I contend that the concept of *iqtidā'*, following or emulating a model or exemplar, which is manifested in these manuals, is an essential factor in guaranteeing the perpetuation of the Taḥmīd tradition.

With this background in mind, the presentation and application of the 'relational approach', as the preferred method for the analysis of Taḥmīds, is the focus of Section-II (chapter-4). Developed specifically for the analysis of these praise-preambles, this approach enables us to appreciate the multiple layers of meaning in a seemingly mundane convention. It also allows us to appreciate the convention's capacity to create a contextualizing framework and a state of consciousness for the text it introduces. The approach views the Taḥmīd as a set of carefully chosen explicit and implicit relations centering on God. The varied nature of these relations contextualizes the subsequent text and locates it, its author and its audience within the larger scheme of creation. The chapter argues for the suitability of this approach and defines terminology to assist in analysis. Based on the perception of Taḥmīd as a 'hybrid genre', this chapter emphasizes the role of rhetoric in the enhancement and creation of meaning. This is followed by an application of the approach to five selectively chosen Taḥmīds, beginning with an analysis of a *khutbah* opening by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the 1st/7th century, and ending with an analysis of an opening of a monograph by the famous historian Ibn al-Athīr in the 7th/13th century. The selection consciously brings in samples from different time periods and contexts to assert the utility of this approach for the analysis of a broad spectrum of Taḥmīds.

Section-III (chapters 5-7) focuses on the distinctiveness of Taḥmīd in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, stressing the continuity of the principal themes and motifs in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī praise-preambles through the ages, while at the same time emphasizing its evolution in the face of changing religious and geopolitical circumstances. Chapter-5 compares the characteristics of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīds with the broader Taḥmīd tradition, drawing upon the findings of earlier chapters (2 and 3). It highlights the esoteric dimension of the primary Taḥmīd components and the

recurring trends that distinguish Fatimid-Ṭayyibī praise-premables from the rest. Building on this comparison, chapter-6 traces the development of Ṭahmīd in the three major phases of the tradition: Fatimid Egypt (4th – 6th/10th-12th century), Yemen (6th–10th/12th–16th century) and India (10th–14th/16th–20th century). One carefully chosen Ṭahmīd from each of the phases is analyzed in depth using the relational approach presented earlier in chapter-4.

The final chapter, a tribute to the author whose works inspired this study, is devoted to the Ṭahmīd in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's first *risālah*. Following a brief presentation of the author's life and works, the Ṭahmīd is considered as a response to the pervading atmosphere of dissension. The chapter argues that Syedna Taher Saifuddin's laudatory preamble is a high point in the evolution of the convention wherein the Ṭahmīd rather than simply introducing the *matn*, the main-body of the text where the substance is expected, becomes a 'pseudo-matn', substantial in its own right. A more detailed study of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs* and their Ṭahmīds is perhaps a project for the future.

Is the Ṭahmīd then a distinct literary genre? Based on the texts surveyed and analyzed during the course of this study, the thesis conclusion will attempt to answer this question posed in the thesis title. I define genre as a group of texts with common features and other features that are individualized (Cohen, 2003). A genre, in the context of Ṭahmīd, is identifiable through its establishment of a clear worldview, its textual and formal characteristics, and its governance of the expectations of the author and audience.

A separately bound volume of appendices consisting of samples of Ṭahmīds referred to in this study complements the dissertation. At present there is no anthology or collection of Ṭahmīds, and while a number of these are published, it is practically unviable to expect readers to refer to Ṭahmīds scattered in a vast range of monographs from various disciplines and time periods. Many Ṭahmīds from the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition in particular are still in manuscript form. Appendix-1 presents examples of components of Ṭahmīd in pre-Islamic and Islamic inscriptions, Islamic numismatics and papyri. Appendix-2 presents samples of Ṭahmīds from *khutbahs*, chancery-*risālahs* and other sources. Appendix-3 presents the guidelines or templates for Ṭahmīds in various contexts presented in a Fatimid chancery manual. Appendix-4 presents the theological non-chancery Ṭahmīds from the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition.

The separately bound appendices will facilitate reference to Taḥmīds being analyzed while reading the dissertation. The Taḥmīds included in the appendices are clearly referenced in the dissertation by 'Appendix-x:y', where x is the number of the appendix (from 1-4) and y is the number of the Taḥmīd within that appendix. The Taḥmīds within each appendix are presented in chronological order. A glossary of technical terms including chancery terms pertaining to the rules of Taḥmīd, terms developed for the 'relational-approach' and unfamiliar terminology in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition is also presented in the appendices.

A disclaimer must be made at this point: this thesis does not pretend to achieve a fully comprehensive survey of Taḥmīds; that is all but impossible. The corpus of material is so large that boundaries are necessary to avoid superficiality. From the 1st/6th to the 9th/15th century, while a number of non-chancery examples are analyzed, the majority of samples derive from the influential state chancery of the Umayyads, Abbasids, Fatimids and Mamluks. In the post 9th/15th century period, only illustrative examples that prove the continuity of the general Taḥmīd tradition are cited and the focus is predominantly on praise-preambles from Fatimid-Ṭayyibī religious literature. Acknowledging the ambitious nature of this project, the goal was to strike a balance between considering the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition in depth and at the same time defining the main characteristics of the broader Taḥmīd tradition and providing the tools for its analysis; tools that will, I hope, prove useful to scholars reading any Arab-Islamic text beginning with Taḥmīd.

Definition of Taḥmīd

The word Taḥmīd, a verbal noun, is defined literally as the act of praising and offering thanks. The tradition labelled Taḥmīd, however, is defined by four core components that constitute its basic structure in this order:

1. The *basmalah*, beginning with the name of God with the formula: *bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*⁹.

⁹ The *basmalah* as the very first *āyah* of the Qur'ān holds a prominent position. It follows a long tradition of invoking the name of the divine, which is Islamized. The form of the *basmalah* remains static in the overwhelming majority of Taḥmīds. The emphasis is on the attribute of mercy, with most exegetes commenting on the subtle difference between *Raḥmān* and *Raḥīm*, the former used only to describe the all encompassing mercy of the Almighty while the latter adjective used to describe human mercy as well. Analysis of the *basmalah* also relates to the discussion of the names of Allah. The various views on these issues are presented by al-Gharawī (1982, pp. 77-174). He also cites numerous treatises written on the

2. *Ḥamd*, praising and thanking Him, most commonly with the formula *al-ḥamd li Allāh alladhī...*¹⁰.
3. *Shahādah*, the proclamation of the Unity of God and the Prophethood of Muhammad: *ashhad an lā ilāha illā Allāh-wa ann Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*¹¹.
4. *Ṣalawāt*, beseeching blessings on the Prophet and his progeny, usually based on the formula *Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā Muḥammad wa ‘āl Muḥammad kamā ṣallayta ‘alā Ibrāhīm wa ‘āl Ibrāhīm*¹².

The first two components constitute the bare minimum for an opening to be considered a *Tahmīd*, as in *sūrat al-Fātiḥah*. But even though the latter two are sometimes elided, most praise beginnings include all four. These are the components that form the skeleton of *Tahmīd* from its origin to modern times. The key to the *Tahmīd*'s vitality is the adaptation of these indispensable and conceptually rich constants.

Over and above the literal definitions of these components, the conceptual value of the core elements is paramount. From the early days of Islam, the status of these formulae is substantiated by a survey of epigraphic and numismatic evidence and corroborated by numerous traditions. I contend that three aspects or dimensions of these elements are

basmalah (pp. 8-10). The esoteric signification of the *basmalah* in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition is discussed in chapter-V (p.164).

¹⁰ Also called *ḥamdalah*, the dual signification of *ḥamd*, praise and gratitude, is a source of debate. Most argue for the suitability of one signification over the other depending on the context. The connection between *ḥamd* and *madḥ* is also drawn on the basis of their shared root letters, even though rearranged. Hassan (2004, p. 179) bases this observation on Ibn Jinnī's concept of *al-ishtiqāq al-akbar*, wherein the essence of the signification remains the same despite the rearrangement of letters. This connection, the word *madḥ* in particular, ties the *Tahmīd* tradition with one of the prominent *aghrāḍ*, lit. purposes of Arabic poetry: *madḥ*. Al-Gharawī (1982, pp. 197-214) summarizes the various opinions on the meaning of *ḥamd*. The esoteric signification of *ḥamd* in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition is also discussed in chapter-V (p.168).

¹¹ Also called *tashahhud*, the proclamation of the Unity of God is a standard format of negation, 'there is no God', followed by affirmation, 'but Allāh'. The proclamation of Muhammad, which is also included in many *Tahmīds*, differs in that it is solely an affirmation. It is the formula with which an individual can accept the Islamic faith. Shiites also consider the declaration that 'Alī is the *walīyy* of God, as an extension of the *shahādah*. The esoteric signification of the *shahādah* in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition is also discussed in chapter-V (p.170).

¹² Also called *ṭasliyah*, the concept is derived from the Qur'ānic verse 33:56 in which the faithful are commanded to beseech *ṣalawāt* on the Prophet. The definition of *ṣalawāt* varies depending on who pronounces it. From God, it is *rahmah*, from the angels it is *barakah* and *maghfirah* and from humans it is *du'ā* and *ta'zīm* (al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr* and al-Rāzī, in *tafsīr* of Qur'an 33:56). The beseeching of *ṣalawāt* on the Prophet's progeny is permissible as part of the *ṣalawāt* by most Sunni scholars, and as an obligation, without which the *ṣalawāt* would be incomplete, by Shiites. The *ṣalawāt* thus is one of the main markers of sectarian differences in the *Tahmīd*. Also see Goldziher (1970) for a summary of the meaning (p. 38) and sectarian differences in *Tahmīd* (pp. 55-58). The esoteric signification of the *ṣalawāt* in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition is also discussed in chapter-V (p.175).

the source of their, and the Taḥmīd's, conceptual weight: the heritage, theological and political dimensions.

The pre-Islamic heritage of Taḥmīd components is apparent in the acceptance, Islamization and employment of formulae that preceded the advent of Islam. While Islam eradicated certain earlier traditions it adopted and Islamized others. The Ḥajj, considered to be an Abrahamic tradition, is the perfect example of Islamization. Similarly, the conceptualization of Islamic formulae as an integral part of daily life was inherited from the pre-Islamic period. The well known Christian rite of doxology, the 'Lord's Prayer' (*Paternoster*), a canonical prayer derived from the gospels of Matthew (6) and Luke (11) in the New Testament and the 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo' are prime examples of the use of praise formulae in liturgy¹³. Many Syriac texts are also known to have begun with praise incantations of the divine or the ruler¹⁴. Studies of Semitic and Greek inscriptions clearly establish a tradition of similar incantations, prayers and statements of belief in pre-Islamic times¹⁵.

Littmann (1943, p.277; Appendix-1:1) refers to a Safaitic inscription reminiscent of the Islamic *basmalah*: "...and he greeted in the name of Allāt his brother...". Gignoux (1979), tracing the origins of the *basmalah* to Iran, goes so far as to suggest that it is a direct descendant of the Pahlavi *pad nām ī yazdān* – 'in the name of God'¹⁶. An inscription by the king Esimiphaio in early 6th century South Arabia reads: 'In the name of God and His son Christ victorious and the Holy Spirit' (Beeston, 'Abraha' *EI2*)¹⁷. Suggestive of the *shahādah*, Prentice (1909, p.206; Appendix-1:2) cites this Greek inscription in a Syrian house: "One God who aideth, May he who wrote this be remembered". Prentice (p.68; Appendix-1:3) cites another such reference from the year 403 CE: "In the year 714. (There is) One God, that helpeth Lord Eulalios, who delighted in building...". Evocative of *ḥamd* are the numerous instances of 'praise' that

¹³ 'Gloria' in Fortescue (2003).

¹⁴ Griffith (2008, 'personal interview').

¹⁵ A principal source of reference for these inscriptions is the series of publications of the Princeton University archaeological expeditions to Syria in 1904-1905 and 1909 (Littman, 1913, 1934, 1943 and 1949). Although most of these cannot be precisely dated, they are believed to be from the few centuries before the dawn of Islam.

¹⁶ Numerous other Pahlavi texts from around the 5th century AD begin with the name of God and praise, see for example *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšīr ī Pābagān*, *Mēnōg ī xrad* and *Bundahišn*. I would like to thank Rastin Mehri, my colleague at SOAS, for bringing these texts to my attention.

¹⁷ Beeston notes the difference between this formula and the one used by Abraha found in an inscription in Ma'rib. He says that this is a sectarian distinction because Esimiphaio was most likely a Monophysite. Abrahah's inscription reads: "By the power and favour and mercy of God and His Messiah and the Holy Spirit". It is an interesting precedent to formulae reflecting sectarian identity.

are cited in the series, especially in *Syriac Inscriptions*. Among the inscriptions that Littmann (1934, p.39 and 53; Appendix-1:4 and 5) cites are a few quite similar to *al-ḥamd li Allāh*: “Praise be to our Lord!...” from a dedication panel and “Praise be to our Lord who raised from the dead, Mā Daianos and Mār Cosmos his son! The memory of both be blessed...”. Others differ in that they praise the trinity but the spirit of praise is the same: “Praise be to the praised Trinity...” (p.37; Appendix-1:6). To my knowledge, the fourth element of *Taḥmīd*, *ṣalawāt*, is unique to the Islamic tradition.

The heritage dimension is further endorsed by traditions that link the core components of *Taḥmīd* with pre-Islamic Prophets. A tradition attributed to ‘Alī by al-Nisābūrī contends that the *basmalah* was first revealed to Adam, who said that ‘my progeny will be protected against the torments (of Hell) so long as they continue to recite it’. It was then revealed to Abraham, after which it was withdrawn and then sent to Solomon; it was again withdrawn and finally revealed to Muhammad¹⁸. In another tradition attributed to the Prophet Noah by al-Tha‘ālībī in *Qīṣaṣ al-anbiyā’*, Noah is said to have given his people two commands and two prohibitions. The two commands were: i) say there is no God but Allāh, and ii) to say ‘God be praised’¹⁹. The formula used by Quraysh *bismik Allāhum* is shown to have Christian origins by al-Ṣūfī (pp.31-32) and al-Qalqashandī (p.959). In a probably fantastical story, Umayyah b. Abī al-Ṣalt al-Thaqafī, stranded in the desert, is helped by an old man in a Church who teaches him the formula *bismik Allāhum* to waive off the curse upon them and protect them. The essence of these traditions and anecdotes is to associate these formulae with a Prophet or religion recognized by Islam, which demonstrates the conceptual weight that the elements of *Taḥmīd* maintained from their pre-Islamic heritage.

As a result of this heritage, many components of the earlier formulae were quite simply adapted to suit Islamic sensibilities. Once they were Islamized, they were as ‘Islamic’ as original Islamic stipulations. The *basmalah*, *bism Allāh*, for instance, was only a slight modification from the earlier *bism Allāt* or *bismik Allāhum*. The conceptual weight of formulae in pre-Islamic times was thus inherited, while the formulae were Islamized and internalized.

¹⁸ Qtd. by Ayoub (2004,p.18). Al-Gharawi (1982,p. 15) cites a similar tradition attributed to the Prophet by al-Ja‘burī, in which *basmalah* is presented as the first inscription by the *qalam* (Pen) and that it was revealed to Adam. Another anecdote, wherein Pharoah is spared God’s wrath in the time of Moses because the *basmalah* is inscribed on his door, is also narrated (p. 18). He also cites *Tafsīr al-Fakhr al-Rāzī* which states that *al-ḥamd li Allāh* were the first words pronounced by Adam (p. 211).

¹⁹ Cited in Rubin (2003, p. 78).

The two other dimensions, the theological and political, exponentially increased the conceptual weight of Taḥmīd formulae. Since the two dimensions overlapped in the early days of Islam, it makes sense to discuss them together. The Islamization process assigned the formulae new roles that would conceptually revolutionize them. All components, being verbatim or modified extractions from the Qur'ān, assumed a superior status. Their invocation was encouraged by many traditions as a way to garner divine grace, heal the sick, wade off fear and protect²⁰. They became closely associated with Islamic identity, as illustrated by the prominent role of the *shahādah* while espousing Islam. As the inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock and the numismatic evidence discussed below demonstrate, the formulae embodied the core beliefs of Islam as a religion and as a political force. The formulae were themselves as important as the doctrines, since they were, for all practical purposes, the doctrines.

The inscriptions in the Dome of the Rock from the year 72/691 in particular are an example of the capacity of Islamic formulae, including components of Taḥmīd, to represent identity²¹. While there are other inscriptions containing formulae from that period²², this inscription is particularly significant because the primary components of Taḥmīd appear in it with a recurring pattern.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ ﴿قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَلَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ﴾⁽¹¹²⁾ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ ﷺ ﴿بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ مُحَمَّدٌ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﴿إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ﴾ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا﴾^(33:56) ﷺ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَمْ يَتَّخِذْ

²⁰ The traditions encouraging and enumerating the virtues of reciting these formulae are many. For a good collection, especially with regard to *basmalah* and *ḥamd* see al-Gharawī (1982, pp. 15-17, 178-180 and 253-257). See also Ayoub (2004, pp. 17-19) and al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā'*; the latter quotes various traditions encouraging *ḥamd* (pp. 307-309) and *salawāt* (pp. 316-318).

²¹ This inscription is one of two on the inside of the building. Full inscriptions in Appendix-1:9 and 10. Christel Kessler (1970, pp. 8-9) provides transcriptions and pictures of both inscriptions. The Latin letters inserted within the text show the orientation of the inscription within the octagon. The markers or separating stars, are part of the original inscription and have not been added by Kessler or me. The underlined name is a later alteration by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn who tried to attribute the construction of the Dome of the Rock to himself, but somehow forgot to alter the date. Kessler maintains that the golden glass mosaic inscriptions are undoubtedly from the time of the original work done in the 72H, and were not modified during the relatively recent restoration.

²² Some inscriptions containing formulae include the *basmalah* in an inscription from the year 31/652 discussed by el-Hawary (1930, p.322; Appendix-1:7), also an early though undated inscription of verse 33:56 pertaining to the *salawāt* cited by G.C. Miles (1948, p. 241; Appendix-1:8).

ولدا ولم يكن له شريك في الملك ولم يكن له ولي من الدل وكبره تكبيرا ﴿١٧:١١١﴾ محمد رسول الله ﷺ صلى
الله عليه وسلم ملكه ورسله والسلم عليه ورحمت الله ﷻ ...

In the religious and political context of 1st/7th century Jerusalem, “the building of the Dome of the Rock combined the symbols of victory with an assertion of the position of Islam as the successor and supplanter of the other two monotheistic religions of the Near East” (King, 1985, p.274)²³. The grand structure of the building counters the spectacular churches of Jerusalem, while the formulaic inscriptions inside distinguish Muslim identity from existing monotheistic religions. For this purpose, with the aid of Qur’ānic verses 112:1-4 and 17:111, the *shahādah* and *ḥamd* are expanded to emphasize the belief in One God rather than the Trinity, to emphasize Muslim identity vs. Christian identity. The manifestation of this identity in Taḥmīd formulae is indicative of their conceptual import.

Nowhere else is the theological and political significance of Taḥmīd elements more visible and dominant than in first century Islamic coins. Coins prior to the coinage reform in 77/692 were almost indistinguishable from Byzantine or Sassanian coins of the period except for the inclusion of Islamic religious phrases. Having no coinage of their own, the Muslims adapted the existing coinage to their religious and geopolitical context. Byzantine coinage was adapted in Syria and North Africa (Appendix-1:14-15), while in Mesopotamia and Persia Sassanian coinage was adapted (Appendix-1:11-12). In the Arab-Sassanian coins the portrait of the ruler continued to be represented on the obverse with his name, and in later coins the Arab provincial ruler’s name, in Pahlavi. The “one strikingly distinct feature” according to G.C. Miles (1952, p.156) was the addition of formulae such as *bism Allāh* and *al-ḥamd li Allāh*. The figure below is an example of such a coin from the year 41/660, one of many catalogued by Walker (1941)²⁴:



Figure-i Dārābijird 41/660²⁵

²³ Also see Grabar (1959, pp. 33-62).

²⁴ For other examples of pre-reform coinage with inscriptions see Appendix-1:11-15.

²⁵ Cited by Walker (1941, p.10) coin no.14, figure from
http://Islamiccoins.ancients.info/umayyads/41Darabiird_AS.JPG; Appendix-1:11.

The *basmalah* in Kufic is visible on the obverse margin of the coin in a shortened form, *bism Allāh*, which is common even for later post-reform coins²⁶. Though the coin is typical of Arab-Sassanian coins, there is variety in the *basmalah* used: *bism Allāh rabbī*, *bism Allāh al-‘azīz* etc²⁷. The variations are possibly vestiges of the pre-Islamic tradition discussed above. Despite the heterogeneity and the continuation of an earlier tradition of iconography, the statement of Islam is made through the *basmalah*, since it is that which distinguishes Arab-Sassanian coins from Sassanian ones.

‘Abd al-Malik’s monetary reform in the year 77/692 was a strong political statement made primarily by discarding the symbolic iconography of the challenging empires and replacing it with its Islamic counterpart²⁸. It is abundantly clear that in order to counter a symbol as powerful as the cross—which the Muslims saw “as the universal sign of Christianity in the Near East and also the sign of the Byzantine Empire” (King, 1985, p. 269), elements of the *Tahmīd* were selected. The Fatimid theologian al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān in his work, *Asās al-Ta’wīl*, drawing a parallel between the cross and the *shahādah*, states that, while the cross was the substance (*aṣl*) of Christianity, the *shahādah* was the *aṣl* of Islam. It is arguable that conceptually the formulae were for the Muslims what the Cross was for the Christians. The formulaic inscriptions were, for all intents and purposes, the icons of Islam.

The typical post-reform Umayyad coin contained the *basmalah*, *shahādah*, Qur’ānic verses attesting the *shahādah*, and the date and city of minting. Later on, the name of the caliph was also included. The figure below is an example of a gold post-reform Arab *dīnār* minted in 77/696, the approximate date for the first reform coins²⁹.

²⁶ Many other coins with various formulae abound, such as *li Allāh al-ḥamd* in a coin from the year 70/689 cited by Walker (1941, p.10) coin no. 14, and Arab-Byzantine coins with the Latin equivalent of the *shahādah* (*lā ilāh illa Allāh waḥdah lā sharīk lah*) and many variants of the *basmalah* (*bism Allāh*, *bism al-rabb*, *bismik Allāhum al-Muhyī al-Raḥmān*, and *bismik Allāhum*) cited in Walker (1956, pp.54-56) coins no. 143, 144, 145, 146. The cross in these coins is replaced by a simple pole. An interesting example is a coin with the Kharijite slogan *lā ḥukm illā li Allāh* cited by Walker (1941, p.100) coin no.112 (Appendix-1:13).

²⁷ Coins no. 6 and 9 are examples of variations in Walker (1941).

²⁸ The debate concerning ‘Abd al-Malik’s coinage reform is summarized by Burke (1995, pp. 29-32).

²⁹ For examples of Arab-Sassanian and Arab-Byzantine post-reform coinage see Appendix-1:16 and 18.

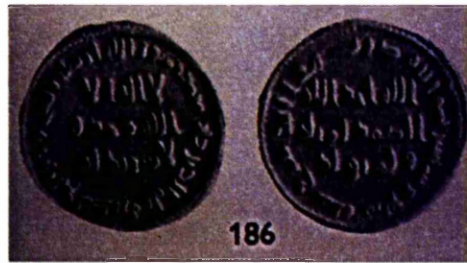


Figure-ii 77/696³⁰

This epigraphic model overpowered others in the Islamic empire and became the template for centuries of Islamic coins. A closer look at the coin reveals that the choice of formulae and the layout were carefully thought out and integral in declaring and representing Muslim creed and the political identity adjoined with it.

The assertion that formulae are markers of faith and identity is also vindicated by a number of interesting traditions. An episode during the writing of the Ḥudaybiyah treaty is worth narrating. Al-Bukhārī in his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (no. 2529) narrates that ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was responsible for writing the treaty. The Prophet instructed him to write *bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*, at which point Quraysh’s arbitrator interrupted and demanded that ‘Alī should write *bismik Allāhum*, as he did not recognize what ‘Alī had written. The Prophet agreed to this and went on to instruct ‘Alī to write: ‘this is a treaty between Muhammad the Messenger of God (*rasūl Allāh*) and ...’. Once again, the arbitrator interrupted and complained that if he had given the *shahādah* that Muhammad was the messenger of God he would not have fought him. This episode clearly shows that an acceptance of the formulae was equivalent to an acceptance of the faith itself.

The integral connection between the formula and the faith is perhaps best illustrated by this extraordinary anecdote from al-Jāhīz’s famous work *al-Bukhalā’* (p.17). The protagonist, Khālīd b. Yazīd, on his death bed advising his son on the art of being a miser, recounts a time when he almost succumbed to the temptation of spending:

‘One day when my cravings got the better of me, and I removed a dirham to fulfil my desire, my eyes fell on the coin and on the name of Allāh written on it. So I said to myself: I am indeed one of the losers and misguided, if I remove from my hand and my house something on which is inscribed there is no God but Allāh (*lā ilāh illā Allāh*), and take in its stead something that has nothing [inscribed] on it. By God, the believer removes his ring for a purpose, and on it is [inscribed], Allāh is sufficient for me (*ḥasbī Allāh*) or I put my trust in Allāh (*tawakkalt ‘alā Allāh*), so he would think that he has

³⁰ Cited by Walker (1956, p. 84) coin no. 186, figure (plate no. XII); Appendix-1:16.

wandered from the protection of Allāh, may He be exalted, until he returns the ring in its place. And this is but one ring. And I want to remove in every day a dirham [inscribed] on which is Islam, as it is (‘*alayh al-Islām kamā huwa*). This is indeed outrageous’.

Humour aside, it is as a result of the longstanding heritage of praise formulae, their theological and political significance and their symbolic importance, that the individual components of Taḥmīd endured and still continue to endure. Their collective or *gestaltic* value – in the sense that the whole is more than the sum of its parts, however, far supersedes their individual significance. The Taḥmīd tradition is certainly more than the sum of its parts. It is with this conceptual gravity of the individual elements in mind that this thesis begins.

SECTION-I

The Development of Tahmīd



Plate-II

Inscription of the *Fāṭihah* in 'Rawḍat-Ṭāhirah', the mausoleum of the 51st Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī Syedna Taḥer Saifuddin (d. 1385/1965). The entire Qur'ān is engraved in marble on the inner walls of the mausoleum and inlaid with gold leaf. All the *basmalabs*, the entirety of *sūrat al-Fāṭihah* and *sūrat al-Kawthar* are inlaid with precious stones.

Photograph courtesy of Taḥer Khorakiwala ©

CHAPTER-I

SŪRAT AL-ḤAMD:

THE ARCHETYPE OF TAḤMĪD

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله رب العالمين، الرحمن الرحيم، مالك يوم الدين، إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين، إهدنا الصراط المستقيم، صراط
 الذين أنعمت عليهم غير المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين،

Introduction

*Sūrat al-Ḥamd, al-Fātiḥah*³¹, lit. the 'opening' [of the Qur'ān], is the definite archetype of Taḥmīd. As the first *sūrah* of the Qur'ān, one that every Muslim must memorize and recite in daily prayer and as the customary opening and closing of social and other events, the significance of the *Fātiḥah* cannot be overstated. Alongside the *shahādah*, it too is 'an oral mark of Islamic identity'³². And while precursors to praise invocations and preambles existed in pre-Islamic Arabia, it is the initial verses of *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* that marked the genesis and crystallization of the basic character of the Islamic Taḥmīd tradition³³. The *Fātiḥah* is the primordial praise beginning with *basmalah* and *ḥamd*, with which the fundamental practice is established, though not all components are present.

³¹ The *Fātiḥah* is one of the names for the first *sūrah* of the Qur'ān. Other names include *sūrat al-Ḥamd*, *umm al-kitāb*, *al-sab' al-mathānī*, *al-kāfiyah*, *al-wāfiyah*, *al-shāfiyah* and *al-salāh*. Most exegetical discussions about it focus on the following issues: the various names; whether the *basmalah* is part of the *sūrah* or not, the majority suggesting that it is; the necessity of its recitation in the daily prayer and as one of the possible interpretations for *al-sab' al-mathānī*; the seven oft repeated verses (because it is repeated twice in every prayer or because it was revealed twice, once in Mecca and again in Medina). Hassan (2004) and Rubin (1993) focus on the matter of the *sab' mathānī*, though their contentions are not fully convincing. The majority of exegetes also agree that it was revealed early in the Meccan phase of the Prophet's life. The traditions of the Prophet that indicate its special position in the Qur'ān and the merits of reciting the *sūrah* often accompany exegetical discussions. A Sufi interpretation of the *sūrah*, that of Ibn 'Arabī in particular, is presented by Grill (1996). The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī interpretation of *ḥamd* and *sūrat al-Ḥamd* is presented in chapter-V (p.168). Ayoub (2004), Hammad (1982), Paret (*Fātiḥa, EI2*), Graham (*Fātiḥa, EoQ*) and Azad (1971) present a good synopsis of Muslim and non-Muslim scholarship on the issues mentioned above and the various interpretations of the *sūrah*.

³² Graham ('*Fātiḥa*', *EoQ*) cites a recent unpublished paper by J. Bowin in which he points to the *Fātiḥah*'s 'symbolic importance as a litmus test for the "true Muslim" in contemporary Indonesia'.

³³ A note must be made here about the continuing debate on Islamic origins and the origins of the Qur'ān and consequently the *Fātiḥah*. Whereas the orthodox view is to accept the Qur'ān as a text revealed in its entirety in Muhammad's lifetime, there is the opposing view advocated by John Wansbrough (1977), Michael Cook (1981) and Patricia Crone (1977), that the Qur'ān is a collection of fragments compiled by mediaeval theologians and exegetes and subsequently raised manually to the status of Scripture. The perception of the early stages of Taḥmīd changes depending on which view is accepted. If the first view is accepted then the formulae are a demonstration of Qur'ānic influence on culture and practice and the *Fātiḥah* as the unquestioned archetype of Taḥmīd. Even though the palaeographic evidence cited in the introduction and the Qurrah papyri referred to in the following chapter establish the presence of Taḥmīd in the 1st/6th century they do not explicitly state their debt to the *Fātiḥah* (the authenticity of the one example that I have found that does acknowledge this debt, the beginning of the *khutbah* by 'Aḥī b. Abī Ṭālib cited below, cannot be ascertained beyond doubt). Thus the second view cannot be ruled out, nor can it be conclusively established. If the second view is accepted then the role of the *Fātiḥah* is reversed and the Taḥmīd formulae would be considered as raw material that was incorporated by later exegetes and theologians as part of the Qur'ān since they were part of a revered tradition. This debate though directly

This chapter begins by asserting the prototypical nature of the *Fātiḥah* vis-à-vis the Islamic Taḥmīd tradition. It then considers the *Fātiḥah* firstly as a preamble to the Qur'ān and secondly as an integral element in Muslim praxis. In both these contexts it underlines the *Fātiḥah*'s function as a *sūrah* that contextualizes the Qur'ān and one that reaffirms the relationship between man and God. Lastly, the chapter highlights the often overlooked simultaneously oral and written nature of the *Fātiḥah*. Appreciating this 'hybrid' nature, as I call it, is crucial because it is a hallmark of the *Fātiḥah* and of Taḥmīds that emulate its model.

The *Fātiḥah* as the Archetype of Taḥmīd

To conceive of the *Fātiḥah* as the archetype of Taḥmīd is intuitive. The concept of following a model or exemplar (*iqtidā'*), is engrained in Muslim psyche as demonstrated by the immense importance given to the *sunnah* of the Prophet and the *Ḥadīth* tradition³⁴. For the Muslim author, what better model for prose writing, and beginnings in particular, than the Qur'ān itself? The *Fātiḥah* is clearly the inspiration for Taḥmīds, beginning with the *basmalah* and followed by the phrase *al-ḥamd li Allāh*... Even though the *shahādah* and *ṣalawāt* are not present, the *sūrah* establishes the fundamental practice of beginning with praise for the Almighty. It is also a template for the function of Taḥmīd, anchoring the text or context it introduces and relating it and the audience to God³⁵. The *sūrah*'s stylistic features, determined to a certain degree by its oral nature, the relatively short, additive and parallelistic phrases and *saj'* etc, are also characteristic of the large majority of Taḥmīds that follow. The formal, functional and stylistic echoes of the *Fātiḥah* in Taḥmīds surveyed in this thesis suggest that Muslim authors considered it the supreme model of the convention, a model that was emulated, developed and perpetuated.

Two Taḥmīds, one from the 1st/7th century and the other from the 8th/14th century unambiguously acknowledge the debt owed by the Taḥmīd tradition to the *Fātiḥah*. The first is the praise-preamble of a *khutbah* attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib:

relevant to the developmental process of Taḥmīd, is far too large to tackle here. I find the arguments for the first view, presented by Whelan (2004), Watt (2004), Dutton (2004) and Noja Noseda (2007) more convincing and thus the discussion of the development of Taḥmīd in this dissertation considers it as the most probable scenario. With later Taḥmīds, this debate becomes less of an issue, since as far as the medieval and later writers were concerned, the Qur'ān was a revealed text that they reverently emulated, quoted and incorporated in their writings.

³⁴ The concept of *iqtidā'*, and its manifestation in the numerous manuals of chancery writing, is discussed further in chapter-III (p.72).

³⁵ The importance of these 'Taḥmīd relations' and the variance in their nature are discussed in chapter-IV.

الحمدُ لله الذي جعلَ الحمدَ مفاتيحاً لذكره، وسبباً للمزيد من فضله، وذلك على آياته وعظمته،³⁶

Praise is offered to God who made *al-ḥamd* a key to His '*dhikr*'. Two interpretations are possible: the first is to interpret *al-ḥamd* simply as the act of praise and offering gratitude as the beginning to the remembrance of Allāh (*dhikr*ih). The second is to interpret *al-ḥamd* as referring to *sūrat al-Ḥamd*, and *dhikr* as signifying the Qur'an; a signification supported by verse 15:9³⁷. Based on the second interpretation, the tradition of beginning with *ḥamd* is no human tradition, rather it is a tradition established by God.

The second Taḥmīd, Ibn Kathīr's preamble to his *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm*, makes a clear link between the opening of God's Book and Taḥmīd.

الحمدُ لله الذي افتتح كتابه بالحمدِ فقال ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ، الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، مَالِكِ يَوْمِ الدِّينِ﴾ (1:2-4)، وقال تعالى: ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَنْزَلَ عَلَى عَبْدِهِ الْكِتَابَ وَلَمْ يَجْعَلْ لَهُ عِوَجًا، قِيمًا لِيُنذِرَ بَأْسًا شَدِيدًا مِمَّنْ لَدُنْهُ وَيُبَشِّرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الَّذِينَ يَعْمَلُونَ الصَّالِحَاتِ أَنَّ لَهُمْ أَجْرًا حَسَنًا، مَا كُنْ فِيهِ أَبَدًا، وَيُنذِرَ الَّذِينَ قَالُوا اتَّخَذَ اللَّهُ وَلَدًا، مَا لَهُمْ بِهِ مِنْ عِلْمٍ وَلَا لِآبَائِهِمْ كَبُرَتْ كَلِمَةً تَخْرُجُ مِنْ أَفْوَاهِهِمْ إِنَّ يَقُولُونَ إِلَّا كَذِبًا﴾ (18:1-5)، وأفتتح خلقه بالحمدِ فقال تعالى: ﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَجَعَلَ الظُّلُمَاتِ وَالنُّورَ ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ يَعْدِلُونَ﴾ (6:1)، واختتمه بالحمدِ فقال بعد ما ذكر مآل أهل الجنة والنار، ﴿وترى الملائكة حافين من حول العرش يسبحون بحمد ربهم وقضي بينهم بالحق وقيل الحمد لله رب العالمين﴾ (39:75)، ولهذا قال تعالى، ﴿هو الله لا إله إلا هو له الحمد في الأولى وفي الآخرة، وله الحكم وإليه ترجعون﴾ (28:70)، كما قال تعالى، ﴿الحمد لله الذي له ما في السموات وما في الأرض وله الحمد في الآخرة وهو الحكيم الخبير﴾ (34:1)،... ولهذا يُلهِمُ أَهْلَ الْجَنَّةِ تَسْبِيحَهُ وَتَحْمِيدَهُ كَمَا يُلْهِمُونَ النَّفْسَ أُمِّيَّ تَسْبِيحُونَهُ وَيَحْمَدُونَهُ عَدَدَ أَنْفَاسِهِمْ، لِمَا يَرَوْنَ مِنْ عَظِيمِ نِعْمِهِ عَلَيْهِمْ، وَكَمَالِ قُدْرَتِهِ وَعَظِيمِ سُلْطَانِهِ وَتَوَالِي مَنِّهِ وَدَوَامِ إِحْسَانِهِ إِلَيْهِمْ كَمَا قَالَ تَعَالَى، ﴿إِنَّ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ يَهْدِيهِمْ رَبُّهُمْ بِإِيمَانِهِمْ تَجْرِي مِنْ تَحْتِهِمُ الْأَنْهَارُ فِي جَنَّاتِ النَّعِيمِ، دَعَوَاهُمْ فِيهَا سُبْحَانَكَ اللَّهُمَّ وَتَحْمِيدُهُمْ فِيهَا سَلَامٌ، وَآخِرُ دَعْوَاهُمْ أَنْ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ﴾ (10:10)،...³⁸

The centrality of the *Fātiḥah* is evident in the very first phrase of the Taḥmīd. Introduced as the Taḥmīd by which God opens His Book, the quotation of three verses of the *sūrah*

³⁶ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ* (p. 982).

³⁷ The latter interpretation is supported by Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ* (p. 983), cited by al-Gharawi (1982, pp. 216-217).

³⁸ Complete Taḥmīd in Appendix-2:122.

indicates the author's acknowledgment of the source of the tradition which he is following.

The phrases that follow are essentially quotations of a succession of Qur'ānic verses with references to *ḥamd*. They are either praise beginnings of other *sūrahs*³⁹ or verses that encourage *ḥamd* by associating it with the heavens. For example, *ḥamd* is associated with angels surrounding God's throne (39:75) and with the believers entering paradise (10:10). Though not quoted by Ibn Kathīr, in many instances the Qur'ān commands: and say praise be to God (*wa qul al-ḥamd li Allāh...*), or proclaim or repeat the praise of your Lord (*sabbih bi ḥamd rabbik*) (15:98, 17:111, 20: 130, 23:28, 27:59 and 93, 31:25, 40:55, 50:39, 52:48, and 110:3). *Al-ḥamd li Allāh rabb al-'ālamīn* itself is repeated three other times in the Qur'ān as a statement uttered by the righteous (37:182, 39:75, 40:65).

Centuries later, Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1355H Taḥmīd (Appendix-4:188) also begins with the first three verses of the *Fātiḥah* and, with mediating interjections, with the first verses of the four other *sūrahs* that begin with *ḥamd*. The phrases that follow are anchored in the Qur'ānic verse. The segment beginning with verse 6:1 is an excellent example:

﴿الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي خَلَقَ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضَ وَجَعَلَ الظُّلُمَاتِ وَالنُّورَ، ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِرَبِّهِمْ يَعْدِلُونَ﴾^(6:1)، هُوَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ
أَوَّلِيَاءَهُ الطَّاهِرِينَ مِنَ النُّورِ، وَجَعَلَهُمْ سَكَانَ الطُّورِ، وَفَرَضَ مَوَدَّتَهُمْ فِي الْكِتَابِ الْمُسْطَوِّرِ، ثُمَّ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا فِي حَبِيبِهِمْ
يَعْدِلُونَ، وَيُبْغِضُونَ أُمَّةً يَهْدُونَ بِالْحَقِّ وَيَبْغِضُونَ، وَيُولُونَ أَمْرَهُمْ مَنْ شَاءُوا بِاخْتِيَارِهِمْ وَيَعْرِضُونَ...

The quotation of these Qur'ānic beginnings adds credence to the statements that follow, especially due to the grammatical parallelism. More importantly here, it acknowledges the divine origins of the Taḥmīd tradition that has sustained it for over fourteen centuries.

Barā'at al-Istihlāl: The Fātiḥah as the Introduction of the Qur'ān

The *Fātiḥah* functions as the Qur'ān's introduction, anchoring its primary themes and concepts. This function is also served by a great many Taḥmīds which adapt its primary components to introduce the text or context they begin. Revealed early in the Meccan

³⁹ The four other *sūrahs* that begin with *ḥamd* are: *al-An'ām* (6:1), *al-Kahf* (18:1), *Saba'* (34:1) and *Fāṭir* (35:1).

phase of the Prophet's life and placed at the very beginning of the *muṣḥaf*⁴⁰, it is likely that the *Fātiḥah* impacted the beginnings of early Islamic orations and epistles. As the following chapter will show, the *khutbah* and *risālah* Taḥmīds served a function similar to the *Fātiḥah*, possibly because the authors followed the example of *sūrat al-Ḥamd* in their preambles, believing it to be the supreme example of *barā'at al-istiḥlāl*.

Barā'at al-istiḥlāl is defined by al-Suyūfī (d. 911/1505, p.354) as an opening that 'befits the state of the speaker and alludes to the reason for the speech'. Numerous other authors such as Ibn Abī al-ʿIṣba' (d. 654/1254?, pp.21-22), al-Nuwayrī (d. 733/1333, p.806), al-Qalqashandī (d.821/1418, pp. 930, 970-980), and Ibn Ma'sūm (d. 1052/1642, pp.5-6) understand *barā'at al-istiḥlāl* similarly since the examples they quote contextualize and introduce the text that follows. A distinction is often made between *ḥusn al-iftitāḥ* and *barā'at al-istiḥlāl*, the latter seen as a subcategory of the former (al-Suyūfī, p. 354, al-Nuwayrī, p. 806 and al-Qalqashandī p. 930). Al-Qalqashandī states that *ḥusn al-iftitāḥ* may be greetings (*salām*) or glorification (*ta'zīm*) of the addressee or *ḥamd*, because souls *tataṣhawwaf*, look forward to the remembrance (*dhikr*) of God. Al-Qalqashandī provides samples of *barā'at al-istiḥlāl* that also include a number of Taḥmīds (p. 930). Though there are numerous examples of *barā'at al-istiḥlāl* other than Taḥmīds, the finest example for many is the *Fātiḥah*. This statement by al-Suyūfī concerning *barā'at al-istiḥlāl* is representative of this perception:

وَالْعَلَمُ الْأَسْنَى فِي ذَلِكَ سُورَةُ الْفَاتِحَةِ الَّتِي هِيَ مَطْلَعُ الْقُرْآنِ، فَإِنَّهَا مُشْتَمِلَةٌ عَلَى جَمِيعِ مَقَاصِدِهِ، كَمَا قَالَ الْبَيْهَقِيُّ فِي شُعْبِ الْإِيمَانِ: أَخْبَرَنَا... عَنْ الْحَسَنِ قَالَ: أَنْزَلَ اللَّهُ تَعَالَى مِائَةً وَأَرْبَعَةَ كِتَابٍ أَوْدَعَ عُلُومَهَا أَرْبَعَةً مِنْهَا: التَّوْرَةُ، وَالْإِنْجِيلُ، وَالزَّبُورُ، وَالْفُرْقَانُ، ثُمَّ أَوْدَعَ عُلُومَ التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ وَالزَّبُورِ وَالْفُرْقَانِ، ثُمَّ أَوْدَعَ عُلُومَ الْقُرْآنِ الْمَفْصَّلِ، ثُمَّ أَوْدَعَ عُلُومَ الْمَفْصَّلِ فَاتِحَةَ الْكِتَابِ⁴¹.

Al-Suyūfī identifies what he sees as the principal themes of the Qur'ān and contends that its kernels are in the *Fātiḥah* (p. 354). The knowledge of principles (*ʿilm al-uṣūl*), relies on the recognition of God (*ma'rifah*), and that is referred to by *rabb al-ʿālamīn*, *al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*; the *ma'rifah* of the Prophets is referred to by *alladhīn an'am*

⁴⁰ Ayoub (2004, pp. 15-16) presents a summary of the exegetes' views, which is held by all except one exegete.

⁴¹ Al-Gharawī (1982, pp. 46-47) citing from *Maṣābīḥ al-Anwār* states that the gist of the Qur'ān is in the *Fātiḥah*, the gist of the *Fātiḥah* is in the *basmalah* and that of the *basmalah* in the letter *bā'*. Azad (1971, p. 15) also sees the *Fātiḥah* as 'epitomizing the fundamental objectives of the faith elaborated in the Qur'ān'. Barakat (1968, p. 15) also makes a similar point.

'alayhim; the *ma'rifah* of the 'return to the Hereafter' (*ma'ād*) is referred to by *mālik yawm al-dīn*. The knowledge of worship (*'Ilm al-'ibādāt*) is referred to by *īyyāka na'bud*. The knowledge of behaviour (*'Ilm al-sulūk*), that is to commit one's self to follow the divine ethics, is referred to by *īyyāka nasta'īn, ihdinā al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm*. The knowledge of [Prophetic] stories (*'Ilm al-qasās*) is referred to by *ṣirāt alladhin an'amt 'alayhim ghayr al-maghḍūb 'alayhim wa lā al-ḍāllīn*. This, al-Suyūfī says, alongside beautiful words and phrases, is the ultimate aim of *barā'at al-istihlāl*. Abul-Kalam Azad (1971, p. 15), in a more contemporary view, reiterates and aptly describes this function of the *Fātiḥah*:

[The *Fātiḥah* conveys] in an epitomized form the fundamental objectives of the faith so elaborately expatiated upon in the rest of the Qur'ān...the rest of the Qur'ān is but a detailed commentary of the concentrated substance that it contains.

The essence of the Qur'ānic message is founded and encapsulated in the *Fātiḥah*. As this thesis will show, this was commonly the aim of a great number of Taḥmīds.

The selection of the description of God in the *Fātiḥah*, i.e. the nature of the *ḥamd* and its suitability as the opening of the Qur'ān, becomes clearer in comparison with Taḥmīd beginnings of other *sūrah*s. There are four other *sūrah*s that begin with Taḥmīd: *al-An'ām* (6:1), *al-Kahf* (18:1), *Saba'* (34:1) and *Fāṭir* (35:1). In these *sūrah*s, the Taḥmīd focuses on a particular description and theme with respect to God that suits the respective *sūrah*s: the creation of the skies and the earth in *sūrah*-6, the revelation of the Book in *sūrah*-18, the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth in *sūrah*-34, and their creation in *sūrah*-35⁴². The *Fātiḥah* however focuses on the most universal and prominent descriptions of God: the Lord of the Worlds, the Most Compassionate the Merciful and the Master of the Day of Judgment. These descriptions contextualize the fundamentals of the Qur'ānic message: God's Omnipotence, His mercy and the focus on the Hereafter. The focus on *raḥmah* in particular, the two words *al-Raḥmān* and *al-Raḥīm* repeated twice, hints at what, with respect to later Taḥmīds, is called the perspective or stand point of the author. The focus on *raḥmah* sets the tone of the *Fātiḥah* and the Qur'ānic message that follows. While all Taḥmīds open with *ḥamd*, the flexible nature of that *ḥamd*, as demonstrated in the Qur'ān itself, is essential in setting the suitable tone for the text at the very beginning and providing insights into the authors' point of view.

⁴² Ibn Mas'ūd (p. 6) cites the *tafsīr* of al-Juwānī which draws a comparison between the *Fātiḥah* and the four other *sūrah*s beginning with Taḥmīd and makes this point that the description in the *Fātiḥah* is broad and subsuming while it is specific in the other *sūrah*s.

What exegetes and scholars generally do not address is the ability of the *Fātiḥah* to make the Qur'ānic text concretely relevant to the listener or reciter. It does so, I believe, by relating Qur'ānic themes to individuals and communities. As a simple illustrative example, verse 1:7, which according to al-Suyūfī refers to the *qaṣaṣ* of the Prophets and their followers, relates the present audience to communities in the past. The jealousy of Cain is experienced today, the oppression of Pharaoh is suffered today, and the forbearance of the early Muslims is witnessed today. Their experience and fate, evoked by verse 1:7, are not simply bygone fables but are related to and even relived by the Muslim community today.

More importantly, based on the very nature of *ḥamd*, which the *Fātiḥah* epitomizes, the individual is related directly to God. It is arguable that this relation, to join an individual to God, or create a union between the individual and God, is the ultimate purpose of Islam (or any religion) and pervades the Qur'ānic text. As Sperl (1994, pp. 216-217) suggests, there is a "progression tantamount to a gradual descent within the cosmological orb: from the glory of God on high via man's worshiping and plea to those who go astray and face perdition". God remains present as an active participant vis-à-vis the creation in the whole *sūrah* except for the final part of the last verse. In verses (1:1-4) God is verbally present as the One, the Merciful, the Ruler: all attributes and roles that the individual relates to. In verses (1:5-6), the relation to the individual is most evident through the second person address to God. In the first part of the final verse, God is related to believers as the active subject in *an'amt*. In the latter part of the final verse, however, the verb becomes a passive verb rather than an active one, the disbelievers are *maghḍūb 'alayhim* (angered with), but God has no *relation* with them, linguistic or otherwise. Perhaps simplistically, Islam and the Qur'ān are a call for the individual to relate to God on the terms that He prescribes, including the acceptance of Muhammad's Prophecy and obedience, in order to achieve salvation. The essence of that relation, a relation that each individual associates with himself, is contained within the *Fātiḥah*. Due to this primary relation that it encapsulates, the *Fātiḥah* not only introduces the Qur'ān but anchors and achieves relevance in an array of extra-Qur'ānic contexts.

The *Fātiḥah* in Muslim Praxis (and Prayer)

The opening of the Qur'ān also has a prominent presence in Muslim praxis in *ṣalāh*, the opening of social events, *khutbahs* etc. The same text creates new links or relations with these secondary contexts and introduces and frames them, as do later Taḥmīds that follow its example. The transference of the *Fātiḥah* from its primary context (what I later call the exegetical context see chapter-IV, p.120), the Qur'ānic context in this case, to a myriad of other contexts (what I later call the eisegetical context, p.120) demonstrates further the versatility of the *Fātiḥah* and indeed other Taḥmīds.

The *Fātiḥah*'s most prominent extra-Qur'ānic context is the *ṣalāh*, the Muslim ritual prayer, which it beautifully contextualizes. Each practising individual recites it at least seventeen times each day, opening with it each of the seventeen *rak'ats* in the five compulsory prayers. Its import in this context is evident in light of the *Ḥadīth* in *Ṣaḥīḥ-Muslim* (no. 295 and 296) that states that a *ṣalāh* is incomplete, thus unacceptable, if the *Fātiḥah* is not recited. As an encapsulation of the fundamental principles of the Qur'ān, the repeated recitation of the seven compact verses is a reassertion and acceptance of these primary tenets of belief and a reaffirmation of the relation with God. Similarly, the recitation of even the most conventional Taḥmīd is an affirmation of Islamic identity and of belief in its principles.

As a supplication (*du'ā*), it is the praise and invocation in the first half of the *sūrah* that paves the way for the plea that follows (1:5-7)⁴³. Al-Kulaynī on the authority of the Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq states that every *du'ā* that does not begin with a Taḥmīd is incomplete, literally amputated⁴⁴. Another tradition referred to Ja'far al-Ṣādiq in al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *al-Majālis wa al-Musā'irāt* (pp. 293-294), states that the Imām was asked to show the questioner a model prayer, a prayer that God could not refuse. The Imām told him to do much *ḥamd* and then pray; every single Muslim, every single night and day, is praying 'may God listen to him who offers *ḥamd*' (*sami' Allāh li man ḥamidah*). Based on this ritual practice the *ḥamd* and *du'ā* are also inextricably linked.

The rationality of *ḥamd* before supplication becomes apparent if we consider the dual definition of *ḥamd*: praise (*thanā'* or *madḥ*), and gratitude (*shukr*). Just as the poet

⁴³ Sperl (1994, p. 214) convincingly argues for the division of *al-Fātiḥah* in two equal parts, the first an invocation and the second a petition.

⁴⁴ Cited in al-Gharawī (1982, p. 13) from al-Kulaynī, *Uṣūl al-Kāfi*. A similar tradition, replacing *du'ā* with *kull amr*, attributed to the Prophet, is cited in chapter- II (p.53).

praises the *mamdūh* before seeking his favour in classical *qasīdahs*, the worshipper praises the Almighty before seeking his mercy and grace. Drawing upon the custom of saying God listens to those who praise Him (*sami‘ Allāh liman ḥamidah*), this Taḥmīd by Syedna Taher Saifuddin articulates the intimate connection between *ḥamd* and *du‘ā’* (*Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1360H, p. 4):

والحمد لله السامع لكل داع حمده دعاءه، المألي لكل أمل أملة وعاءه،

The *Fātiḥah* thus sets the trend not only for openings to be followed by a prayer but also for *du‘ā’s* in the Islamic tradition to be begun by a Taḥmīd.

As the archetype of Islamic prayer, the *Fātiḥah* is naturally compared with the Christian Lord’s Prayer (*Paternoster*)⁴⁵. Though the Lord’s Prayer does not feature as prominently in the New-Testament as the *Fātiḥah* does in the Qur’ān, its status in Christian liturgy is comparable. Both prayers represent the Muslim and Christian identity respectively. Both share a common structure: glorification of the Divine followed by supplication. In terms of content, both invoke the name of God, celebrate His kingdom, and praise His mercy before petitioning for His aide. Sperl (1994, p. 220) and Babs Mala (1984) draw attention to the similarities in the two prayers arguing that both emanate from one (common) liturgical tradition.

The association of *ḥamd* and *du‘ā’* in the Islamic tradition, and the role of the *Fātiḥah* in establishing that connection, is evident. Even when *du‘ā’* is not the prime objective, a number of Taḥmīds are followed by a prayer for the addressee or audience. The *khutbah* Taḥmīd is often followed by a prayer for the congregation. The short *du‘ā’* for the recipient, following the address and conventional Taḥmīd, is found in many chancery and non-chancery documents⁴⁶. The later *Majālis* format and the Fatimid-Tayyibī *risālahs* also contain a *du‘ā’* for listeners after the Taḥmīd and address⁴⁷. When *du‘ā’* is the prime purpose the Taḥmīd acts as the opening that leads into an often lengthy supplication⁴⁸. While further discussion of the prayers beginning with Taḥmīd is

⁴⁵ For a more detailed analysis and comparison see Sperl (1994) and Babs Mala (1984). Ayoub (2004) also presents a brief comparison. Others, such as Jeffery (1998), suggest that it was simply a Muslim attempt to counter the Christian Prayer.

⁴⁶ See for example Appendix-2:65.

⁴⁷ See for example Appendix-4: 15 and 174.

⁴⁸ One illustrative example is this *du‘ā’* attributed to ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-‘Ābidīn, recited at the beginning of Ramaḍān in *Al-Ṣaḥīfah al-Sajjādiyyah*. The following is an excerpt from its Taḥmīd:

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لحمده وجعلنا من اهله لنكون لإحسانه من الشاكرين، وليجزينا على ذلك جزاء المحسنين،
والحمد لله الذي حبانا بدينه واختصنا بملته وسبلنا في سبل إحسانه، لنسلكها بمنه إلى رضوانه، حمدا يتقبله منا،

tempting, it is perhaps a project for another time and place. Suffice to it to conclude here that the *Fātiḥah*, the introduction of the Qur'ān, is also the prototypical prayer.

Apart from prayer the *Fātiḥah* also introduces an infinite number of contexts: formal and informal, joyous and sombre and religious and secular. A tradition attributed to the Prophet states that every matter, *kull amr*, that is not begun by the *ḥamd* of God is *aqta'*, literally severed⁴⁹. Muslim weddings, funerals, conclusion of contracts, visit to tombs (*ziyārah*) almost always include the recitation of the *Fātiḥah* at the beginning and end. Through the recitation of the *Fātiḥah*, the specific context is related to God and located within the larger scheme of His creation.

What I wish to emphasize here is that apart from the ability of the *Fātiḥah*, and by extension Taḥmīds, to contextualize the main themes of the text they introduce, which is of course an essential function, they are able to achieve relevance for the individual in an array of contexts, as a result of implicit relations and associations that are perceived. Through these associations, different verses stand out in different contexts in a different light. The ability of the *Fātiḥah* in creating a community of these individuals sharing similar relations befits the practice of ritual prayer, births, marriages and funerals which are all occasions in which communities come together. It is this ability of the *Fātiḥah* to encapsulate the principles of such a rich text, to anticipate the entirety of the Qur'ān, and at the same time contextualize such a broad variety of contexts, which is indeed the source of its, and by extension the Taḥmīd's, literary value. On most of these occasions, the recitation is vocal and often collective. This brings us to the final section of this chapter which highlights the necessity of appreciating both the oral and written aspects of *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* and of all Taḥmīds.

***Fātiḥah* and 'Hybridity': Oral and Written**

The *Fātiḥah* is the archetype of Taḥmīd not only in substance and function as discussed above, but, also in style and performance. To fully appreciate the *Fātiḥah* it is vital to recognize that it is a simultaneously oral and written text, or as I call it, a 'hybrid' text. I

ويرضى به عنا، والحمد لله الذي جعل من تلك السبل شهره شهر رمضان، وشهر الاسلام، وشهر الطهور،
وشهر التمحيص وشهر القيام، {الذي أنزل فيه القرآن، هدى للناس وبينات من الهدى والفرقان}،...

⁴⁹ *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, no. 1884.

use the term hybridity in order to stress that both aspects, the oral and the written, are an essential part of the *Fātiḥah*. Both are important but not independent. Typically it is the written aspect that is focused upon⁵⁰, ignoring or sidelining the oral tradition⁵¹. This is not to say that the written is not important; it is the written text that allows us to actually study the text⁵². The point is that an analysis of the *Fātiḥah* without considering its orality is incomplete. It is only through a consciousness of this hybridity of oral and written that the true impact and meaning of the *Fātiḥah* can be understood. It is also this hybridity that to a large extent shapes the stylistic (and even substantive) characteristics of the *Fātiḥah* and the development of Taḥmīds.

To begin with, in its Qur'ānic context, the oral aspect of the *Fātiḥah* is paramount. A number of observations relating to the orality of the Qur'ān also apply to the *Fātiḥah*. Graham (1986, p.79) argues that the Qur'ān was a text revealed orally and despite being inscribed fairly early on, its orality has remained dominant ever since:

In Muslim piety, however, the written word of its scripture has always been secondary to a strong tradition of oral transmission and aural presence of scripture that far surpasses that of Judaic or Christian usage. In Islam, the functions of the holy book as an oral text have predominated over its functions as a written or printed one ... from first to last the Koran is essentially a book to be heard, not read.

He further argues that the word Qur'ān derives from the root *q r '*, to read or recite, corroborated by an analysis of the context in which the word is used (pp. 88-89). He adds that the experience of a great majority of people with texts, including the Qur'ān, as late as the 19th century remained predominantly oral (p. 32 and 36). Even after literacy became more common, the recitation of the Qur'ān continued not because of illiteracy but because of the inescapable connection between the oral and the written text. The

⁵⁰ This script-fixation is explained by Ong (1988, p.10) as a consequence of our cynographic culture. We cannot help but think in terms of a written text. The culture the Qur'ān initially emanated from, however, was predominantly oral and remained residually oral until the very recent past. Even today Muslims regularly experience the oral Qur'ān. It is important to keep this change of culture in mind with the *Fātiḥah* and the Taḥmīd in general, since they are predominantly a product of a residually-oral culture. Especially so, since as Graham (1986, p.14) notes, a shift from oral to written results in cultural changes and with it a 'reorientation of thought'.

⁵¹ There are clearly some exceptions. Graham (1986) and Jones (1996) argue for the necessity to appreciate the oral aspect of the Qur'ān. Sells (2004) and Hajjaji-Jarrah (2004) interpret *sūrat al-Qadr* and *al-ʿAdiyāt* respectively through a reading based on the orality of the *sūrah*s focusing on the relationship between sound and meaning. As far as the *Fātiḥah* is concerned, only Sperl (1994, p. 218), briefly comments on the phonology of the *sūrah* with respect to meaning.

⁵² Goody (1977, p.37) argues that writing favoured the increase in the scope of critical activity. Ong (1988, pp. 8-9) also contends that it is literacy that makes 'study' possible. "Abstractly sequential, classificatory, explanatory examination of phenomena or of stated truths is impossible without writing and reading".

memorization and recitation of the Arabic text of the Qur'ān or parts of it, even by non-Arab Muslims, is very much connected with the understanding that the true meaning of the Qur'ān is associated with its Arabic words, which are in turn inseparable from the effect and nature of the oral sound patterns that are generated.

That there is an art devoted to the recitation of the Qur'ān, *tajwīd*, in which the nuances of the sound patterns are accentuated, further substantiates the overwhelming orality of the Qur'ān including the *Fātiḥah*⁵³. It is an art to which, undoubtedly, the *sūrah* is well suited and through which its meaning is enhanced, its listeners are engaged and its full beauty is manifest. The effect of silent-reading on the one hand and listening to an artful *tajwīd* recitation on the other cannot be compared. Further, the variety in intonations in the recitations to suit different contexts cannot be compared either. The impact of the *sūrah* in *tartīl* for instance is very different from *tajwīd*. The ability of the reciter to stress certain verses over others, the choice of stops and the tone of the recitation all modify the experience of the audience. It is through the recitation that the parallelism and *saj'* have their full impact. This recitation is by no means a thing of the past. If anything, through recordings and the spread of radios and players, to hear *tajwīd* in homes, in cars and on the streets even, is quite common in Islamic nations. At the same time the traditional live recitations also continue to draw large crowds.

The orality of the *Fātiḥah* is not limited to the Qur'ānic context, but rather pervades the various other contexts referred to earlier. In the congregational *ṣalāh*, the individual leading the prayer recites the *Fātiḥah* aloud. In the *ziyārah* it is often recited aloud collectively or individually. In funerals and weddings it is recited aloud often by a professional *qāri'*. It is recited as a talisman to cure or protect. In the beginning of speeches it is naturally also recited aloud. The practice of all those present reciting the *Fātiḥah*, often aloud, after hearing the word '*al-Fātiḥah*' at the end of gatherings, is a customary occurrence.

What this signifies is that the experience of the audience with the Qur'ān and the *Fātiḥah* is principally an oral performative experience. The collective recitation in particular engages the listeners as a community, supporting one of the substantive functions of the *Fātiḥah*. The impact of the *tajwīd* recitation above all is highly

⁵³ An interesting parallel may be drawn between the art of *tajwīd*, which essentially accentuates the audible sounds of the Qur'ān and the art of calligraphy and illumination which tries to achieve a similar visual impact.

mouldable according to context, bringing variety to a text that otherwise remains static on the page. This view of the *Fātiḥah* as a hybrid text offers an insight into the rhetorical dynamics by which the *Fātiḥah* and hybrid texts in general convey meaning from an authorial perspective, as well as, into the dynamics of the perception of meaning and impact from the listeners' perspective.

Ong (1988, pp. 21-23) argues that style is dictated by orality. The formulaic patterns of the *Fātiḥah*, its mnemonic phrases and its end-rhymes are all devices that are characteristic of oral or residually oral cultures. The formulas and patterns are important for the survival of ideas. The *Fātiḥah* is thus unsurprisingly full of formulae that ease its memorization. "Formulas help implement rhythmic discourse and also act as mnemonic aids in their own right, as set expressions circulating through the mouths and ears of all" (p. 35). The phrases are mostly short and what Ong calls 'additive' and 'aggregative': consisting of parallel terms, phrases, clauses antithetical integers and epithets (p. 39). The first two can be seen in the *Fātiḥah* and all are quite common in Taḥmīds in general. However, rather than simply being 'aggregative baggage' to ease memorization, especially in the case of Taḥmīds, I believe that each 'aggregate' adds value. The adjectives and nouns in verses 1:2-4 are all nouns and adjectives describing God, but each is carefully chosen and has its specific contribution. *Raḥmān* and *Raḥīm* are perhaps stressed in a recitation in one context while *mālik yawm al-dīn* is stressed in another. Different words or descriptions evoke distinct associations in the listener's mind. The use of aggregative, or sometimes even synonymous, words also addresses a reality of oral presentation wherein one member of the audience may be unfamiliar with one word but familiar with one of its synonyms.

The patterning also gives rise to end-rhymes that, in addition to marking the *fawāsil* where reciters often pause, assist in the appreciation of meaning, piece by piece. The type of rhyme, whether it is long vowel such as *ūn* or *īn*, or an abrupt one such as the guttural *ḥa*, determines the effect on the audience's mood⁵⁴. The former subdues the

⁵⁴ See Hajjaji-Jarrah's (2004) discussion of the end-rhymes and phonetic patterns in *sūrat al-ʿAdiyāt*, in particular, the change from the energy of the gutturals *ḥā* and *ʿā* in the beginning to the subdued and emotive *ūd*, *īd* and *ūr* near to the end. In a sentence that sums up her understanding of the phonic pattern of the *sūrah* and its effect she states (p. 363):

The suras phonic pattern is a profusion of gutturals, compressed consonants, open syllables and liquids contribute to its impact by offering a 'sound track' to the whole drama. For these sound patterns which are marked by roughness, rumble, vigorous beat, melancholy, solemnity

audience, while the latter excites. The rhythmic patterns are also a device of ‘tacit persuasion’, which is persuasion that is a result of flowing patterns that subconsciously encourage individuals to take to heart the *sūrah*’s message⁵⁵. The *saj*’ units as Stewart calls them, units that are distinguished from other units by a change in rhyme or length of phrases, demarcate stages in the progression of the meaning of the *sūrah*. The first verse constitutes a unit; verses 1:2-4 constitute another unit focused on *ḥamd*; verses 1:5 are a unit by itself highlighting the levels of mediation between mankind and the Divine; and finally verses 1:6-7 constitute a unit focusing on the right path: those who are on it and those gone astray. The transition from the shorter verses at the beginning to the longer ones at the end, especially when stopping at the *fawāṣil*, is orally quite clear. While the short phrases trumpet the glory of God, the length of the final phrase underlines the intensity of the supplication.

Orality has perhaps been over-stressed in this section because the written aspect gets its fair share of attention as a result of our preconditioned 20th century writerly mindset. It is the failure to appreciate the oral aspect that leads to skewed interpretations of the Qur’ān and classical prose as repetitive and full of unnecessary embellishments. The reality is far from it. It is in light of the oral recitation that the true beauty of the rhetorical devices, the functionality of synonymic repetition and parallelism, is manifest.

The awareness of the hybridity of *sūrat al-Fāṭiḥah* enables a holistic analysis. Both aspects, the written and the oral, must be considered as complementary to each other⁵⁶. As Graham articulates:

[In practice, the Qur’ān exhibits the] functional primacy of oral text over the written one, but always alongside it not in competition (p.110)...The facts of the Islamic treatment of scripture should at least cause us to question whether our easy dichotomization of oral word and written word is at all adequate as a way of talking about religious texts, let alone about stages of religious development (p. 111).

and grave sedateness correspond with an atmosphere of tumultuous and explosive chaos, ingratitude, unbelief, subjugation and divine authority.

See also the extraction of meaning from *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H Taḥmīd patterns in chapter-VII, p.281.

⁵⁵ The term ‘tacit persuasion’ is introduced by Lanham (2004) and is discussed further in chapter- IV (p.119).

⁵⁶ The term ‘hybridity’ also suits well the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī perception of the Qur’ān as being *sāmīṭ*, silent and *nāṭiq*, speaking. The former represented by the text of the Qur’ān, the latter by the Imām who speaks its true meaning. This concept is discussed further in chapter-V (p.190). Taḥmīds within the tradition, which contain Qur’ānic quotations also lend themselves to this particular understanding of ‘hybridity’: the surface meaning (the *sāmīṭ*) and the live dynamic meaning (*nāṭiq*).

The stylistic characteristics of the *Fātiḥah* are undoubtedly part of the written text which comes alive when recited. The potential is there in the text which is capitalized by recitation, just as the potential of a light bulb is capitalized by electricity. While the orality determines these stylistic characteristics, a careful study of its mechanism and of its semantics is possible only with the aid of a written text that can be mulled over day and night. Since the *Fātiḥah* is the archetype, the term hybridity, with all its stylistic and experiential implications, can also be applied to the broader Taḥmīd tradition. As the examples of Taḥmīds in *khutbahs* and *risālahs* in the following chapters will show, the hybrid nature, function and stylistic features of the *Fātiḥah* are mirrored by Taḥmīds.

Conclusion

The exclusive adornment of *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* with gold and precious stones in the mausoleum of Syedna Taher Saifuddin (Plate-II), wherein the entire Qur'ān is engraved in marble and inlaid with gold-leaf, and the artistic and reverential illumination of the *sūrah* in Qur'ānic manuscripts, are reflective of the *al-Fātiḥah's* pre-eminence in the Qur'ān and in Islamic praxis. With this in mind, the illumination of Taḥmīds in the beginning of *risālahs* and monographs (Plate-V and VIIIb for example) symbolizes the archetypal position of *sūrat al-Ḥamd* with respect to the function and style of Taḥmīd.



Plate-III

An undated Persian manuscript from the Yale University Library's Near East Collection (http://www.library.yale.edu/ncarcast/4_exhibits/exhibit2007.htm), most likely from the 18th century. The Tahrîd in Arabic in this Persian treatise on verb forms demonstrates the spread of the tradition.

CHAPTER-II

THE DEVELOPMENT AND ENDURANCE OF TAḤMĪD:
THE ROLE OF THE ISLAMIC *KHUTBAH* AND *RISĀLAH*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله، نَحْمَدُهُ وَنَسْتَعِينُهُ، وَنَسْتَغْفِرُهُ وَتَوْبُ إِلَيْهِ، وَنَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ شُرُورِ أَنْفُسِنَا، وَمِنْ سَيِّئَاتِ أَعْمَالِنَا، مَنْ يَهْدِ
اللَّهُ فَلَا مُضِلَّ لَهُ، وَمَنْ يُضِلَّ فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ
وَرَسُولُهُ، أَوْصِيَكُمْ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ، وَأَحْكُمَكُمْ عَلَى طَاعَتِهِ، وَأَسْتَغْنِي بِالَّذِي هُوَ خَيْرٌ، أَمَّا بَعْدُ⁵⁷

Introduction

Outside the Qur'ānic context, the *khutbah* initially, and its illustrious scion the *risālah*, fostered the evolution of the *Tahmīd* tradition. A study of the development of *Tahmīd* is thus inextricably linked with the development of the *khutbah* and *risālah*'s function and style. Both served the purpose of persuading their audience spiritually and politically and used artistic prose to do so. If the *khutbah* was the cradle of the *Tahmīd* tradition, it is in the *risālah* framework that it matured.

I make the distinction in this chapter between what I call the old-*risālah* and the new-*risālah*. The former, roughly prior to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132-3/750-1), was predominantly instructive with a plain register, while the latter, emanating from the *khutbah* tradition functionally and stylistically, was hybrid in nature, with an ornate register, and often sustained a syllogistic argument. Even though the old-*risālah* also had a formal conventional *Tahmīd*, it is in the new-*risālah* that the more elaborate contextualizing *Tahmīds*, that had evolved in the *khutbah*, truly matured. The popularity and vitality of the *risālah* genre within and without the state chancery ever since, have ensured the endurance of the *Tahmīd* tradition.

This chapter argues that the new-*risālah* was inspired by the Islamic *khutbah*, besides the influence of Persian chancery practices, with all its implications for the *Tahmīd* tradition. In espousing the *khutbah*'s function the new-*risālah* also adopted its stylistic and formal features, in particular the *Tahmīd*. The chapter establishes the connection between the *khutbah* and *risālah* before presenting the development of *Tahmīd* in the context of the *khutbah*, the old-*risālah* and the new-*risālah* respectively. Due to the importance of this connection between the *khutbah* and the new-*risālah*, the factors leading to the development of the latter are also briefly presented. The chapter

⁵⁷ The beginning of the Prophet's farewell *khutbah* according to al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān* (p.128).

finally makes a case for the mushrooming of the *risālah* as a genre and its implications for the wide-spread usage of *Tahmīd*.

At the onset, it is vital to define the parameters of this present chapter in terms of the time period it covers and also the types of *khutbahs* and *risālahs* it includes. Only *khutbahs* from the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries will be considered here since they are the most relevant precursors to the new-*risālah*. The *risālahs* examined will range from those composed in the first century of Islam to those written in Fatimid times. Fatimid *risālahs* are included because they directly influence the case study being presented in this thesis. Additionally, due to the versatility of the genre and the large variety of writings that embraced the term *risālah*, as will be discussed later in this chapter, only those emanating from the state chancery are considered.

A note must also be made here regarding the authenticity of primary sources cited in this study. The absence of original records of *khutbahs* and *risālahs* from the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries has made it impossible to verify their authenticity with absolute certainty. This does not mean, however, that the whole corpus of early material is fabricated. While there may be insertions and fabrications, a large portion of the texts that have reached us is likely to be authentic⁵⁸. Additionally, the findings in this chapter are based on a broad spectrum of samples and draw conclusions that are applicable genre-wide and not idiosyncratic to particular *khutbahs* or *risālahs*. The question of the authenticity of individual texts is therefore, in this case, inconsequential because even those that were fabricated attempted to emulate the stylistic and formal features of 'genuine' *risālahs*, including the *Tahmīd*.

The *Khutbah* – *Risālah* Connection

The genealogy of the new-*risālah*, in terms of its function and style, can be traced back to the early Islamic *khutbah*. While scholars of Arabic literature have spared no effort in emphasizing the Persian and Greek influence in the development of Artistic Arabic prose,

⁵⁸ The authenticity of the majority of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's *risālahs* which are considered in this chapter, has been argued for by al-Qāḍī (1989). Many of her conclusions can also be applied to other documents from the early period. With regard to the letters of the Prophet, Serjeant (1983) also argues for their authenticity, with the exception of those written to foreign monarchs.

(*inshā*'), which is a hallmark of the new-*risālah*, the more immediate Arab precedent of the *khutbah* has scarcely been mentioned and deserves more attention⁵⁹.

The influence of the *khutbah* in the development of the new-*risālah* is unmistakable in terms of its style and is emphasized by mediaeval rhetoricians. A direct link is established by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, the *kātib* who is seen as the founder of *inshā*'. When asked about the source of his eloquence, he replied saying that it was the result of memorizing the words of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, the master orator whose *khutbahs* were later compiled as *Nahj al-Balāghah*⁶⁰. Al-Naḥḥās, the author of *'Umdat al-Kuttāb*, a 4th/10th century chancery manual, sees a mastery of *khaṭābah*⁶¹ as one of the most important prerequisites for any *kātib* (p. 387)⁶². He also states that it is on the template of *khaṭābah* that *kitābah* was 'weaved' and it is the path of the orators, that writers tread⁶³. Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī in his chancery manual *kitāb al-Ṣinā'atayn* (p. 142) lists the similarities between the *khutbah* and *risālah*: firstly, he states, both are unrestricted by a metre (*wazn*) or a mono-rhyme (*qāfiyah*). Secondly, both employ simple and sweet, easy to understand words. Thirdly, both are structured with *fawāṣil*, referring to the strategic stops that provide rhythm. The only difference he sees is that the *khutbah* is spontaneously read aloud while the *risālah* is written. He concludes emphatically, stating that a *risālah* may be made into a *khutbah* and a *khutbah* may be converted to a *risālah* with the least effort⁶⁴.

The kinship of the *khutbah* and *risālah* is even closer as far as the introductory *Tahmīd* is concerned. Al-Qalqashandī (p. 92) plainly states that the *khutbahs* are an integral part of writing because chancery *kātib*s require them especially for the

⁵⁹ Latham (1983, p. 177), Roemer "Inshā'" *ELI2*, Grignaschi (1966), Hallden (2005, p. 30) stress the Persian and Greek influence in the development of Arabic Prose. The only scholar who draws the connection between the *khutbah* and the new-*risālah* is 'Abbās (1988, pp.134-136). T. Qutbuddin (2008, p. 176) quotes al-Jahīz, *al-Bayān*, in which he stresses the uniqueness and originality of the Arabic *khutbah*. The Persians, he states, are the only ones other than the Arabs who have any comparable oration. However, while the Persian oration is based on long contemplation and the study of books, the Arabs' speech "is all extemporaneity and spontaneity, as though it is [simply] inspiration".

⁶⁰ This incident is narrated by al-Jahshiyārī (p. 82) and cited by 'Abbās (1988, p. 55).

⁶¹ *Khaṭābah* is the verbal-noun of *khaṭaba*, which denotes the act and art of oratory. The word is also often synonymously used with *balāghah*. In *Lisān al-'Arab* and Lane *khiṭābah* denotes the office of the preacher. However, in modern times the distinction between *khaṭābah* and *khiṭābah* has become hazy and lexicons of Modern Standard Arabic such as Hans-Wehr also define *khiṭābah* as oration and rhetoric. For a detailed discussion of these terms see T. Qutbuddin (2008, pp.180-184).

⁶² Al-Qalqashandī also discusses this issue at length (pp.85-92).

⁶³ Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 85).

وعلى منوال الخطابة نسجت الكتابة، وعلى طريق الخطباء. مشئت الكتاب،

⁶⁴ Also qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 85).

beginnings (*ṣudūr*) of important correspondence. That the Taḥmīds of monographs are to this day called *khutbat al-kitāb* is demonstrative of the *khutbah*'s role in consolidating the tradition. It is therefore not possible to follow the evolution of Taḥmīd exclusive of the context of the *khutbah*, in which it developed. An understanding of the function and objective of the *khutbah*, which the *risālah* came to share, is necessary in order to appreciate the role the Taḥmīd played.

The Early Islamic *Khutbah* and its Beginnings

The function of the *khutbah* as a means to arouse the audience emotionally in the tribal context of pre-Islamic Arabia is generally accepted⁶⁵. In the early Islamic period it continued to flourish; the functionality of the *khutbah* as the medium of mass-communication not only for political persuasion and impact, as used to be the case in pre-Islamic times, but also for spiritual persuasion and impact, was vital⁶⁶. The Taḥmīd greatly enhanced the authority of these *khutbahs* and contributed in the persuasion process itself.

Although pre-Islamic Arabia is more famous for its great poetry, there is no doubt that a tradition of *khaṭābah* thrived as well. It is attested by philological sources of *ḥadīth* as well as Arabists⁶⁷. Al-Qalqashandī (p. 85) makes the claim that what the Arabs spoke of as ornate prose (*jayyid al-manthūr*) and dual parallelistic speech (*muzdawaj al-kalām*), was far more than what was metric poetry (*mawzūn*), except that much more poetry remains solely because it was easier to memorize and was constantly repeated, while the

⁶⁵ Pedersen, "Khaṭīb" *EI2* asserts that the orator was "the spokesman of the tribe". One of the fighting knights and nobles, he was responsible for "extol[ling] the glorious deeds and the noble qualities of his tribe and to narrate them in perfect language and to be able likewise to expose the weaknesses of his opponents".

⁶⁶ The persuasive power and purpose of the *khutbah* is also argued for by Sah (2000) and T. Qutbuddin (2008, p.177).

⁶⁷ For references to pre-Islamic *khutbahs* see Pellat "Quss b. Sā'ida" *EI2* (he also refers to a *Ḥadīth* in which Muhammad recites a famous *khutbah* by Quss in 'Ukāz); al-Qalqashandī (p.85 —a *khutbah*, with echoes of Quss's famous oration, attributed to Ka'b b. Lu'ay, Muhammad's great grandfather, in which he foretells the advent of a great Prophet.); Safwat (1985, vol. 1, no. 49 p. 76—quotes a *khutbah* from al-'Iqd al-Farīd, attributed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, Muhammad's grandfather, congratulating Sayf b. Dhī Yazan on his victory); al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān* (pp. 90-91—the author refers to and quotes Quss b. Sā'dah and another al-Faḍl b. 'Isā al-Rashāqī, whom he describes as the 'best orator'. Al-Jāhiz says that he intended to list the names of all pre-Islamic orators, but only mentions some of them and quotes the words they were best known for); Serjeant (1983, p.118, 123 and 127-128—refers to the pre-Islamic orator Arethas or Hārith b. Ka'b, the orations of the *kāhins*, soothsayers and priests known for their oratorical pronouncement of judgments for cases that were referred to them and the orations of Musaylimah al-Kadhdhāb); Wensinck, "Khuṭbah"; T. Qutbuddin (2008, p.191) presents a comprehensive typology of pre-Islamic and early-Islamic *khutbahs*.

khutbah was not. He wittily states that only ten percent of the *khutbahs* were remembered and only ten percent of poetry was forgotten. *Khutbahs* were possibly as abundant as the *jahiliyyah qasīdahs*.

It is highly likely that even prior to the advent of Islam some kind of formal beginning for orations existed. Although very few pre-Islamic *khutbahs* survive, several points give credence to this proposition. C.H. Becker and Mittwoch have tried to establish a link between Muslim festivals and rituals and Christian and Jewish ones respectively. Mittwoch interestingly claims that he finds features in Jewish liturgy corresponding to the *adhān*, *iqāmah* and most importantly the *ḥamdalah*⁶⁸. Additionally, considering that the tribes of Mecca had standardized beginnings for their treaties such as *bismika Allāhum* referred to earlier, and since the *kuhhān* (the religious guides) were famous for their orations, it is likely that on account of their position they began with an invocation. Medieval sources also hint at the existence of a *ḥamd* beginning prior to Islam. Al-Qalqashandī (p.85) states that Arab chiefs, those who were known for their standing and virtues, regularly stood as orators (*khaṭībs*) in the midst of their people, and, crucially, began by offering thanks to God and praising Him, “*fa yaḥmad Allāh wa yuthnī ‘alayh*”. Following this beginning, they would engage in the subject of the *khutbah* whether it was homiletic, boasting, peacemaking or marriage.

The most famous of pre-Islamic Arab orators, Quss b. Sā‘idah is credited by some as being the first to use the phrase *ammā ba’d* in his *khutbahs*. It follows that if there is an *ammā ba’d*, there is quite likely an *ammā qabl*⁶⁹. Thus it is highly probable that a conventional beginning for pre-Islamic *khutbahs* existed though its precise nature is unfortunately unclear. It is possible that it praised and invoked the pagan Gods of the *jahiliyyah* and, in the Pre-Islamic *khutbahs* that do survive, these sections may have been elided to suit Muslim monotheistic sensibilities.

⁶⁸ Cited in Wensinck, “Khutbah”, *ELZ*.

⁶⁹ T. Qutbuddin (2008, p. 207) also supports this contention. It must be noted however that in many of the later chancery documents, the more elaborate Taḥmīd actually follows *ammā ba’d*. In these, the *ammā ba’d* actually refers to the address and *taṣdīr*, a short conventional *risālah* Taḥmīd. See for instance ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s Taḥmīd no.26-27. In one example in “*Risālat li al-Ṣulṭān Khaṭṭāb*”, (Appendix-4:126) in *Majmū‘*, vol. II, the author actually places *ammā qabl* before the Taḥmīd and *ammā ba’d* after it.

The only example of a pre-Islamic *khutbah* *Tahmīd*, cited often by historians, is attributed to Abū-Ṭālib the Prophet's uncle, delivered on Muhammad's marriage with Khadījah:

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من زرع إبراهيم، وذرية إسماعيل، وجعل لنا بلداً حراماً، وبيتاً محجوباً، وجعلنا
الحكام على الناس. ثم إن محمد بن عبد الله ابن أخي، من لا يؤازر به قتي من قرش إلا رجح عليه براً
وفضلاً، وكرماً وعقلاً، ومجداً ونبلًا. وإن كان في المال قل، فإنما المال ظل زائل، وعارية مُسرَّجعة، وله في
خديجة بنت خويلد رغبة، ولها فيه مثل ذلك، وما أحببتم من الصداق فعلي⁷⁰

The *Tahmīd* clearly places Muhammad in the line of the Prophets Abraham and Ismā'īl, implying that he was a monotheist. It also associates Muhammad's family with the *Ka'bah* which is said to have been built by Abraham, and which becomes the centre of Islamic worship. It additionally establishes them as the leaders of community. All this counters the accusations that are directly dealt with in the latter part of the *khutbah* regarding Muhammad's financial status. It creates a strong impression of his persona. The reference to 'progeny' (*dhurriyyah*) and 'fruit' (*zar'*), puts into context one of the ultimate purposes of marriage, the continuation of the Prophetic line. From the perspective of Fatimid theology, this reference is all the more poignant considering that Fāṭimah was the fruit of this marriage to Khadījah, through which the line of Imāmate continues, with a direct link to Muhammad. While it is not possible to verify the authenticity of this *khutbah* beyond doubt, as mentioned above, the convention of praise-preambles most likely did exist. Additionally, the *khutbah* is cited in a great many sources. If it is indeed authentic, it provides one of the earliest examples of the introductory *Tahmīd*, charged with underlying allusions, precursor to a tradition that was continued and developed by the Prophet and early Islamic orators.

The guidelines pertaining to the beginning of Islamic *khutbahs* must be deciphered from the samples of early *khutbahs* available to us and pieces of information supplied by traditions of the Prophet, critics such as al-Jahīz in *al-Bayān wa al-tabyīn* and other

⁷⁰ No. 50 in Şafwat (1985, p.77), who cites it from *Subh*, *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, *Tahdhīb al-Kāmil* and *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*. It is also cited by a number of other authors in various contexts. These include Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharh* (p.1470), al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-Balāghah* (p. 271) and *al-Kashshāf* (p. 217), al-Bāqillānī, *I'jāz* (p. 47), al-Mubarrad, *al-Kāmil* (p. 302), Ibn al-Jawzī, *al-Muntaẓim* (p.232) and al-Qalqashandī (p.86). There are minor variations in the versions of this *khutbah* in these sources.

chancery manuals which comment on the *khutbah*⁷¹. These collectively confirm to us the necessity of beginning Islamic *khutbahs* with *Tahmīd*. The beginnings of these orations are either the standard version of the *khutbah* *Tahmīd*, described below, or contextual adaptations and expansions of it, which greatly aided the objective of persuasion.

Islamic *khutbahs* display from the very onset a relatively standardized *Tahmīd* beginning. This consisted of a *basmalah*, *ḥamd*, *subḥānah*, *istiʿānah*, *istighfār*, *shahādah* (of Unity of God and Prophethood of Muhammad), *ṣalawāt*, and *waṣiyyah*. The first four components are clearly reminiscent of *sūrat al-Fātiḥah*.

It is very common to have *khutbahs* cited with the words 'he praised Allāh and then said' (*ḥamid Allāh wa athnā ʿalayh thumma qāl*). The probability is that these *khutbahs* began with the standard *Tahmīd* or that the beginning was not remembered, for one reason or the other by the individual who related it. What these words make certain is that beginning with *Tahmīd* was a standard practice.

The *Tahmīds* of the Prophet's *khutbahs* are considered archetypal. Two medieval critics, Ibn Qutaybah (d. 276/889; *Uyūn*, p. 221) and al-Naḥḥās (d. 338/950; pp. 388-389) both, with minor discrepancies, present what they believe to be the most common beginning of the Prophet's *khutbahs*:

تَبَعْتُ خُطْبَ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ، فَوَجَدْتُ أَوَائِلَ أَكْثَرِهَا: "الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ نَحْمَدُهُ وَنَسْتَغِيثُهُ وَنُؤْمِنُ بِهِ وَتَوَكَّلُ عَلَيْهِ وَنَسْتَغْفِرُهُ وَتُوبُ إِلَيْهِ وَنَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ شُرُورِ أَنْفُسِنَا وَمِنْ سَيِّئَاتِ أَعْمَالِنَا، مَنْ يَهْدِهِ اللَّهُ فَلَا مُضِلَّ لَهُ، وَمَنْ يَضِلَّ فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ" وَوَجَدْتُ فِي بَعْضِهَا "أَوْصِيَكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ، وَأَحْسَنِكُمْ عَلَى طَاعَتِهِ"، وَوَجَدْتُ كُلَّ خُطْبَةٍ مِفْتَاحَهَا الْحَمْدُ، إِلَّا خُطْبَةَ الْعِيدِ فَإِنَّ مِفْتَاحَهَا التَّكْوِينُ،

Al-Naḥḥās's version also includes the proclamation of Muhammad's Prophethood. Noticeably, the *ṣalawāt* is not present here. While it is not known when it was added, in later medieval *khutbahs* it is consistently included (e.g. Appendix-2:27-33). The famous *khutbah* thought to have been delivered by Muhammad in the farewell pilgrimage also begins with this standard *Tahmīd*, a version of which is quoted at the beginning of this

⁷¹ A guidebook for Friday and 'īd *khutbahs*, *Adab al-Khaṭīb*, was written by Ibn al-ʿAttār (d. 724/1324) laying out in detail the formal and thematic rules. A number of Arabic scholars writing on *Khaṭābah* in the twenty first century briefly state that the *Tahmīd* beginning was an Islamic innovation, not to be found in *khutbahs* of the *Jāhiliyyah* (this is however contrary to al-Qalqashandī's view mentioned above). Also see Ḥawī (1970, pp. 18, 53-64 and 72-74), Mūsā (1978, p. 26), Shalabī (1981, pp. 23-60 and 174-200) and Abū Zahrah (1980, pp. 97-100).

chapter⁷². The standard beginning cited here includes the primary components that constituted the *Tahmīd* in orations and also in written texts for centuries. The *basmalah* is not written explicitly by Ibn Qutaybah, but one assumes, because of the widespread usage, that it was pronounced. The *ḥamd*, in this case simple and straightforward, follows. In many *khutbahs* this component was the prime location for variety and contextualization.

The custom of beginning with *Tahmīd* is also attested in traditions attributed to Muhammad. The following are a few samples of such traditions. This tradition is related on the authority of Jābir b. ‘Abd-Allāh in *Musnad-Aḥmad* (no.14455) and *Ṣaḥīḥ-Muslim* (no.1435):

... كَانَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (صَلَعَمْ) يَقُومُ فَيَخْطُبُ فَيُحَمِّدُ اللَّهَ وَيُبْنِي عَلَيْهِ بِمَا هُوَ أَهْلُهُ وَيَقُولُ مَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَلَا مُضِلَّ لَهُ وَمَنْ يُضِلَّ فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ. . .⁷³

Although the tradition does not describe the nature of the *Tahmīd* it establishes that the Prophets' orations began with the praise of God. Al-Naḥḥās cites the following tradition in the context of his discussion on *khata'bah*:

رَوَى عَنْ النَّبِيِّ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ . . . قَالَ: كُلُّ أَمْرٍ ذِي بَالٍ لَا تَبْدَأُ فِيهِ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ أَفْطَحَ

This tradition is very forceful in that it applies to 'all matters that are important' (*kull amr dhī bāl*)⁷⁴. Such a tradition gives us an idea as to why the tradition of beginning with *Tahmīd* did not remain restricted to orations but rather transferred to the *risālahs* and *kull amr dhī bāl*. Another tradition worth noting is pertaining to the *shahādah*, which is also an integral part of the *Tahmīd*. It is related in *Musnad-Aḥmad* (no.7675) on the authority of Abū Hurayrah:

⁷² The farewell *khutbah* is quoted by numerous historians including Ibn Ishāq, al-Wāqidī and al-Ṭabarī. The version quoted here is from al-Jaḥīz, *al-Bayān* (p. 128). Serjeant (1983, p. 122) states that "no reason has appeared to doubt that Muhammad even delivered a "Farewell" oration during the Pilgrimage, but patently signs of political ideas of a later age, coupled with internal and external contradictions largely discredit the attribution of much of the extant versions to the Prophet". However, since the *Tahmīd* in this case is standard without any specific political ideas attached, it is likely that it is original, even if the rest was modified.

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⁷⁴ Another interesting tradition related in *Ṣaḥīḥ-Muslim*, no. 1436, is about an incident when a *ḍimmā*, one who cures people who are affected by 'the [evil] wind' came to Mecca and heard the pagans of Mecca saying that Muhammad was mad. The healer thought to himself that perhaps he could heal Muhammad. He then approached the Prophet who recited the standard *Tahmīd* cited above. Upon hearing this, the healer asked him to repeat the lines. Muhammad repeated the lines thrice. Finally, the healer said that he had heard the words of the *kāhins*, the words of the magicians and the words of the poets, but never had he heard words such as these. He then requested the Prophet to take his oath and accepted Islam for himself and for his people.

... قَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ (صَلَّمَ) كُلُّ خُطْبَةٍ لَيْسَ فِيهَا شَهَادَةٌ كَالْيَدِ الْجَذْمَاءِ

These and other similar traditions suggest that the Prophet consciously encouraged the use of the *ḥamdalah* and *shahādah* and played a fundamental role in establishing the tradition of beginning with *Tahmīd*.

But perhaps the point that is most expressive of the gravity of the obligation to begin with *Tahmīd* is the disdainful reference to those orators who began their *khutbahs* without it. Al-Jāhīz reports that Ziyād Ibn Abīhi the *wālī* of Basrah delivered a *khutbah* that came to be called the *batrā'* because he did not begin with the traditional *ḥamdalah* and did not beseech blessings on the Prophet⁷⁵. *Batrā'*, literally signifying severed or cut off, is also defined in *al-Muhīt* as the term applying to *khutbahs* starting without the *Tahmīd*.

In an interesting segment in *al-Bayān* (p. 120) in the beginning of the second section of his work, after a concise *Tahmīd*, al-Jāhīz refers to the disdain of the people of eloquence and the early orators for *khutbahs* that did not begin with the glorification of God and *ṣalawāt*. He further shares incidents when perfectly eloquent and effective *khutbahs* were considered wanting because they lacked the *Tahmīd*. In this context he justifies his decision to begin with *Tahmīd*, as it will not only protect his text from the slanderous and repulsive title, *batrā'*, but will increase its beauty and draw the hearts of people to select it. This demonstrates the desire of authors to follow the precedent set forth by the Prophet and early orators and their fear to digress from the norm. It is this desire and fear that fueled the transference of the *Tahmīd* from its genesis in the *khutbah* to its evolution into the beginning of all that is 'noteworthy' (*dhī bāl*).

The standard *khutbah* *Tahmīd* established the core framework for further expansion and development. Depending on the context of the *khutbah* and the ability of the author, *khutbah* praise-preambles displayed much variety. The standard *khutbah* *Tahmīd* also became, with a few alterations, the framework which was used for the *Tahmīd* in spoken and written prose in general. While the standard *Tahmīd* was a source of authority for the orator and oration, the more elaborate *Tahmīd* also became a tool in setting up the frame of reference that would assist the speaker in persuading his audience.

⁷⁵ *Al-Bayān* (p.138). *Khutbahs* that do not contain a *shahādah* are similarly called *jadhīmā'* and those that do not include the *ṣalawāt* are called *shawhā'*.

The objective of many of the *khutbahs* of the Prophet and early leaders of the Islamic community was political and spiritual persuasion and impact. In a tradition in *Musnad-Aḥmad* (no. 11114), it is said that the Prophet's festival *khutbahs* usually consisted of the command to participate in some mission or expedition. This *Ḥadīth*, coupled with other examples of the Prophet's *khutbahs*, confirms the objective of political persuasion in Muhammad's orations. The difference with pre-Islamic *khutbahs*, however, is that political persuasion is not based on extolling the nobility of the tribe (*tafākhur*), rather it is based on theological precepts that arouse Islamic sensibilities, an objective that the *Tahmīd* fulfilled. So any political persuasion is, simultaneously, spiritual persuasion. Preaching, according to Jones (2004, p.189) was the Prophet's primary instrument of conversion, and in the ritualized Friday sermons⁷⁶, the assertion of his spiritual and political authority was a regular theme. Thus most *khutbahs* are a combination of both political and spiritual persuasion.

The following *Tahmīd*, from a *khutbah* said to have been delivered by the Prophet on the first Friday he was in Medina, is an example of the use and utility of the praise-preamble in political and spiritual persuasion.

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ أَحْمَدُهُ وَأَسْتَعِينُهُ، وَأَسْتَغْفِرُهُ وَأَسْتَهْدِيهِ، وَأُؤَمِّنُ بِهِ وَلَا أَكْفُرُهُ، وَأُعَادِي مَنْ يَكْفُرُهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ، أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَالنُّورِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ عَلَى قَتَرَةٍ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ، وَقَلَّةٍ مِنَ الْعِلْمِ، وَضَلَالَةٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ، وَاقْتِطَاعٍ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ، وَدُنُوِّ السَّاعَةِ، وَقُرْبِ الْأَجَلِ — مَنْ يُطِيعِ اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولَ قَدْ رَشِدَ، وَمَنْ يَعَصِهِمَا فَقَدْ غَوَى وَفَرَطَ، وَضَلَّ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا، وَأَوْصِيكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ،⁷⁷

On this momentous occasion the Prophet clearly establishes his political and spiritual authority by enforcing obedience to God and His Prophet. Crucially, the justification for obedience is presented in the beginning of the *khutbah* through the *Tahmīd*. Using a slightly modified standard *khutbah* *Tahmīd*, the Oneness of God and the Prophethood of Muhammad, the source of his authority, are established. The *shahādah* of the Prophethood of Muhammad is skilfully elaborated in the context of his first oration in Medina, stressing that he is sent by God, 'a light of knowledge and guidance in the

⁷⁶ It is clear that in pre-Islamic Arabia the *khutbah* was not delivered on a regular or ritualized basis, rather only when the occasion demanded it. The ritual Friday *khutbah* is said to have been established by the Prophet himself according to al-Badawi (Qtd. in Jones, 2004, 189). For references see Wensinck "Khuṭba" *EI2*, Pedersen "Khaṭīb" *EI2* and Ḥawī (1970) and T. Qutbuddin (2008, pp.197-199).

⁷⁷ Ṣafwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no.3; Appendix-2:3) cited from *Tarīkh al-Ṭabarī*.

darkness of chaos and misguidedness'. On the basis of this effective introduction, he declares that 'whosoever obeys God and His Prophet has been guided to the right path. Whosoever disobeys is misguided'. The fundamental principle set forth is the basis of the Prophet's political and spiritual authority. Once this premise is accepted, any command, whether it is a command to go to battle or a command to perform the five prayers, must be obeyed. In the remainder of the *khutbah* a more spiritual tone prevails. Muhammad now advises the Muslims to fear God (*taqwā*), and all that that entails. The spiritual persuasion is also reinforced by the Taḥmīd introduction, which warns of the imminence of the Day of Judgment and the nearness of death.

The theme of this Taḥmīd is repeated innumerable times in other *khutbahs* attributed to the Prophet and the other caliphs in various contexts⁷⁸. A Taḥmīd in a *khutbah* by 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib contextualizes battle by praising God as the one whose will is absolute⁷⁹. The battle is then simply a matter of destiny. Another *khutbah* Taḥmīd by Zayd b. 'Alī is an example that illustrates how each component of the standard *khutbah* Taḥmīd is dutifully included and then eloquently elaborated in a manner that sets the ideal of faith and commitment to God⁸⁰.

In a great majority of the early Islamic *khutbahs*, the orator, the Prophet or the caliphs represented the voice of political and spiritual authority. The *khutbah* was a medium for the expression of that authority as was the *risālah*. While the *khutbah* was delivered by the orator himself, the *risālah* was written by the *kātib* on behalf of the caliph in his name. Crucially, the source of this authority was always the relation with God, and later a relation with the Prophet as well, both of which were established in the Taḥmīd. In other words, authority was derived from God, through the Taḥmīd.

The Old-Risālah

The old-*risālah*, before the arrival of *kātib*s such as Sālīm Abu al-'Alā' and 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132-3/750-1) on the prose scene, simply conveyed instructions using a

⁷⁸ For another example of the Prophet's spirituo-political oration see Šafwat (1985, vol. I.ii, no.2) cited from the *siḥā* of Ibn Hishām. *Khutbahs* of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib with a similar objective are also many, see for example in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ* (Appendix-2:10-21). In the same source see also for instance a *khutbah* by Mālīk al-Ashtar rallying people to 'Alī's cause (Appendix-2:24); others by 'Alī's enemy Mu'āwiyah Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ* (p. 516); and by Mu'āwiyah's companions (pp. 502, 503, 523).

⁷⁹ Qtd. in Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ* (Appendix-2:13).

⁸⁰ Qtd. in al-Naḥḥās, *Umdat* (Appendix-2:26).

relatively plain register⁸¹. The Aphrodito papyri discovered in the early 20th century included Arabic *risālahs*, authentic examples of what I call the old-*risālah*, sent by one of the governors of Egypt Qurrah b. Sharīk in the last decade of the 1st/7th century⁸².

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من قره بن شريك الى صاحب اسقوه، فاني احمد الله الذي لا اله الا هو، اما بعد
فانظر الذي كان بقي على اسقف كورتاك مما فرض عليه عبد الله بن عبد الملك ولم الاول فيجعل به مع
رسولي ورسول الاسقف ولا توخرن من تلك البقية قليلا ولا كثيرا والسلام على من اتبع الهدى وكتب في
شهر ربيع الاول من سنة تسعين⁸³.

This extraordinary find confirms three things. Firstly, it establishes that the *risālah*, as a means of formal communication, was part of standard bureaucratic practice in the early years of Islam. Secondly, as the previous excerpt demonstrates, it supports the contention that these early *risālahs* were mostly instructive, addressed to a specified recipient and used straightforward, unornamented language. While the skill was clearly there, as demonstrated by the powerful and artistic prose of the *khutbah*, the instructive purpose of the old-*risālah* simply did not necessitate the effort. Thirdly, and most importantly from the perspective of this study, it provides evidence for the use of the standard Taḥmīd formula, the *taṣḍīr*, in the beginning of *risālahs* at this very early stage. This convention continued in the new-*risālah*, but, with its new function as the prime medium of mass-communication, a more elaborate Taḥmīd introduction developed alongside the longstanding *taṣḍīr* convention⁸⁴.

The *kātib* of the old-*risālah* naturally occupied a rather humble role in the political institution. Riḍā (1978, p.208) and ‘Abbās (1988, p.131) state that the *risālah* was dictated by the ruler and the duty of the *kātib* then was simply to write it down. The

⁸¹ Riḍā (1978, pp.208-209) discusses this transformation and presents the most comprehensive survey of the development of the Islamic *risālah* until the Umayyad period. ‘Abbās (1988, p.134) also draws attention to this transformation with specific reference to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib.

⁸² For studies of the Aphrodito papyri see: Bell (1908 and 1910), Karabacek (1894), Grohmann (1924 and 1934), Moritz (1905), Abbott (1938), Ragib (1981).

⁸³ Abbott (1938, pp. 42-43). Image of original in Appendix-1:19.

⁸⁴ These conclusions are not based solely on the Qurrah papyri. There are numerous other examples in Riḍā (1978), Hamidallah (1969) and (1982), Šafwat (1937). These include *risālahs* from the Prophet to the Arab tribes and the foreign monarchs. Serjeant, labels the letters to the foreign monarchs as the work of later polemics and seriously doubts their authenticity. However, he contends that the letters to the Arab tribes are most likely authentic (1983, p.141). Serjeant also discusses other documents written in the early Islamic period including *Šaḥīfat Quraysh*, the *Bay‘at al-‘Aqabah*, the constitution of Medina and the Šiffin arbitration agreement. These documents also demonstrate the same simplicity of style seen in the old-*risālahs*.

anecdotes they cite make it clear that conciseness and directness were the key ingredients of the old-*risālah*. While the names of these earlier *kātib*s, or scribes, are given in al-Jahshiyārī's *al-Wuzarā' wa al-Kuttāb* and other sources, a very small percentage of their works survive, of which none are set forth in the later chancery manuals as 'models of writing'. These *kātib*s' role and the function of the old-*risālah* did not provide the room for exercising individual talent and indulgence in the art of expression and style. Later in the Umayyad period, the role of the *kātib* and the nature of the *risālah* dramatically changed, providing space for creativity and development.

The New-Risālah

The form of the new-*risālah* in Arabic-prose was a framework that allowed the author to focus on a specific problem or theme, presenting his thesis through a sustained argument. It is defined by its highly ornate verbal-art (*inshā'* style), its function as the voice of authority and medium of communication for the growing Islamic empire, and its objective, to impress and persuade its audience⁸⁵.

The innovations of the new-*risālah* can be classified as formal, stylistic and thematic. Formally, the prolixity of the *risālah* and the simultaneous expansion of the Taḥmīd are the main developments. These are the two developments that medieval scholars saw as the contribution of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and are the basis for his fame⁸⁶. Stylistically, the proliferation of rhetorical devices, parallelism in particular, and the adoption of what became known as the *inshā'* style was undoubtedly a central development. In terms of content, a much wider range of themes, discussed below, including social and theological, were now dealt with by the chancery *kātib*.

Four main geopolitical factors had a direct bearing on the development of the new-*risālah*'s content, style and dissemination. Firstly, functioning as the state's medium of communication for a far reaching empire, the new-*risālah* was required to persuade and was regularly written to be read aloud. It was in this sense a hybrid genre, as discussed in the previous chapter: as much an oral medium as a written one. This had serious

⁸⁵ The definition suggested here is based on a sampling of *risālah*s and thus, exceptions to the rule may be easy to find given the scale of usage. The constitution of the *risālah* continuously varied as the style of the authors, the expectation of readers and the necessity of the times changed. The bureaucratic correspondence undoubtedly continued alongside. In reference to this definition it is not surprising that academic dissertations in Modern Standard Arabic are also called *risālah*s: "*risālah duktūrāh*".

⁸⁶ 'Abbās (1983, p. 145). He cites Ibn Khallikān's *Wafīyyāt al-A'yān* and al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-Dhahab*.

implications as far as the content, form, rhythm and musicality of the *risālah* were concerned, and is thus discussed further below.

Secondly, the paradigm shift created by the Arabization process in 78/698 put the Arabic language under the spotlight and attracted many new talents, mostly non-Arabs, including ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffa’ (d. 139/756), eager to make their mark on the scene⁸⁷. The Qur’ān, first and foremost, and the *khutbahs* of the master orators were seen as the epitome of Arabic prose, models to be emulated. It is also at this time that the translation movement gathered momentum, which is also likely to have had an influence on chancery writing⁸⁸. I believe the focus on Arabic and the experimentation and enthusiasm of the new ‘foreign’ *kātib*s certainly made a difference.

Thirdly, the several faith-based rebellions forced the later Umayyads to portray themselves as the champions of Islam. This policy permeated the *risālah*, which was now satiated with religious intonations, Qur’ānic references and, in particular, a more elaborate *Tahmīd*⁸⁹.

Fourthly, the pivotal role of the new-*kātib*, as the advisor and confidant of the ruler and the one responsible for the writing and content of the *risālah*s, meant that now a highly influential and qualified figure was in charge of the process⁹⁰. This process was no longer extemporaneous; rather, the *kātib* pored over each *risālah* to make certain it was acceptable in terms of its artistic beauty and persuasive power. In ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s *risālah* addressed to the *kātib*s, at the very beginning he declares to them their integral role, most importantly, that they are the ‘tongues by which the king speaks’⁹¹. The changes these factors necessitated in the new-*risālah* drove the development of the more elaborate *Tahmīd* beginning.

It is not exactly clear when the new-*risālah* took hold. Most often, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib is referred to as the father of the ornate argumentative *inshā’* style *risālah*. It must

⁸⁷ The Arabization process is referred to in al-Jahshiyārī’s history of the chancery *kātib*s *al-wuzarā’ wa al-kuttāb* (p. 38).

⁸⁸ The influence of translation is highlighted by D. Gutas (1998), Arazi and Ben Shammay, “Risāla” *EI2*, Latham (1983, pp.155-156) and ‘Abbās (1988, pp.58-59).

⁸⁹ For example the *Tahmīd* of *Risālah* no. 26 in ‘Abbās (1988, pp. 273-274, Appendix-2:40), in which God is praised as the defender of Islam. This *Tahmīd* is analyzed in chapter-IV (p.141).

⁹⁰ See ‘Abbās (1988, pp. 28-29) and Gully (2008, pp. 72-131); ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s *risālah* detailing the noble character of *kātib*’s in his *risālah* no. 35 in ‘Abbās (1988, pp. 281-288); al-Naḥḥās, ‘*Umdat*’ (p. 21), Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Qanūn* (p. 94).

⁹¹ *Risālah* no. 35 in ‘Abbās (1988, pp. 281-288).

be noted however, that this was not a sudden change. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd most definitely instituted change by making the *risālah* an art form, one to be meticulously sculpted, but there were already emerging precursors of the argumentative spirit of the new-*risālah*. One example is the heated correspondence between Mu‘āwiyah and ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. Mu‘āwiyah fires his *risālah* making a case for linking ‘Alī with the murder of ‘Uthmān and promising vengeance⁹². However, these *risālahs* are addressed to a single individual, not meant to be read aloud and are not nearly as ornate as those post-‘Abd al-Ḥamīd. But they do reflect the scope of the *risālahs* to sustain arguments, a potential that was gradually being realised. It was this potential that led to the success of the new-*risālah*, and the Taḥmīd alongside it, in the state chancery.

Since the new-*risālah* took up the function of the *khutbah* as the voice of authority and the medium of communication, it needed to present a message that impacted upon and persuaded its audience. If the matter required it, a well thought-out argument was presented. An example is ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s *risālah* on chess in which he argues against the evil of camping around chess figurines⁹³. There is a clear objective: to persuade the public that playing chess is against the principles of Islam, their religion. It is quite possible that ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd had political motivations even though he based his argument on a religious premise – the apparent prohibition by the Prophet – as was the tradition in the Islamic *khutbah*. It is understood that groups not in favour of the Umayyads were known to be fond of it and often gathered around the chess board, possibly scheming against their rulers.

In times of joy such as victory over the enemy, or one of the festivals, a salient argument permeated the *risālah*. When informing the people of the wellbeing of the ruler or a victory, the salient argument was to remind the audience of the blessings they enjoyed under his patronage, firmly establishing his authority, and inducing reverence and obedience. The following is a Taḥmīd by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd following a military victory:

⁹² Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (pp. 93-94). There are many other such examples cited by Şafwat (1937, vol. I, pp. 385-456).

⁹³ The best edition is in Abbās (1988, pp. 265-268, no. 22). The Taḥmīd beginning of this *risālah*, which it is likely to have had, has not survived.

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ النَّاصِرِ لِدِينِهِ وَأَوْلِيَّائِهِ وَخُلَفَائِهِ، الْمُظْهِرِ لِلْحَقِّ وَأَهْلِهِ، وَالْمُذِلِّ لَأَعْدَائِهِ أَهْلِ الْبِدْعَةِ وَالضَّلَالَةِ، الَّذِي لَمْ يَجْمَعْ بَيْنَ حَقٍّ وَبَاطِلٍ، وَأَهْلِ طَاعَةٍ وَمَعْصِيَةٍ إِلَّا جَعَلَ النُّصْرَةَ وَالْفَلَاحَ وَالْعَاقِبَةَ لِأَهْلِ حَقِّهِ وَطَاعَتِهِ، وَجَعَلَ الْخِزْيَ وَالذِّلَّةَ وَالصَّغَارَ عَلَى أَهْلِ الْبَاطِلِ وَالْخِلَافِ وَالْمَعْصِيَةِ، حَمْدًا يَقْبَلُهُ وَيَرْضَاهُ، وَيُوجِبُ بِهِ لِأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَهْلِ طَاعَتِهِ الزِّيَادَةَ الَّتِي وَعَدَ مِنْ شُكْرِهِ.

وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ عَلَى مَا يَتَوَلَّى مِنْ إِعْزَازِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَنَصْرِهِ وَإِفْلَاحِهِ، وَإِظْهَارِ حَقِّهِ عَلَى مَا وَقَعَ بِأَعْدَائِهِ وَأَهْلِ مَعْصِيَتِهِ وَالْخِلَافِ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ سَطَوَاتِهِ وَتَقَمَّاتِهِ وَبِأَسِهِ. فِيمَا وَلَّى أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ مُوَالَاةٍ مَنْ وَالَاهُ، وَعَدَاوَةٍ مَنْ بَغَى عَلَيْهِ وَعَادَاهُ، لَا يَكُلُهُ فِي شَيْءٍ مِنَ الْأُمُورِ إِلَى نَفْسِهِ، وَلَا إِلَى حَوْلِهِ وَقُوَّتِهِ وَمَكِيدَتِهِ، فَإِنَّهُ لَا حَوْلَ وَلَا قُوَّةَ لِأَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِلَّا بِهِ.⁹⁴

The first section of the *Tahmīd* focuses on God's punishment of those who disobey Him, and His reward for those who obey, creating a clear dichotomy. This precept makes listeners eager for the reward and fearful of the punishment, thereby inducing obedience. In the second section, the focus is shifted on the caliph as the one whose victory has been aided by none other than the Almighty; it is from Him that the caliph draws his authority. The focus on the caliph emphasizes the relation between him and God, merging the lines between obedience to God and obedience to the caliph.

It becomes evident that with the expansion of the empire, the new-*risālah* came to replace the traditional *khutbah* as the primary oral medium of communication. This may simply be for logistical reasons. While in the early days of Islam the supporters and army were huddled around the centre, they became more and more dispersed with time. The ruler simply could not personally address all his subjects. Since the new-*risālahs* were often read out from the pulpits in later years, it is likely that the *kātib*'s writing the messages, aware of the oral delivery, consciously emulated the *khutbah*, including the formal tradition of the contextualizing *Tahmīd*, and adapted it to the objective of the *risālah*. Their *risālahs* were thus of a hybrid nature, written yet oral, with all the implications of hybridity discussed in the previous chapter.

Many of these *risālahs* were regularly read out in mass gatherings by the local governors, explicitly commanded to do so by the chancery. In a *risālah* sent to the

⁹⁴ *Risālah* no. 24 in 'Abbās (1988, pp. 271-272).

governor of Yemen, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd reports the good tidings that his master is well, perhaps after an illness or epidemic, “and asks the governor to read his letter aloud to the people so that they will rejoice at the news”⁹⁵. Commenting on ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s Taḥmīds celebrating Marwān’s various victories, al-Qāḍī (1989, p.231) contends that “it is probable that these letters were also proclamations meant to be read publicly in the various parts of the empire, since no specific addressees are mentioned in them”. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, a *kātib* in the Fatimid chancery in *Qānūn diwān al-rasā’il* (p.119), states that the *kātib* is all important because at key moments it is he who is responsible for writing those documents (*taqālīd* and *kutub*) that will be read out aloud on the pulpits and at the head of gatherings, which require from him the capacity to present an argument. This suggests that the mode of delivery of the new-*risālah* was very similar to that of orations, and hence the transference of the *khutbah*’s formal features and rites to the new-*risālah*, including the Taḥmīd, was only natural.

It also follows that with *risālahs* written to be read by more than one person or read aloud, “the *kātib* aspired to elegance rather than spontaneity”⁹⁶. For the elegance of words and sounds, the art of beautiful expression or rhetoric (*balāghah*), was a fundamental component. Describing ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s style J.D. Latham says that “it is the prose of the speaker rather than the writer that he has in view, and he seems to aim at arresting the ear of a listener rather than at capturing the thought of a reader. It is as though he intended his epistles to be read aloud...” (1983, p.174)⁹⁷.

The use of rhetorical devices that enhanced the impact of the message increased with time and many of the chancery manuals discuss the art of expression at great length. It is important to note here that the Taḥmīd also became highly ornate. In fact, the association between the Taḥmīd and the *inshā’* style became so strong that in many later works in the Abbasid and post-Abbasid period, even if the main body of the *risālah*, or monograph, used a plain register, the Taḥmīd was most likely ornate. The effect of the

⁹⁵ Al-Qāḍī (1989, pp. 230-231). An edition of the letter is in ‘Abbās (1988, pp. 275-276) *risālah* no. 29. Al-Qāḍī also suggests that two other letters of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd (no. 11 and 12 in ‘Abbās’s edition) “were also read to the public in all parts of the empire”.

⁹⁶ A. Arazī and Ben Shammay, “Risāla” *EI2*. The authors of the article also draw a connection between the public reading of the *risālahs* and the established Byzantine practice of ceremonial readings of letters.

⁹⁷ Although keenly observing the ‘orality’ of ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s writing, Latham does not appreciate the *khutbah* heritage of the *risālah* nor the conscious composition of many of these *risālahs* to be read aloud in mass gatherings such as the Friday prayer.

hybridity of *Tahmīd*, of the rhythm and patterns created by rhetorical features, is discussed in chapter-IV (p.124).

The following *risālah* written in the time of the Fatimid Imām al-Ḥākim (d.411/1021) is a representative example of the hybridity of the new-*risālahs* and their *Tahmīds*⁹⁸. In the *risālah*, the *kātib* explains on behalf of the Imām why it was necessary to execute Barjawān, al-Ḥākim's vizier and former tutor. The document is addressed to 'all those who attended the Friday prayer on the 27th of Rabī' II 309/1000', and sent to all the provinces with the command that it be read aloud for the congregation.

مِنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَوَلِيِّهِ الْمُتَّصِرِ أَبِي عَلِيٍّ، الْإِمَامِ الْحَاكِمِ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِلَى سَائِرِ مَنْ شَهِدَ الصَّلَاةَ الْجَامِعَةَ فِي
مَسَاجِدِ الْقَاهِرَةِ الْمَعْرِتَةِ وَمِصْرَ وَالْجَزِيرَةِ.

سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكُمْ مَعَاشِرَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الْمُصَلِّينَ فِي يَوْمِنَا هَذَا فِي الْجَوَامِعِ وَسَائِرِ النَّاسِ كَافَّةً أَجْمَعِينَ. فَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
يُحَمَّدُ إِلَيْكُمْ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ، وَيَسْأَلُهُ أَنْ يُصَلِّيَ عَلَى جَدِّهِ مُحَمَّدٍ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ، وَسَيِّدِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ، وَعَلَى
أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ.

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي قَالَ—وَقَوْلُهُ الْحَقُّ الْمُبِينُ—﴿لَوْ كَانَ فِيهِمَا آلَهُ إِلَّا اللَّهُ لَفَسَدَتَا، فَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ رَبِّ
الْعَرْشِ عَمَّا يَصِفُونَ، لَا يُسَالُ عَمَّا يَفْعَلُ وَهُمْ يُسَالُونَ﴾ (21:22-23). بِحَمْدِهِ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى مَا أَعْطَاهُ مِنْ
خِلَافَتِهِ، وَجَعَلَ إِلَيْهِ—دُونَ بَرِيَّتِهِ—مِنَ الْبَسْطِ وَالْقَبْضِ، وَالْإِبْرَامِ وَالْتَقِصِ.

Following the *Tahmīd* quoted above, the Imām recognizes the services rendered by Barjawān in the past, before stating that he later sought ill for the Imām, and was consequently punished. What is interesting from the perspective of this study is that the main justification for the punishment is in the *Tahmīd*. It firstly highlights the Qur'ānic assertion that the existence of two God's would be a guarantee of chaos in the world, an assertion that would immediately resonate with an audience familiar with the Qur'ānic text. Theologically, the representative of God on earth, this mirrors the assertion that there can only be one Imām, one ruler, making the challenge of Barjawān to the Imām not only unacceptable, but, according to the Qur'ānic verse, a harbinger of chaos. Secondly, as God is not questioned, it is implied that the representative of God is also beyond questioning. Finally, the authority the Imām holds is given by none other than God, to

⁹⁸ Qtd. in Al-Shayyāl (1958, pp.307-310). He cites the famous Egyptian historian al-Maqrizī's *Itti'āz* as his source. Al-Shayyāl also presents a historical commentary on the document (pp.131-135).

none other than him. This authority is for giving or taking, resolving or breaking. The Taḥmīd with its clear Qur'ānic resonance is thus a strong foundation for the argument communicated to every individual in the empire.

The success of the new-*risālah* also enticed many non-chancery writers to adopt it as their preferred form of composition. The *risālah*'s form was adapted to a large variety of purposes including religious treatises, themed works and personal opinions. Employing the *risālah* form, writers also applied many of its conventions, and most certainly the Taḥmīd. The concept of *iqtidā'*, literally to follow an ideal model discussed in the following chapter (p.74), ensured the perpetuation of the *risālah* form and by extension the Taḥmīd. I contend that the popularity and expansion of the *risālah* transformed the Taḥmīd into a universal feature of nearly all prose composition.

The Broad Boundaries of the *Risālah* Genre

The expressiveness, versatility and popularity of the *risālah* was instrumental in the promotion, development and universality of Taḥmīd. While authors adjusted the format, theme and approach of their *risālahs*, they most often carried forward the formal tradition of opening *risālahs* with Taḥmīd. The popularity of the *risālah* outside the state chancery can be credited to two primary reasons: firstly, its scope in expressing thoughts on a focused theme, in the form of what we would call a monograph in modern terminology; and secondly, its versatility and adaptability to a wide variety of purposes, fields and subjects.

Until the 3rd/9th centuries, the *risālah* was the prime framework for individualistic expression. Arazi and Ben Shammai ("*Risāla*", *EI2*) attribute the popularity of the *risālah* to the non-conduciveness of other frameworks of prose for 'personal thoughts'.

Knowledge (*'ilm*), like literature, was considered the ultimate canonical genre; for the same reason, it was doomed to canonisation in compilation; otherwise, there was the risk of impairment. Every *khbar* mentioned, real or fictitious, was endowed with an *isnād* which accentuated its status as a received text, rather than the product of independent thought. The *risālah*, the only remaining framework in prose, lent itself perfectly to the role of receptacle for personal thoughts, nonconformist ideas and texts based on analysis and not on quotation. This is why most original texts were conceived as *risālahs*.

In the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, aside from the *risālah*, the main works of prose were those focused on the traditions of the Prophet and history in general in which an *isnād* was indeed fundamental⁹⁹. The new-*risālah* being a mode of communication used by *kātib*s to express their opinions, and the all important opinion of their masters, on specific subjects, then became fashionable. Initially the *risālah* was strictly in response to another *risālah* or a question posed to the author. Later on "the addressee of the *risālah* was either solicited or even invented by the author with a view to exposing his ideas on a question which interested him particularly" (Arazi "*Risālah*", *EI2*)¹⁰⁰. As the *risālah* on chess by 'Abd al-Ḥamīd mentioned above illustrates, a focused theme, a sustained syllogistic argument and a strong message were often synonymous with the word *risālah*¹⁰¹.

The use and effectiveness of the *risālah* in the chancery and for theological arguments attracted scholars from a wide variety of fields to make the *risālah* their favoured framework of expression. The popularity of the genre, the broadening of its boundaries and its variety had serious implications for the Taḥmīd, in that over a period of time they stimulated the development of a more contextually relevant Taḥmīd and were responsible for the gradual universalization of its usage in Arabic formal writing. Besides being a religious convention, the Taḥmīd also became a literary convention of Arabic prose used in religious and non-religious contexts by writers within and without the state chancery.

The range of material titled and classified as *risālahs* appears to be limitless. Within the chancery in the early days of the new-*risālah*, this variety is felt in the diversity of themes dealt with by documents titled as *risālahs*: chess, justice, early Islamic history, mirror for princes, a hunting trip, a victory over the enemies, the malevolence of *fitnahs*, the legitimacy of rule, the appointment of a successor, the

⁹⁹ It might be worth noting here that most historical works of this time related a number, even contradicting, versions of an event. By doing so they were aiming to be honest to what they had heard leaving the decision of the credibility of the versions to the reader. In this way, the author of the historical work was more of a relator than an author. These historical texts constituted the majority of the works in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries. Although he exercised some selection, rarely do we find in early historical works commentary on the events that are related, or a blunt voicing of the author's opinion. Thus to use this framework for individual opinions and thoughts was contrary to its nature. The *risālah* on the other hand, being a personal communication, was receptive to the needs of individual expression.

¹⁰⁰ An example of such a *risālah*, cited by Arazi and Ben Shammay, is al-Jāhīz's *Epistle on Singing Girls*.

¹⁰¹ Other examples are 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's *risālah* to the crown prince ('Abbās, 1988, p.215, *risālah* no.21); 'Abd al-Malik's *risālah* to 'Urwah b. al-Zubayr on the genesis of Islam (Ref. in A.Arazi and Ben Shammay "*Risāla*" *EI2*); Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's *risālah* on the Imāmate (qtd. in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, pp.9-10).

appointment of officials, incitement to battle, justification of execution, mundane instructions, the purchase of slave girls etc¹⁰². Outside the chancery, *risālahs* can be found in nearly all fields. To name a few: philosophy, lexicography, ideology, theology, medicine, astronomy, literature, mathematics and debate. Figure-I below illustrates the diversity of this genre and presents a possible taxonomy¹⁰³.

The usage of the *risālah* genre, if indeed it can be classified as one genre, proliferated in such a way that not only did it remain popular with Arabic writing and found new roles within it, but it also spread to other languages. Works titled *risālahs* can also be found in Persian, Urdu, Malay and Swahili. Interestingly, a number of these *risālahs*, especially Persian, boast ornate Taḥmīd introductions in Arabic or Persian¹⁰⁴.

The beginnings of the non-chancery *risālahs* vary considerably. Some do not include a Taḥmīd at all, while others, samples of which are included in Appendix-2, begin with Taḥmīds, varying in length and impact. In *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (4th/10th century, Appendix-2:80), each *risālah* begins with a very short Taḥmīd and addresses the reader in second person as *ayyuhā al-akh*. In one the *risālahs* narrating the fable of the case of the animals against human exploitation in the court of the king of the Jinn, all those who testify, humans and animals, begin with eloquent Taḥmīds (Appendix-2:81-86). In the *Afḍaliyyāt* (5th/11th century, Appendix-2:99), Ibn al-Ṣayrafī begins each *risālah* with a well crafted Taḥmīd introducing the subject of the *risālah* and establishing its basic precepts. In *Ḥayy b. Yaqzān* (6th/12th century, an ornate Taḥmīd begins Ibn Ṭufayl's preface to the narrative. From my preliminary survey, it emerges that the use of

¹⁰² The terms used for chancery documents varied and often the terms *risālah*, *kitāb* and *siḥill* were synonymously used. For a discussion of these terms and others see Bjorkman "Diplomatic" *EI2* and Gully (2008, pp. 2-3).

¹⁰³ Other classifications have been proposed. The most common, as in Nassar (1996) for example, categorizes *risālahs* into: *siyāsiyyah* (*diwāniyyah*), *ikhwāniyyah* and *dīniyyah*. Most recently, Gully (2008, pp. 3-5) classifies the *risālah* into four categories: 1) official and unofficial state letters, 2) intellectual essays, 3) literary letters, 4) texts of 'glorification and boasting'. I believe that due to the diversity of texts that bear the title *risālah* both of these classifications are too simplistic.

¹⁰⁴ See for instance the Arabic Taḥmīd in the 7th/13th century Persian *risālah* titled *Maḥlūb al-Mu'minīn*, by al-Tusī (p. 43) and in the 10th/16th century *al-Risālah al-'Alīyah fī al-Aḥādith al-Nabawiyyah*, by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bayhaqī (p. 25). While the previous two may be categorized as theological *risālahs*, the Taḥmīd tradition permeated the Persian scientific *risālahs* as well; 'Abd Allāh al-Mazandarānī's 9th/15th century *Risālah Falakiyyah Dar 'Ālami Siyāqat* begins with a Persian Taḥmīd. These examples show the use of Taḥmīd and its relation with the *risālah* in the Persian tradition. Although it must be noted that many *risālahs* simply begin with the *basmalah*, often alongside short invocations specific to the Persian tradition. In an Indonesian *risālah*, what seems to be the translation of an earlier Arabic work (Abdul-Hadi, 1995, p. 59), the beginning is with a standard Taḥmīd in transliterated Arabic. The dynamics of the *risālah* in languages other than Arabic, including the tradition of Taḥmīd, is yet to be studied. These examples simply demonstrate the spread of the genre and strong position of the Taḥmīd within it.

the *Tahmīd* and the use of its potential to introduce the subject matter, arouse emotions and persuade, depended greatly on the personal inclination of each individual author. It also appears that more and more writers utilized this potential from the late 4th and early 5th/10th and 11th centuries¹⁰⁵.

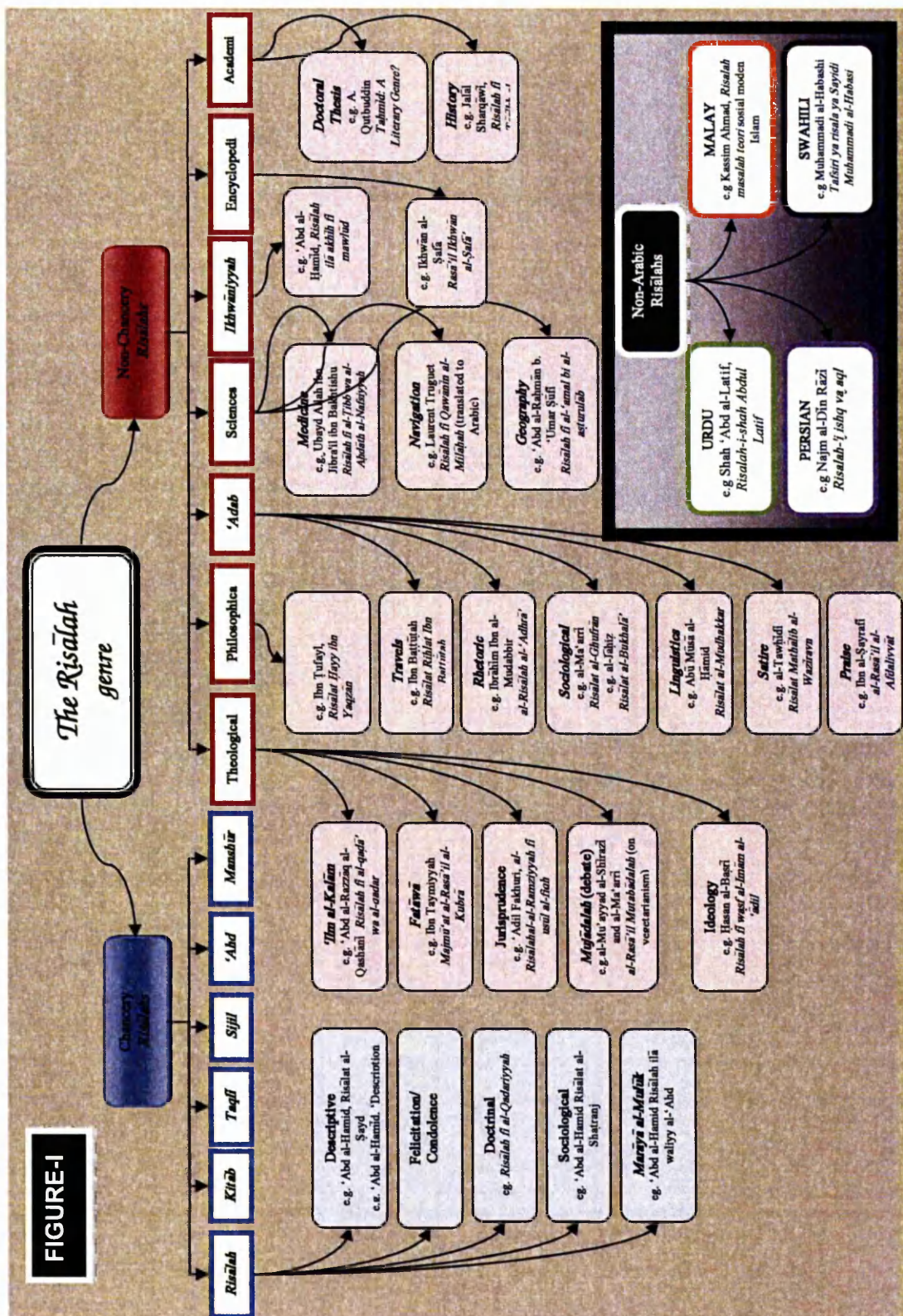
Conclusion

The *khutbah*, initially, and then the *risālah* were responsible for the genesis of *Tahmīd* as a literary component of Arabic literature, its near-universal usage and variety. The agility of the *risālah* framework attracted authors to it and encouraged them to adapt and utilize its conventions, especially the *Tahmīd*. Once the tradition was established in the new-*risālah*, it found fertile ground to develop in the various adaptations of the *risālah* framework and other frameworks of Arabic prose writing which had inherited and fondly embraced the *Tahmīd* tradition. The nature of these *Tahmīds* and the rules governing the tradition is the focus of the next chapter.

It has often been argued, as is the case in Gully's (2008, p.7) evaluation of Arabic epistolography, to state that "unlike Greek rhetoric, which was founded on the fundamental premise of persuasion, Arabic epistolary style was driven much more by stylistic and aesthetic considerations and appreciation." On the surface this view is vindicated by the adjectives *batrā'*, *aqta'* and *jadhmā'*, used in the traditions to describe *khutbahs* (and *kull 'amr*) not beginning with *ḥamd*, all drawing an image of an amputated incomplete form and a loss of aesthetic appeal. However, my contention is that the perpetuation of the *Tahmīd* over centuries was not simply a result of fascination with aesthetics; these very adjectives also convey a sense of powerlessness and lack of authority. Moral authority and ethical soundness is as innate to the character and tradition of *Tahmīd* as aesthetic appeal. In this sense, the *Tahmīd* is a tradition in which aesthetic and ethical soundness are combined. The example set by the Qur'ān and the Prophet, in combining the two, was consistently followed in perpetuating the *Tahmīd* tradition.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix-2:77-140 presents examples of *Tahmīds* in non-chancery *risālahs* and other works from the early 3rd/9th century onwards.

FIGURE-1



فألحيدش، يعني به فالحدش زير بي اي انيسه
عن عاتم بزي النجود عن زرين بيش فالاستقصان
برعنان المشركي ففانك ماقدرك فلكنا التماس العلم
فقلنا اني سمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول ان
الداريكة لفضة اجتهتها الطالب العلم رضا بها
قيمتها ودكتها كدش فالابو جعفر ومن العلم
ضاعة الكتاب وقدرهم من نعم ان احكام الكتاب
بنايته لا يحكام الشيعة لان ذلك مخالف لما
يوجهه الدين والعقل لان الكتابه فرج من ضرور
الشيعة والشيعة اصل والكتاب بنياسة للملك
والملك لا قوام له الا بالدين فقد سبق في الكتابه فرج
من فرج الدين وما كان فرعا لشي لا يباينه ولحد
الكتاب تلامذة لا يحكام الشيعة والادليل على ذلك
ان شلما الواجبا الرضا ما كان علم القبيبة والاحتب
فيها سواد ذلك في ملخص من الزكرة من الغنى ونصف

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قال ابو جعفر احمد بن محمد النحوي الجليلي الوحيد
المجيد القوي الشديد المبدئي العبد ذبي العزة
واللطافة الرحمة والانبيا ان الذي تراضع كل
شي وعظمتها واستسلم الغلو لغزو احمد بن النعمان
وانتصت على الشدة والرخاء بالاك الملك بنو الملك
من دنيا وبيعت الملك من دنيا ويعز من دنيا
وبز من دنيا وبيد الخير وهو على كل شي قدير
الذي علم بالقل على الانسان ما لم يعلم وصل الله على
محمد عبده المرحل المحجة والبرهان والورود النقا
ولينا الحق وشاهد الحق على العالم وعلى الامم وسلم
تليها فلم يزل صلى الله عليه وسلم ينادي بالاسرة
ونجا هذه في سبيله محتبا صبرا لخص على الطاعة
والعلم حاملا ثابا الوعد محمد بن يحيى يعرف الرقاوي
فالحمد لله الذي يورثه من يورث محمد بن يونس شينان

Plate-IV

First page of a facsimile edition of a 7th/13th century manuscript copy of the 4th/10th century chancery manual 'Umdat al-kuttāb authored by Abū Ja'far al-Nahḥās. The facsimile edition (Bodleian MS Marsh 338) was published by Fuad Sezgin, Ma'had Tarikh al-'Ulum al-'Arabiyyah wa-al-Islamiyyah, Frankfurt.

CHAPTER-III

THE NORMS OF TAḤMĪD:

CHANCERY MANUALS, RULES AND TEMPLATES

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْأَوَّلِ بِلاَ ابْتِدَاءٍ ، الْآخِرِ بِلاَ انْتِهَاءٍ ، الْخَالِدِ بِلاَ انْقِضَاءٍ ، الْخَالِقِ بِلاَ اقْتِدَاءٍ ، الْبَارِي مِنْ غَيْرِ اقْتِنَاءٍ
لِصَانِعِ الْبَنَانِي مِنْ غَيْرِ احْتِدَاءٍ لَوَاضِعِ ، الَّذِي أَعْطَى الْإِنْسَانَ بِفَضِيلَةِ النُّطْقِ مَرْيَةَ السَّبْقِ . . . وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى
أَطْيَبِ الْبَرِيَّةِ مُحَمَّدًا ، وَأَظْهَرِهِمْ مَوْلَدًا ، وَأَصْلَبِهِمْ مُعْجَمًا ، وَأَظْهَرِهِمْ مُعْجَزًا ، مُحَمَّدٍ ذِي الْخَلْقِ الْعَظِيمَةِ ،
وَالطَّرَاقِ الْقَوِيمَةِ ، وَالْمَسَالِكِ النَّفِيَّةِ ، وَالصَّحَائِفِ النَّفِيَّةِ ، الَّذِي أَمَرَنَا بِاقْتِفاءِ سُنَنِهِ ، وَاتِّبَاعِ سُنَّتِهِ ، وَقَبُولِ وَصَاتِهِ ،
وَالصَّلَاةِ عَلَيْهِ فِي حَيَاةٍ وَمَمَاتِهِ ، فَقَالَ تَعَالَى ﴿ مَا آتَاكُمُ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا ﴾ (59:7) . ثُمَّ قَالَ
﴿ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا ﴾ (33:56) .

Introduction

This Taḥmīd by Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (d. 448/1056) in his 5th/11th century chancery manual, *Ghurar al-Balāghah*¹⁰⁶, underscores the concept of *iqtidā'* – the emulation of an ideal or model – which has ensured the endurance of the Taḥmīd tradition. *Iqtidā'* has also motivated the production of manuals of chancery writing which establish the norms of good prose writing by prescribing rules and providing examples, including rules and models of Taḥmīd. Praising God as the Originator (*khāliq*) without emulation (*iqtidā'*), the Creator (*bārī*) without following (*iqtifā'*) in the tracks of a maker (*sāni*), the Builder (*bānū*) without copying or imitating (*iḥtidhā'*) an originator (*wādi'*), and blessing His Prophet with *ṣalawāt*, describing him as the Prophet whose traditions are to be followed; the author introduces the worldview that guides his work: for all, save God, there is an ideal or model that they must emulate. The author's concept of *iqtidā'* is founded on the ethos of following the Prophet's *sunnah*. It is implied that just as the traditions of the Prophet should be followed, so should the rules and ideal models of *risālahs* he has compiled. Placing *iqtidā'* in the field of writing on the same plane as the *iqtidā'* of Muhammad's *sunnah* gives far more credence to his work and to the concept itself. The importance of the concept of *iqtidā'* lies in its being the reason for the persistence and development of the traditions of the *risālah*, and most certainly of the Taḥmīd.

The concept of *iqtidā'* lies at the very heart of the Taḥmīd tradition; it is the desire to emulate the Taḥmīd that opens the Qur'ān, and orations of the Prophet as well as those of early orators and writers, that keeps the tradition alive and provides impetus for its development. The many manuals of chancery writing are a manifestation of this

¹⁰⁶ (pp. 41-42), Appendix-2:93 [full Taḥmīd].

crucial concept. They prescribe the rules of Taḥmīd and provide the models that are to be emulated. Through a survey of these manuals and models, this chapter presents a synopsis of the norms of Taḥmīd and traces its evolution from the 1st/7th to the 9th/15th century.

Starting as a conventional standard praise-preamble, it quickly evolves into a more elaborate Taḥmīd under the influence of the *khutbah* and the new-*risālah* by the end of the 2nd/8th century. I will argue that following the inception of the Taḥmīd in the new-*risālah* it underwent a series of developments in terms of its form, components and extent of usage. Limited in scope until the 3rd/9th century, the usage of Taḥmīd, and the variety of contexts deemed suitable for it, proliferated exponentially in the centuries that followed.

Before presenting a survey of the rules of Taḥmīd in Islamic chancery manuals, this chapter briefly discusses pre-Islamic (Greek and Persian) manuals that prescribe protocols of beginning that anticipate the Islamic praise-preamble. A synopsis of the rules of Taḥmīd and its primary components is then presented on the basis of a survey of over fifteen Islamic chancery manuals (see table below) from the 2nd/8th century onwards. The synopsis is structured on the basis of al-Qalqashandī's delineation of Taḥmīd components in his 9th/15th century encyclopaedic manual *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā fī ṣinā'at al-inshā'*, which is by far the most comprehensive of the manuals surveyed.

List of Chancery Manuals Referred to in this Study

	Author	Title	Period
1.	'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib	<i>Risālah ilā al-Kuttāb</i>	2 nd /8 th century
2.	Ibrāhīm Ibn al-Mudabbir	<i>al-Risālah al-ʿAdhrā'</i>	3 rd /9 th century
3.	Ibn Qutaybah	<i>Adab al-Kātib</i>	Late 3 rd /9 th century
4.	Al-Jahshiyārī	<i>al-Wuzarā' wa al-Kuttāb</i>	Early 4 th /10 th century
5.	Muhammad b. Yaḥyā al-Ṣūfī	<i>Adab al-Kuttāb</i>	Early 4 th /10 th century
6.	Abū Ja'far al-Naḥḥās	<i>'Umdat al-Kuttāb</i>	Early 4 th /10 th century
7.	Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī	<i>Kitāb al-Ṣinā' tayn: al-Kitābah wa al-Shīr</i>	Late 4 th /10 th century

8.	Abū Hilāl al-Ṣābi'	<i>Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfah</i>	5 th /11 th century
9.	Abū Hilāl al-Ṣābi'	<i>Ghurar al-Balāghah</i>	5 th /11 th century
10.	'Alī b. Khalaf	<i>Mawādd al-Bayān</i>	5 th /11 th century
11.	Ibn al-Ṣayrafī	<i>Qānūn Diwān al-Rasā'il</i>	6 th /12 th century
12.	Ibn al-Athīr	<i>al-Mathal al-Sā'ir fī Adab al-Kātib wa al-Shā'ir</i>	7 th /13 th century
13.	Mūsā b. al-Ḥasan al-Mūsīlī	<i>al-Burd al-Muwashshā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'</i>	8 th /14 th century
14.	Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb	<i>Rayḥanat al-Kuttāb wa Najfat al-Muntāb</i>	8 th /14 th century
15.	al-Qalqashandī	<i>Ṣubḥ al-A'ṣhā fī Ṣinā'at al-Inshā'</i>	9 th /15 th century

Pre-Islamic Manuals and Protocols

Early Islamic correspondence continued the custom of beginning with protocols, which had been established by Greek and Persian traditions. For example, a Pahlavi chancery manual consists of a series of formulae to be used in formal correspondence (Zaehner, 1937). The text itself titled "On the Way to Write Letters" begins in the name of the Gods (*pat nām i yazdān*), quite similar to the *basmalah* (p. 97), except for the 'Gods' being plural.

The manual offers a series of 'proems' that writers may use. The proems, which are similar in spirit to later Islamic beginnings, suggest showering praise on the recipient and beseeching the blessings of the Gods for him. However, the focus is on praise of the recipient, in association with the Gods, rather than of the Gods themselves. The lines that the author concludes with are quite striking: "Finished in thankfulness—at the outset religious knowledge and faith, in the middle wisdom and good will, on completion perfect thought and kindness—in thankfulness, gladness, and joy" (p. 100). The focus on religious knowledge and faith is very much akin to the *Tahmīd* beginnings.

Certain phrases from this assortment of proems, over fifteen proems and ten epilogues, attract further attention. A recurrence of the word 'praise' as well as prayer for the addressee, in conjunction with words that occur frequently in the elements of *Tahmīd* such as 'all victorious', 'compassionate' and 'the benefactor', is evidence of the anticipation of Islamic praise beginnings in pre-Islamic times.

There is also a tendency to use the relative clause in praising the Gods and more often the addressees. For example: “May those *whose* works are high grant you honour according to your desire...” (p.97), and “M. son of N., *who* adorns the world and embellishes the continents, and benefits the provinces” (p.98). In the first example, the relative clause describes the powers of the Gods, while in the second example it describes the virtue of the addressee. The structure is similar but the focus is different.

There are no separate elements delineated as they later appear in Islamic manuals, but rather a variety of ways to address the recipient with the invocation of prayers for him. It is worth noting that, in later Islamic manuals, the extent of prescription was that specific phrases of praise and prayer were reserved for various posts based on their position in the hierarchy. Transference of the Pahlavi style to the Islamic protocol is not by any means farfetched, especially since initially many of the Sassanid chanceries were taken over and continued to function without prior Arabization of the scribes.

This argument is corroborated by the persistence of bilingual letters until the Arabization of the chanceries by ‘Abd al-Malik in the last quarter of the 1st/7th century (Abbott, 1938, p.11). These bilingual documents, and the protocols within them, have been studied in great detail by Becker (1908 and 1910) and Bell (1906)¹⁰⁷. In the majority of these, the Islamic declarations, consisting primarily of the *basmalah* and the *shahādah*, were rendered both in Greek and Arabic. In lands that used to be under the Byzantines, Christian formulae were usually replaced by Islamic ones (Abbott, 1938, p.14), but not always. As Bell discovered for example, Christian notaries at Fustāt, who wrote the Greek version of the letters, “were not required to employ in them any of the distinctively Mohammedan formulae, but used instead...non-committal phrases” (Bell, 1910, p.xxxvii). That these statements are based on original papyri, which are almost impossible to tamper with, adds much credence to the assertion that invocations, albeit not the Islamic *Tahmīd* were not a new phenomenon.

The Concept of *Iqtidā’* and Islamic Chancery Manuals

Iqtidā’ – the philosophy of emulating an ideal or model – is manifested in the vast number of chancery manuals starting with ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s treatises in the 2nd/8th

¹⁰⁷ See also Bjorkmann “Diplomatic” *EI2*, Grohmann (1924), and Moritz (1905).

century (the first Islamic manual)¹⁰⁸. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, a steady stream of manuals appeared, with the tradition becoming increasingly popular in the Abbasid period and reaching its grandest scale with the encyclopaedic work of al-Qalqashandī.

There are comprehensive annotated lists of these manuals in al-Durūbī (1992, pp. 60-78) and in Mūsā (1997, pp. 481-522). It is therefore not my intention here to conduct a full survey of manuals that have survived. Rather, the intention is to establish the importance of the concept of *iqtidā'* and draw attention to the rules and models of *Tahmīd* that are presented in these manuals.

That *iqtidā'* was the objective of these manuals is certain. Writing in the 3rd/9th century, Ibn al-Mudabbir underlines the significance of studying *risālahs* written by the old writers or founders (*mutaqaddimīn*)¹⁰⁹. To be familiar with the practices of, and to study the *risālahs* written by, predecessors, both earlier ones (*mutaqaddimīn*) and later ones (*muta'khhirīn*), was seen as integral to the education and success of a *kātib*. In a 6th/12th century Fatimid manual, *Qānūn Diwān al-Rasā'il* (pp. 91-93 and 118), the author Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, the head of the chancery for many years, using the verb from the root of the term *iqtidā'*, stresses the importance of rules and models:

وَيَجِبُ أَنْ يَكُونَ هَذَا الْكِتَابُ مُخَلَّدًا فِي دِيْوَانِ الرَّسَائِلِ، يَقْتَدِي بِهِ كُلُّ مَنْ يَخْدُمُ فِيهِ، وَيَسْتَضِيءُ بِهَدَايَتِهِ،
وَيُخَذِّذِي أُمَّثَلَتَهُ وَأَنْ يُؤْخَذَ الْمُسْتَخْدِمُونَ فِي الدِّيْوَانِ بِفَهْمِهِ وَحِفْظِهِ،... [وَيَكُونُ الْكَاتِبُ] حَافِظًا لِكَثِيرٍ مِنْ
رَسَائِلِ الْبُلَغَاءِ الْمُتَقَدِّمِينَ، لِيَعْرِفَ مَغَازِيَهُمْ وَمَقَاصِدَهُمْ، وَأَنْحَاءَهُمْ وَمَطَالِبَهُمْ، وَالْإِغْرَاضَ الَّتِي رَمَوْا إِلَيْهَا، وَالْمَعَانِيَ
الَّتِي أَجْرَوْا نَحْوَهَا، فَيُخَذُّوْا حَذْوَهُمْ، وَيَزِيدُ عَلَيْهِمْ مَا اسْتَطَاعَ مِنَ الزِّيَادَةِ،

This statement also shows that authors of these manuals were conscious of their role in establishing the norms of good writing, including the norms of *Tahmīd*.

The manuals established the norms of writing firstly by codifying the formal, stylistic and practical rules that guided the early *kātibs*, so that they could be adhered to by the generations that followed, and secondly by providing examples of earlier writings, or models, that could be emulated or at the least be a source of inspiration. While most manuals encompassed both rules and models, some dealt more or less exclusively with

¹⁰⁸ Roemer, "Inshā", maintains that the manuals are original contributions but cautions that Byzantine and Sassanian influence should be accounted for since their chanceries were assimilated as the Arabs conquered more land.

¹⁰⁹ Ibn al-Mudabbir (p. 228) and al-Qalqashandī (pp. 92-113) include a whole section on the necessity to read the works of 'early writers'. They also provide many examples.

either of the two. °Abd al-Ḥamīd's *risālah* to the *kātib*s for example has no examples within it, while *Ghurar al-Balāghah*, authored and compiled by Hilāl al-Ṣābi', is purely a collection of model *risālah*s.

Formal rules were prescribed in the early manuals and their number increased over time. The Islamic manuals' treatment of the formal aspects of the *risālah* includes the manner in which the recipient is addressed, how he is described, the prayers offered for him, the dating of the *risālah*, the ending, and, last but not least, the introductory formulae. The manuals that are most concerned with formal rules are *Adab al-kuttāb*, °*Umdat al-kuttāb*, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfah*, and *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*.

A number of manuals are concerned primarily with stylistic and practical rules. The stylistic rules, in essence a discussion of what constitutes eloquence (*balāghah*), are meticulously dealt with in *al-Risālah al-'adhrā'*, °*Umdat al-kuttāb*, *Mawādd al-Bayān* and *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*. The stylistic rules also applied to Taḥmīds and were a fundamental characteristic of it. As I argue in the following chapter, they were not simply ornamental embellishments but were central to the persuasiveness and message of Taḥmīds. The practical rules are concerned with the management of the chancery and the logistics of writing and archiving¹¹⁰. These archives were the likely source for the collection of model *risālah*s and Taḥmīds.

Nearly all the major manuals contain models for *kātib*s to take guidance from and there are some that are exclusively compilations of such models. These models, other than keeping traditions alive, are useful in that they permit an overview of the stages of development of the *risālah* and its features including the Taḥmīd. Models, often called *rusūm*, are presented for *risālah*s to be written on different occasions and for various purposes. Hilāl al-Ṣābi's 5th/11th century manual *Ghurar al-balāghah*, referred to above, divides the samples into twenty one categories, compiling many samples for each category¹¹¹. Although other collections survive, such as al-Yazdādī's *Kamāl al-balāghah*, from the perspective of Taḥmīd *Ghurar al-balāghah* is invaluable as it contains a full section on 'Taḥmīdāt'. That a whole section is devoted to Taḥmīd underlines its significance and highlights the variety of models available to a writer. Another

¹¹⁰ For example, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Qānūn* (pp. 134-141) on the type of folders (*dafātīr*) that should be used, archiving, translation, the role of the deputy, etc.

¹¹¹ The categories include Taḥmīds, *suṭāniyyāt*, victories, congratulatory, condolence, and oaths of allegiance, to name a few.

indispensable source containing model *Tahmīds* is 'Alī b. Khalaf's *Mawādd al-Bayān*, a Fatimid manual from the 5th/11th century, discussed further below. In addition to providing *Tahmīd* models, the author specifies which type of *Tahmīd* is suitable for varying occasions and purposes. Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb's 8th/14th century work *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb* presents an excellent collection of ornate *Tahmīds* used in the author's various non-chancery works. Al-Qalqashandī's *Ṣubḥ al-a^ḥshā* is also a treasure trove of models spanning the length of nine centuries. The collection of Ibn Nubātah's 4th/10th century orations, a *khutbah* for every Friday of the year, is also an exceptional collection of *Tahmīds*. A selection of these *Tahmīds* is presented in Appendix-2.

It is likely that chanceries contained many compilations, but only a fraction of the corpus has survived. Al-Qāḍī (1989, p. 237) refers to a statement by al-Jāḥiẓ, "that in the latter half of the 2nd/8th century or the first half of the following century, the secretaries in the Abbasid state were using 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's letters as a kind of textbook, a pedagogical model, in order to become good secretaries". She also refers to a report which provides evidence for the existence of a collection of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's *risālahs* in the life time of his son in a 'large notebook' (*daftar kabīr*). Although many of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's *risālahs* have survived, scattered in various texts, the collection is lost. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd's case is presumably reflective of many other collections that did not survive. Archives were often lost in hostile takeovers. The Fatimid archives, for instance, were all but completely destroyed by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn upon his taking control. Fortunately, historians and litterateurs saved samples that had exceptional historical value or were considered unmatched examples of prose. Modern compilations of these scattered documents are an invaluable resource¹¹².

The Codified Rules and Templates of *Tahmīd*

A chicken and egg quandary arises as to whether the chancery manuals simply codified the rules of beginning that had been put into practice by earlier *kātib*s, or, whether they in fact prescribed rules that were then followed by later *kātib*s. The likelihood is that

¹¹² Kurd 'Alī's compilation, *Rasā'il al-Bulaghā* presents many samples of writing from the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, including *risālahs* of Ibn 'Abbād, Ibn al-Mudabbir, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffa'. Many Fatimid *risālahs* have been saved in historical works such as 'Imād al-Dīn's *Uyūn*. Al-Shayyāl (1958) started to compile Fatimid chancery documents from historical sources, focusing mostly on Sunnī sources, but was not able to compile all available documents. There are still many documents unpublished. Another exceptional collection is *Sijillāt-Mustaṣiriyyah* which is a copy of a collection of *risālahs* sent by the Fatimid Imām al-Mustaṣir (d.487/1094) to his governors in Yemen. A broad overview of Fatimid documents can be found in Walker (2001, pp. 112-130). These *risālahs* are an important source for studying the development of the chancery *risālahs* in general and the tradition of the *Tahmīd* in particular.

initially the manuals recorded and codified more than they prescribed, since the majority of manuals were written in the 4th/10th century, a good two centuries after the birth of the new-*risālah*. After this time it is possible that the manuals played more of a prescriptive role, especially with the templates or models of *risālahs* (*rusūm*) becoming fashionable.

An examination of the rules prescribed for praise-preambles in the manuals reveals that *Tahmīd* gained importance and became more complex over time. As the complexity increased, the need for transcribing the rules arose. Thus, later manuals are much more explicit and systematic regarding the rules of beginning. As mentioned earlier, the most comprehensive of these manuals with regards to *Tahmīd* is al-Qalqashandī's *Subḥ al-ʿashā*. The presentation of the rules in this chapter is based on his framework, which delineates seven components in beginnings: *basmalah*, *ḥamdalah*, *shahādah*, *ṣalawāt*, *salām*, *ammā ba'd* and end-*Tahmīd*. In his discussion of the *fawātiḥ*, as he titles it, al-Qalqashandī himself quotes copiously from the manuals of his predecessors. This survey introduces the intermittent contribution of other manuals vis-à-vis *Tahmīd* within al-Qalqashandī's framework. The survey spans seven centuries, beginning with ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's *risālah* to the *kātib*s up until al-Qalqashandī who wrote in the 9th/15th century in Mamluk Egypt.

Basmalah

Used to begin nearly all Qur'ānic *surahs*, the *basmalah* is an integral part of the traditional *Tahmīd* beginning. Beginning with the name of God enables the author or speaker to relate his enterprise with the Almighty. Its form has remained static over the centuries as *bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*. Its usage is mandatory, according to al-Qalqashandī, based on the model of the Qur'ān and the Traditions of Muhammad (pp.959-961). Prior to a discussion of the origins of the *basmalah* and justifications for usage, these are the basic rules to be followed as prescribed by al-Qalqashandī and other manuals:

- All important documents must begin with the *basmalah*. This view is upheld by al-Ṣūfī (pp.31-32), al-Ṣābi' (*Rusūm*, p.104), al-Mūṣiḥī (p.74) and Khalaf (p.130). In insignificant documents (*al-marāsīm al-sighār*), it should be left out. These are

documents such as petitions (*qisās*) and letters of appointment (*tawqī'āt* - although the definition of this term is quite fluid)¹¹³.

- The *basmalah* must be written on a line by itself, above all other formulae and writing. It should be written in beautiful handwriting, with the *bā'* elongated to represent the missing *alif*, and the teeth of the *sīn* well articulated¹¹⁴. Al-Šūfī additionally suggests that it should be written adjacent to the margin (p. 36).

Though not articulated, the rules for the *basmalah* seem to have been in place since the end of the 1st/7th century. In the Qurrah papyri referred to in the previous chapter, the *basmalah* consistently occurs on the first line, by itself¹¹⁵. The rules continue to be followed even in contemporary works, as exemplified by the usage in the 20th century *risālahs* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin. The fact that early manuals contain few explicit rules, except that the *basmalah* should be used, is probably because they would have been regarded as unnecessary.

What is noteworthy about the *basmalah* is that over the centuries it remains predominantly static. There is no change in its form nor is there anything added to the accepted four-word formula. The static form is especially intriguing if considered in relation to the various forms of the *basmalah* witnessed in pre-reform coinage, for example *bismik Allāhum*, *bism al-rabb*, *bism Allāh al-'azīz*¹¹⁶. That the *basmalah* is unmodified throughout the Qur'ān, as opposed to *ḥamd* which has a number of adaptations, is perhaps the central reason for its standard form.

The history of the *basmalah* is traced back to the pre-Islamic period by al-Qalqashandī (p.959) and al-Šūfī (p.31-32). Al-Qalqashandī narrates a fantastic account from al-Mas'ūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab* about the origins of the use of the *basmalah*. Umayyah b. Abī al-Šalt al-Thaqafī is said to have travelled to al-Shām with a group of Qurayshites. Foolishly they stone a small snake that comes to eat their food, bringing upon themselves the wrath of an old Jewish woman who punishes them by not letting them go back home by dispersing their horses every morning. Eventually, Umayyah

¹¹³ The terminology is defined in Bjorkman "Diplomatic" *EI2*. That the *basmalah* was indeed left out of these 'insignificant' documents is verified in Khan's (1986, p.448) study of a decree (*manshūr*) from the archives of the Fatimid chancery dated 528/1133.

¹¹⁴ A detailed discussion of how to write the *basmalah* is presented in al-Qalqashandī (p.960) in addition to a discussion of the grammatical justifications for the elision of the *alif* and the presence of an assumed *iqra'* before the *basmalah*. A discussion of the use of *bada'tu bism Allāh* etc. is in al-Šūfī (pp. 32-36). Al-Nahḥās also has a similar discussion on the dropping of the *alif* (pp.55-56).

¹¹⁵ See image of papyrus in Appendix-1:19.

¹¹⁶ See in Walker (1941) coins no. 6 and 9. Also see Walker (1956, pp. xcvi-ci and pp.54-56) for a discussion of the Latin equivalents of these variants.

walks the desert in search of a solution and reaches a church (*kanīsa*), where an old man advises him to say ‘*bismik Allāhum*’ the next time the old lady appears. Umayyah does so and the old lady’s magic ceases to work. From that day onwards the Quraysh are said to have begun their documents with *bismik Allāhum*. By narrating this mythical tale, al-Qalqashandī is perhaps trying to give a Christian origin to the concept of the *basmalah*, to prevent it being seen as a purely pagan *jahiliyyah* ritual. He also intimates the protective spiritual power of the invocation.

Al-Ṣūfī, al-Naḥḥās and al-Qalqashandī all confirm that *bismik Allāhum* was used by the Prophet initially. It is also worth noting that *bismik Allāhum* also appeared on pre-reform coins minted after the advent of Islam, as mentioned earlier. Al-Ṣūfī (pp.31-32) explains in detail the transition from the Qurayshite *basmalah* to the standardized Islamic one. He relates that three Qur’ānic verses revealed over a period of time formulated the final standard *basmalah*. Initially, the verse “*bism Allāh majrāhā wa mursāhā*” (11:41) modified *bismik Allāhum* to *bism Allāh*. Then the verse “*qul id’ū Allāh aw id’ū al-Raḥmān...*” (17:110) was revealed and added *al-Raḥmān* to the formula. Finally, the verse “*innahū min sulaymān wa innahū bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*” (27:30) crystallized the *basmalah* in the state that it preserves until today. Interestingly, in all these verses the *basmalah* is not introduced as a new concept but rather as one that was applied by the ancient Prophets Noah and Solomon. The *basmalah* symbolizes the timeless impetus to relate with and evoke the divine.

In addition to this, as mentioned in chapter-I, the *basmalah* is considered the first verse of *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* by most exegetes. Its invocation at the beginning of each *sūrah*, except *sūrah*-9, is a standard practice that has enshrined the form, position and role of the *basmalah*.

A tradition attributed to the Prophet also encourages the use of the *basmalah*. Incidentally it is very similar to the one encouraging the use of the *ḥamdalah* quoted in the previous chapter. Al-Qalqashandī (p. 960) reports this tradition¹¹⁷:

عن أبي هريرة أن النبي (صلى الله عليه وسلم) قال: كل أمر ذي بال لا يبدأ فيه ببسم الله الرحمن الرحيم فهو أقطع يعني ناقص البركة.

The idea that the *basmalah* bestows blessings or divine grace (*barakah*), promulgated in this *Ḥadīth*, is corroborated by al-Ṣūfī (p.32) who affirms that the *basmalah* is one of the

¹¹⁷ I have not been able to find this tradition in any of the canonical *Ḥadīth* compendiums.

bounties of God, so that he may give them *barakah* in whatever it is they are pursuing and reward them for it.

Ḥamd

Unlike the *basmalah*, the *ḥamd* undergoes much development over the years. Even in the Qurʾān, where the *basmalah* at the beginning of *sūrah*s remains static, there are five different variations of the *ḥamd* in the beginning of five *sūrah*s¹¹⁸. The *ḥamd* is the prime component of the traditional beginning and its name, *Tahmīd*, derives from the root *ḥamd*, literally praise or gratitude. Its development can be followed in two seemingly distinct threads: i) the *taṣḍīr*—the standard *Tahmīd* or standard chancery praise-preamble and ii) the *khutbat al-kitāb*—the more contextualized (and often elaborate) chancery and non-chancery *Tahmīd*¹¹⁹. The *taṣḍīr* continued to be used as the standard beginning for most correspondence while the *Tahmīd* transcended the boundaries of correspondence into other forms of prose writing.

Taṣḍīr—The Standard Tahmīd

The format of *taṣḍīr*—the standard *Tahmīd*—remained more or less unchanged since the early days of Islam¹²⁰.

- “*min fulān b. fulān ilā fulān b. fulān*”¹²¹ follows the *basmalah*. The practice has been followed since the time of the Prophet according to Ibn al-Mudabbir (p.232), al-Ṣūfī (p.39), Hilāl al-Ṣābi’ (*Rusūm*, p.106), al-Nahḥās (p.252) and Khalaf (pp.129-130). Later on, specific titles and benedictions were attached to the names depending on the position of the recipient in the hierarchy of the state. Al-

¹¹⁸ *Sūrah*s 1, 6, 18, 34 and 35.

¹¹⁹ The terminology for *Tahmīd* is rather fluid. While *taṣḍīr* is quite widely accepted and used over the years to refer to the standard chancery beginning, other terms such as *khutbat al-kitāb*, *khutbah*, *ṣadr al-kitāb*, or simply, *Tahmīd*, are used for praise-preambles that begin monographs or are more elaborate than the standard chancery *taṣḍīr*. For the purposes of this study, *taṣḍīr* is henceforth used for the standard *Tahmīd* and *Tahmīd* is used for the more extended *khutbat al-kitāb*.

¹²⁰ It must be noted here that other formats for beginning correspondence did exist. The different modes of beginning can be classified into two primary groups: beseeching benediction for the recipient and various ways of introducing the author or text such as *hādthā kitāb*. Nonetheless, in the majority of state documents, the *taṣḍīr* is the beginning predominantly used. Al-Qalqashandī presents a list of fifteen ways in which chancery correspondence was begun (pp.998-1004). Additionally, he presents a chronological survey of the various beginnings since the time of the Prophet, through the four caliphs, the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatimids and the Muwahḥids. This survey includes the standard *taṣḍīr* discussed here and the *Tahmīd* referred to below (pp.1012-1145). In this section he also notes, as al-Ṣūfī does earlier (p. 225), that in correspondence with non-Muslims, Islamic formulae were not used.

¹²¹ This is possibly the *unwān* which is part of the *taṣḍīr*. The *unwān* is referred to by most of the manuals but is devoid of any formula and is in practical terms possibly the equivalent of the address on the top of formal correspondence today. See for discussions of the *unwān* al-Nahḥās (p. 252), Hilāl al-Ṣābi’ *Rusūm* (p. 104), Khalaf (p. 131) and al-Qalqashandī (p. 1006).

Mūṣilī adds that beginning with benedictions (*du‘ā*), is only suitable for people in high positions such as caliphs, kings, viziers and emirs (p.99). Al-Naḥḥās (pp.225-226), al-Muṣilī (p.109) and al-Qalqashandī (pp.866-947), include a list of these titles and benedictions¹²².

- The *taṣḍīr* formula originally consisted of *ḥamd* and a *shahādah*. The *ṣalawāt* was added later in the Abbasid period¹²³. It is introduced as the standard beginning by al-Ṣūlī (pp. 38-40 and 225) who states that it ended with the axiom:

فاني احمد إليك الله الذي لا اله الا هو [أما بعد]

This is corroborated by al-Naḥḥās (p.228), al-Ṣābi’ (*Rusūm*, p.106), Khalaf (pp.129-130) and al-Qalqashandī (p.962).

- Al-Qalqashandī (p. 962) adds that different forms of *ḥamd* may be used in the *taṣḍīr*, depending on the inclination of the author. The *taṣḍīr* may read *yaḥmaduhū*, *naḥmaduhū*, *aḥmaduhū* or *al-ḥamd li Allāh*. He states that some authors prefer *al-ḥamd li Allāh* as it denotes permanence, continuity and immersion (*thubūt*, *istimrār* and *istighrāq*), while the three verbal forms relate the act of performing *ḥamd* to the author, rendering it more personal¹²⁴. Because of the particular significance of the two forms, he suggests that some later *taṣḍīrs* employed both.
- The *taṣḍīr* occurs at the beginning of correspondence (*mukātabāt*). It is to my knowledge never seen as the beginning of a monograph. It is elided from less important documents according to al-Qalqashandī (p. 962).
- The *taṣḍīr* according to al-Naḥḥās (p.228) and Khalaf (p. 130) should be used for correspondence from the Imām and his successor only. This was definitely not the case earlier, as examples of the Qurrah papyri and another such example in al-Ṣūlī (p.106) show.

The Aphrodito papyri, also known as the Qurrah papyri, prove beyond doubt the usage of the *taṣḍīr* in correspondence in the 1st/7th century. While the authenticity of the letters of

¹²² See Bjorkmann “Diplomatic” *EI2* for references to the various beginning protocols and titles under the Umayyads, Abbasids, Fatimids and Mamluks. For example in the Fatimid *Sijillāt* (p.51) the recipient is addressed as *al-amīr al-ajal al-awḥad*, *amīr al-‘umārā*, *‘umdat al-khilāfah*, *sharaf al-ma‘ālī*, *tāj al-dawlah*, *sayf al-Imām*, *al-muẓaffār fī al-dīn*, *niẓām al-mu‘minīn*, *‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sulayḥī*, *naṣarah Allāh wa azfarah*.

¹²³ Details of this discussed in the *ṣalawāt* section below.

¹²⁴ In Fatimid *risālahs* the tense is almost always *‘yaḥmadu ilayka Allāh* and *salām ‘alayk* after the *min fulan b. fulan*.

the Prophet, samples of which are presented below, may be doubted, the authenticity of the papyri is undisputed. Abbott (1938, p.21) confirms that the papyri “had the added advantage of betraying any tampering with the text once written, since an attempt to remove or change the writing results only in destroying, or at least marring, the writing material”. A significant number of the Qurrah papyri written in the 1st/7th century survive, the majority of which begin with this formula¹²⁵:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من قره بن شريك الى صاحب اشقوه، فاني احمد الله الذي لا اله الا هو، اما

بعد . . .

This beginning, the standard *Tahmīd* or *taṣḍīr*, was the norm for nearly all chancery *risālahs* for centuries to come.

Al-Ṣūfī, discussing the standard chancery praise-preamble, states that *taṣḍīr* has hardly changed since the time of the Prophet except for the addition of *ṣalawāt*. He also cites this letter from the Prophet to the tribe of Banī Asad (pp.38-39):

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، من محمد رسول الله إلى بني أسد، سلام عليكم، فإني أحمد الله الذي لا إله إلا هو،

أما بعد، فلا تقرن مياه طي،

All the other *risālahs* attributed to the Prophet follow the same format and contain no examples of a more elaborate *Tahmīd*¹²⁶. Even the ones that are likely to be fabricated follow this pattern since fabricators would most likely have tried to make them appear authentic by following the formal characteristics of the originals. The Prophet's letters in conjunction with the Qurrah papyri prove that *taṣḍīr* was in use since the very early days of Islam and crystallized the custom of beginning with *ḥamd*. Later examples of *taṣḍīr* show that the form remained more or less unchanged (for example Appendix-2:59-61).

Tahmīd—Khuṭbat al-Kitāb

The convention of beginning with *ḥamd*, established by the *taṣḍīr*, was crucial in the development of *Tahmīd*. It is from the *taṣḍīr*, al-Qalqashandī claims, that the *Tahmīd* was extracted (p.1000):

¹²⁵ See Appendix-1:19 for full text and translation. Also see Becker (1906, p.62). It was written in Rabi' al-Awwal 91/548.

¹²⁶ For a collection of the letters attributed to the Prophet see Hamidallah (1969).

أَنْ تَفْتَحَ الْمَكْتَابَةَ بِخُطْبَةٍ مُفْتَتَحَةٍ بِالْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ، وَأَصْلُ هَذِهِ الْمَكْتَابَةِ مُخْتَلَسٌ مِنَ الْأَسْلُوبِ الْأَوَّلِ مِنْ قَوْلِهِمْ: فَإِنِّي أَحْمَدُ إِلَيْكَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ، ثُمَّ جَاءَ عَبْدُ الْحَمِيدِ بْنُ يَحْيَى كَاتِبُ مَرْوَانَ بْنِ مُحَمَّدٍ، آخِرُ خُلَفَاءِ بَنِي أُمَيَّةٍ، فَأَطَالَ التَّحْمِيدَاتِ فِي صُدُورِ الْكُتُبِ مَعَ الْإِيتْيَانِ بِأَمَّا بَعْدَ، وَتَبِعَهُ الْكُتَّابُ عَلَى ذَلِكَ وَتَوَسَّعُوا فِيهِ حَتَّى كَرَّرُوا الْحَمْدَ الْمَرَّاتِ فِي الْكِتَابِ الْوَاحِدِ، لَأَسَيِّمًا فِي أَمَاكِنِ النِّعَمِ الْحَادِثَةِ كَالْفَتْوحَاتِ وَنَحْوِهَا، ثُمَّ تَوَسَّعَ فِي ذَلِكَ حَتَّى جَعَلَ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ اقْتِصَاحًا، وَاسْتَمَرَ ذَلِكَ حَتَّى الْآنَ.

In the chancery *risālahs*, the development was not within the *taṣdīr* but rather by the addition of a full section for *ḥamd*, termed *khūṭbat al-kitāb*, after the *taṣdīr* and the *ammā ba'd*. Crucially, the name itself, *khūṭbat al-kitāb*, denotes its affinity to the beginning of the *khūṭbah* and acknowledges its debt to it. While the *taṣdīr* was used exclusively in correspondence, the *khūṭbat al-kitāb* was used within the chancery and without it. In *risālahs* emanating from the chancery, where *Tahmīd* is used, it follows the *taṣdīr* and *ammā ba'd*. In monographs, however, a short or long *Tahmīd* is used without *taṣdīr* and is followed by *ammā ba'd*.

It is possible to argue that the *Tahmīd*, though already experimented with by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd in the 2nd/8th century, did not become pervasively used until a few centuries later. The *Tahmīds* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd that survive suggest that the *Tahmīd* was used in a limited scope then, in the context of victories (*futūḥ*) and bounties (*niʿam*) as al-Qalqashandī puts it. However, the fact that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's *Tahmīds* were independently preserved speaks much for the appreciation of the readers and the literary merit of the introductions themselves (the main body of the *risālahs* the *Tahmīds* introduced is no longer extant).

While earlier manuals refer to the necessity of the beginning to predict the end, none of them actually comment on the use of *Tahmīd*. By contrast, later manuals, especially Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Ghurar al-Balāghah*, ʿAlī b. Khalaf's *Mawādd al-Bayān* and al-Qalqashandī's *Subḥ al-a'shā*, draw much attention to the function and strength of the *Tahmīd* and provide examples. The *Tahmīds* that introduce the manuals themselves are also an indication of the authors' awareness of their ability to contextualize and prepare the audience for the substance of the *risālah*¹²⁷.

¹²⁷ See (Appendix-2:78, 87, 88, 89, 93, 94, 95, 98, 121, 126, and 131) for the *Tahmīds* of a number of these manuals.

The following are the basic rules prescribed by the manuals about *Tahmīd*. A more detailed discussion with samples follows.

- The *Tahmīd* should ideally contextualize or predict the subject of the *risālah*.
- The *Tahmīd* is suitable initially for appropriately joyful occasions. By the Fatimid period it is adapted to various other contexts and even sombre elegies. The *khuṭbahs* on the other hand display a variety of *Tahmīds* earlier on including those in grim contexts such as battles (for example Appendix-2:13).
- Guidelines, templates or models termed *rusūm* or *muṣṭalahāt* suggest a suitable focus for the *Tahmīds* of chancery *risālahs* in common and repeated contexts such as victory in battle, festive occasions, the death of a caliph etc.
- The length of the *Tahmīd* varies. In many cases multiple *Tahmīds* are encouraged- i.e. *al-ḥamd li Allāh* occurring thrice followed by a description of God in relation to three different aspects.
- In the chancery, only *risālahs* of note, those that may be called *sulṭāniyyāt*, contain the *Tahmīd* according to al-Qalqashandī (p.1000).
- In chancery *risālahs* the *Tahmīd* follows *ammā ba'd* and the *taṣdīr*¹²⁸. In non-chancery works the *Tahmīd* begins immediately after the *basmalah*, followed by *ammā ba'd*. There is no *taṣdīr*.

A number of authors including Ibn al-Mudabbir, al-‘Askarī, al-Ṣābi’, Khalaf, Ibn al-Athīr and al-Qalqashandī highlight the role of the beginning as an introduction which predicts and engages the audience with the subject matter of the *risālah*. The *Tahmīd* is in many cases a foundation for a case to persuade the audience in favour of a particular perspective or a particular course of action. Ibn al-Mudabbir encourages contextually sound beginnings and refers also to their role in the elegance of expression and cohesiveness of the text (p. 236).

وَلِيَكُنْ فِي صَدْرِ كِتَابِكَ دَلِيلٌ وَاضِحٌ عَلَى مُرَادِكَ، وَافْتِتَاحٌ كَلَامِكَ بِرَهْأَنْ شَاهِدٍ عَلَى مَقْصِدِكَ، حَيْثُمَا جَرَيْتَ فِيهِ مِنْ فُنُونِ الْعِلْمِ، وَنَزَعْتَ نَحْوَهُ مِنْ مَذَاهِبِ الْخُطْبِ وَالْبَلَاغَاتِ، فَإِنَّ ذَلِكَ أَجْزَلُ لِمَعْنَاكَ، وَأَحْسَنُ لِمَتَابِقِ كَلَامِكَ.

Al-‘Askarī (pp.451 and 457) advises *kātib*'s on the importance of beginnings, quoting one of his predecessors:

¹²⁸ See for example *taṣdīr* and *Tahmīd* in (Appendix-2:60).

أَحْسِنُوا مَعَاشِرَ الْكُتَّابِ الْإِبْتِدَاءَاتِ، فَإِنَّ دَلَالَتِ الْبَيَانِ، ...
وَإِذَا كَانَ الْإِبْتِدَاءُ حَسَنًا بَدِيعًا، وَمَلِيحًا رَشِيقًا، كَانَ دَاعِيَةً إِلَى الْاسْتِمَاعِ لَمَّا يَجِيءُ بَعْدَهُ مِنَ الْكَلَامِ ...
وَلِهَذَا جُعِلَ أَكْثَرُ الْإِبْتِدَاءَاتِ بِالْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ، لِأَنَّ النُّفُوسَ تَشْتَوِي إِلَى الثَّنَاءِ عَلَى اللَّهِ، فَهُوَ دَاعِيَةٌ إِلَى
الْاسْتِمَاعِ ... وَقَالَ رَسُولُ اللَّهِ ﷺ: كُلُّ كَلَامٍ لَمْ يَبْدَأْ فِيهِ بِالْحَمْدِ لِلَّهِ فَهُوَ أَتَرٌ.

Al-Qalqashandī presents a similar proposition (p.979) asserting that the *Tahmīd* is effective because peoples' souls desire and look forward to the praise of God. While acknowledging other beginnings such as those with prayers, *salām*, and paying respects, he sees the *ḥamd* beginning as the best opening formula (p. 1000):

وَلَا خَفَاءَ فِي أَنَّ الْحَمْدَ أَفْضَلُ الْإِفْتِتَاحَاتِ، وَأَعْلَى مَرَاتِبِ الْإِبْتِدَاءَاتِ، وَإِنْ لَمْ يَتَّعِ الْإِبْتِدَاءُ بِهِ فِي صَدْرِ الْإِسْلَامِ،
فَهُوَ مِنَ الْمُبْتَدَعَاتِ الْحَسَنَةِ¹²⁹

In the section on *barā'at al-istihlāl* (the finesse or adeptness of beginning) al-Qalqashandī, suggestive of Ibn al-Mudabbir's statement, asserts that in all manners of speech it is necessary to have a beginning that suggests the end (p.979)¹³⁰. He expands this by adding that, if it is a *kitāb* on victory, its beginning should insinuate the congratulatory mood and if it is a *kitāb* of condolence, that should also be reflected in the beginning. As is his pattern in *Subḥ al-a'shā*, he presents a number of examples, a few of which are worth noting since they demonstrate the versatility of the *Tahmīd* and the importance attached to it. He quotes the beginning written by 'Amr b. Mus'adah's *kātib* in a *risālah* to the Abbasid al-Ma'mūn (d. 218/833), informing him of the birth of a unique calf, the face of which was that of a human:

أَمَّا بَعْدَ حَمْدِ اللَّهِ خَالِقِ الْأَنْعَامِ، فِي بَطُونِ الْأَنْعَامِ،

On a more serious note, al-Qalqashandī cites *al-Mathal al-Sā'ir*, in which the author, Ibn al-Athīr, reprimands the famous *kātib* Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi' [the grandfather of Hilāl al-

¹²⁹ The statement that it is from the *mubtada'āt* is rather strange if taken in reference to the *khutbah* tradition. However, in respect of the *risālah* tradition it was indeed a new practice started by 'Abd al-Hamīd. The latter tradition is what al-Qalqashandī seems to be referring to.

¹³⁰ The definition and various references to *barā'at al-istihlāl* are presented in chapter- I (p. 29). Ibn al-Muqaffa' is also said to have made an interesting comment on beginnings qtd. in al-Jahīz, *al-Bayān* (p. 37):

وَلَيْكُنْ فِي صَدْرِ كَلَامِكَ دَلِيلٌ عَلَى حَاجَتِكَ، كَمَا أَنَّ خَيْرَ أَيْبَاتِ الشَّعْرِ الْبَيْتَ الَّذِي إِذَا سَمِعْتَ صَدْرَهُ عَرَفْتَ قَافِيَتَهُ كَأَنَّهُ يَقُولُ: فَرَّقْ بَيْنَ صَدْرِ خُطْبَةِ النِّكَاحِ وَبَيْنَ صَدْرِ خُطْبَةِ الْعِيدِ، وَخُطْبَةِ الصَّلَاحِ وَخُطْبَةِ التَّوَاهُبِ، حَتَّى يَكُونَ لَكَ فِي كُلِّ مَنْ ذَلِكَ صَدْرٌ يَدُلُّ عَلَى عَجْزِهِ؛ فَإِنَّهُ لَا خَيْرَ فِي كَلَامٍ لَا يَدُلُّ عَلَى مَعْنَاكَ،

Ṣābi'] for an unsuitable beginning, 'despite [Abū Ishāq's] greatness in the field of writing' (p.980). Ibn al-Athīr criticizes Abū Ishāq for not giving a clue to the context, the conquest of Baghdad, in the opening of his *risālah*. He argues that this beginning, or 'warm-up' (*tahmiyah*) as he calls it, is appropriate for a *kitāb* on the principles of religion, but inappropriate for a *kitāb* on the occasion of a victory¹³¹. The criticism of such a high standing *kātib* in this manner shows that having a contextual *Tahmīd* in certain chancery writings was not optional but indeed a fundamental expectation.

However, this expectation developed gradually. Initially the *Tahmīd* was closely associated with occasions of joy but was later used even in sombre contexts. The following is an example of a victory *Tahmīd* written in the time of al-Muṭaṣim (d. 227/842) in which the *ḥamd* is repeated thrice (qtd. in al-Qalqashandī, p.1025; Appendix-2:52).

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي جعل العاقبة لدينه، والعصمة لأوليائه، والعز لمن نصره، والفلاح لمن أطاعه، والحق لمن عرف حقه، وجعل دائرة السوء على من عصاه وصدف عنه، ورغب عن ربوبيته، وابتغى إلها غيره... يحمده أمير المؤمنين حمد من لا يعبد غيره، ولا يتوكل إلا عليه... ويسأله أن يصلي على محمد عبده ورسوله، وصفيته من عباده...

والحمد لله الذي توجه لأمر المؤمنين بصنعه فيسر له أمره، وصدق له ظنه...
فالحمد لله كثيرا كما هو أهله، ورغب إلى الله تعالى في تمام نعمه ودوام صنعه...

Each repetition deals with an explicit theme. The first *ḥamd* segment praises God as the deliverer of victory and the defeater of the enemies. The second draws attention to the caliph as the one whom God aided, the one indirectly responsible for the victory. The third praises and beseeches God for the continuation of His bounty and with the first person plural, *narghab*, relates the context to the audience.

The repetition of *ḥamd* is attested much earlier in *Tahmīds* by °Abd al-Ḥamīd and Ibn al-Muqaffa° (Appendix-2:38, 40 and 42). This repetition duly becomes a standard feature in most celebratory *Tahmīds*, the number varying according to the magnitude of the bounty being celebrated. The most common number of repetitions according to al-

¹³¹ See Abū Ishāq's *Tahmīd* in (Appendix-2:54).

Qalqashandī remains three (p.1024), but even seven repetitions are found sometimes (p.962).

Even within the limited scope of *Tahmīds* on joyous occasions, almost exclusively written in the chancery, the principal elements that would define the literary value and character of *Tahmīds*, its substance, structure and style, matured.

The limited scope, however, meant that until the 3rd/9th century the usage of the *khutbat al-kitāb* type of *Tahmīd* was relatively limited in chancery *risālahs*. This trend is reflected by its negligence in most of the early manuals and the limited number of early examples. Ibn Qutaybah in his work *Adab al-kātib* (p.21) simply remarks on the unawareness of the difference between *ḥamd* and *shukr*. The *Tahmīds* written by °Abd al-Ḥamīd, though beautiful, are all written celebrating his master's victories in Armenia¹³², with no variety in terms of context. Ibn al-Mudabbir (pp. 233-234) clearly states that the *Tahmīd* should be used to celebrate victories but not in a negative context¹³³. He criticizes an author who uses the *Tahmīd* in such a context (the regression of an individual from Islam). Sombre situations such as death, he asserts, are unsuitable for a *ḥamd* beginning and should rather be begun by the Qur'ānic verse (2:156), '*innā li Allāh wa innā ilayh rāji'ūn*'. On the other hand, *Tahmīds* did occur on less joyous occasions in *khutbahs* in the 1st/7th century, but these were shorter and less prominent compared to the later *risālah* *Tahmīds*¹³⁴. Very few non-chancery *risālahs* appear with *Tahmīds*; one example is al-Shāfi'ī's early 3rd/9th century *risālah* (Appendix-2:77). But as a general trend, notwithstanding exceptions, the contexts deemed suitable for *Tahmīds*, and thus their overall frequency, were limited when compared to the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries.

From the 4th/10th century, the *Tahmīd* mushrooms in terms of variety and usage¹³⁵. After the Abbasid period, al-Qalqashandī treats the *Tahmīd* as a standard feature in *risālahs* of the dynasties that he deals with. The broadening of the scope of contexts in which the *Tahmīd* is a suitable beginning is attested in this statement quoted by al-Qalqashandī from *Mawādd al-Bayān*. A contextualizing beginning, he asserts, even if only of two or three words, is necessary in all *kitābs* whether on the occasion of victory, condolence, a call towards religion, praise, admonition etc (p.980). A very telling example of an early *Tahmīd* written in a context other than victory is one written by Abū

¹³² This opinion is put forward by °Abbās (1988, p. 68).

¹³³ Also see al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm* (p. 106).

¹³⁴ The *khutbahs* of °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in the context of battle referred to in chapter-II for instance (Appendix-2:11, 12 and 13).

¹³⁵ For examples see Appendix-2:54-140.

Ishāq al-Ṣābi' on behalf of al-Muṭī' (d. 363/974), subsequent to the truce achieved between البصير بسبيل الأجساد، القدير على تأليف الأجساد، البصير بسبيل

خَفَايا الأَحْقَاد، ذِي الْحِكْمَةِ فِي تَبْدِيلِ الضَّغَنِ وَالسَّخِيمَةِ ذِمَّةً، وَالْمُنَابَذَةِ عِصْمَةً، وَالْقَطِيعَةَ وَصْلَةً، وَالشَّحْنَاءِ بِلِ
خُلَّةٍ، وَالْحَرْجِ فُرْجَةً، وَالشَّعْثِ نَضَارَةً وَبَهْجَةً. الَّذِي جَعَلَ الصُّلْحَ فَتْحًا هَيْئًا، وَالسَّلَامَ مُنْجَا بَهِيًا، وَالْمَوَادِعَتَاءَ
مُنَّا جَزِيلًا، وَالْإِرْعَاءَ أَمْنًا جَمِيلًا وَالْإِقَالَةَ حَرَمًا لَا يُضِلُّ هُدَاهُ، وَلَا تَحُلُّ قُوَاهُ، وَلَا تَخَيِّبُ عَوَاقِبُهُ، وَلَا تَخْفِي عَةَ
مَآثِرُهُ وَمَنَافِئِهِ، رَأْفَةً مِنْهُ بِالْخَلْقِ، وَصِيَانَةً لِأَهْلِ الْحَقِّ، وَإِمَهَالًا فِي الْعَهْدِ، وَرُخْصَةً فِي الْاِخْتِصَارِ دُونَ الْحَدِّ، نَبِي
لِيُقَرَّبَ فِيئَةُ الْمُتَأَمِّلِ، وَيُسَهَّلَ رَجْعَةُ الْمُتَحَصِّلِ، وَتُسَرِّعَ رَفَاهِيَةُ الْمُسْتَبْصِرِ، وَيَخَفُ اجْتِهَادُ الْمَزَاوِلِ الْمُشْتَمِرِ، وَقَدْ
لِيُقَرَّبَ فِيئَةُ الْمُتَأَمِّلِ، وَيُسَهَّلَ رَجْعَةُ الْمُتَحَصِّلِ، وَتُسَرِّعَ رَفَاهِيَةُ الْمُسْتَبْصِرِ، وَيَخَفُ اجْتِهَادُ الْمَزَاوِلِ الْمُشْتَمِرِ، وَقَدْ
قال الله عز وجل ﴿وَالصَّالِحَ خَيْرٌ﴾ (4:128) ...

The difference in mood between this *Tahmīd* and the one before it is clear: the first is jubilant, boldly declaring the power of God in providing victory and quashing his enemies; the second is conciliatory, calmly reasoning the virtues of peace and reconciliation. The spirit of reconciliation is expressed beautifully by the simile between God's power in uniting the different parts of the body, and his reconciliation of the two rulers, for a greater cause. The wisdom of the truce is attributed to God, as it is He who changes the atmosphere of animosity and malevolence into one of care and safety. This change God brings about in order to safeguard those who are righteous, and indeed 'reconciliation is good'¹³⁷. The soft tone of the *Tahmīd*, the long sentences, and keywords such as *ṣulḥ* and *salām* all collectively present the worldview that favours reconciliation and persuades the audience to adopt it. With the adaptation of the *Tahmīd* to a wider variety of contexts from the 4th/10th century onwards, its usage, relative to earlier times, exponentially multiplies.

The more noteworthy and recurring contexts, and the *Tahmīds* that suit them, are discussed at length in *Mawādd al-Bayān* by °Alī b. Khalaf, who devotes a full section to templates or guidelines (*rusūm*) for *risālahs* regularly composed in the chancery,

¹³⁶ Full *Tahmīd* in Appendix-2:55. Also see Appendix-2:57 and 73.

¹³⁷ The Qur'anic context of this verse is the reconciliation of a couple seeking divorce. The usage here conjures that image.

including their beginnings¹³⁸. The *rusūm* that are relevant to *Tahmīd* are presented in Appendix-3. Khalaf highlights the importance of this section by describing it as the fruit of his work and the ultimate purpose of his discipline (p.135). He admits that he does not cover the full array of chancery production, but rather focuses on those *rusūm* that he finds most significant: the *sulṭāniyyāt*, which are *risālahs* concerned with critical issues and occasions, sent by the ruler. He adds that the rules and templates presented need not be followed or copied verbatim; rather, he intends them to emphasize basic principles and themes to guide the *kātib* (p.136). Al-Qalqashandī primarily relies on Khalaf in his exposition on the *rusūm*, adding and subtracting a few categories as well as providing many examples, including some precious samples of *Tahmīd*. For each category a basic description of the purpose of the *kitāb* and its importance is followed by a recommendation as to how the document should be begun (p.140). The following description is for *kitābs* that are written in times of the perception of the powers of the skies, or God, i.e. calamities or natural disasters (Appendix-3:5).

وَالرَّسْمُ فِيهَا أَنْ تَفْتَحَ بِحَمْدِ اللَّهِ عَلَى الْإِلَهِ الَّتِي يُفِيضُهَا إِبْلَاءً وَاخْتِبَارًا، وَأَيَّاتِهِ الَّتِي يُرْسِلُهَا تَخْوِيفًا وَإِنْذَارًا،
وَمَوْهِيتِهِ فِي التَّوْقِيفِ بِسَائِغِ نِعْمَتِهِ عَلَى طَاعَتِهِ، وَالتَّحْذِيرِ بِدَائِمِ نِقْمَتِهِ مِنْ مَعْصِيَتِهِ، وَالصَّلَاةِ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ الَّذِي
أُنْقِذَ بِشَفَاعَتِهِ، وَعَصِمَ مِنْ نُزُولِ الْقَوَارِعِ بِنُبُوَّتِهِ،

Through the *Tahmīd* a sense of rationality is imposed on events that may otherwise seem brutal without any reason; through the *Tahmīd*, the Prophet is shown as the saviour from misfortunes in this world and the Hereafter.

In the template for beginning *kitābs* concerned with calling towards religion (Appendix-3:1), the description of the *Tahmīd* is understandably quite lengthy. It includes components that are not always present in regular *Tahmīds* such as *tasbīḥ*. In some ways they seem to be the guidelines followed by most prose works with the aim of *da'wah* and guidance including later Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *risālahs*.

The guidelines present collectively an entire theology and vision of an ordered cosmos, a worldview that is shared by the audience and becomes the basis for the bond holding a community together. The *rusūm* create a framework for the relationship between the divine and His creation, between this life and the Hereafter, between the shepherd and his flock, between the ruler and the ruled. They internalize a psychological

¹³⁸ Note that *rusūm* as a concept is much earlier. Ibn al-Mudabbir (p. 234) states that you must follow the *rusūm* in your *khawāṭim*.

effort to assert, uphold and legitimate the authority of the ruler and bond his subjects into a community.

Variances in the worldview, and the effect they have in practical terms, can be seen by comparing the guidelines provided by two authors in different circumstances to introduce the same event, in this case the accession of a successor to the caliphate (Appendix-3:7). The authors are Khalaf and al-Qalqashandī, the latter depending on the former for the *rusūm* and quoting him more or less word for word, except for one very telling difference. While Khalaf (pp.141-142) requires the author to comment on the designation of ʿAlī by the Prophet as his successor, from whom the Fatimids physically and spiritually descended, and on the importance of the Imāmate in Muhammad's progeny, al-Qalqashandī (p.1356) advises the author to relate the tradition of the Prophet concerning his uncle ʿAbbās, from whom the Abbasids descended. It is in the *Tahmīd* beginning that the two distinct legitimizing factors for the rule of the Fatimids and Abbasids are presented. Thus, the guidelines and the resulting *Tahmīd* are the foundation for the thesis put forth in the *risālah* that follows.

In most cases, the foundational beginnings proposed by the guidelines by Khalaf and al-Qalqashandī are the same, suggesting that most of them are pan-Islamic, and were therefore adhered to consciously or subconsciously by *kātib*s from different dynastic and sectarian backgrounds. Examples of adherence to these guidelines can be found in the collection of *Tahmīds* in Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Ghurar al-Balāghah*, in the samples presented by al-Qalqashandī while quoting Khalaf and in other collections of *risālahs* of the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries¹³⁹. *Ghurar al-Balāghah* in particular provides an excellent collection of model *Tahmīds* on different themes. Hilāl al-Ṣābi' does not specify the context that would suit each of his *Tahmīds*, but looking at them in correlation with Khalaf's guidelines it is possible to speculate on the relevant purpose of each of the beginnings. For instance, this rather short *Tahmīd* by Hilāl al-Ṣābi (p.57) may fit into the categories of prohibiting discord in religion or possibly in peace accords (Appendix-3:6 and 8)¹⁴⁰:

¹³⁹ An interesting example is quoted by Taher (1974, p. 61, Appendix-2:76) from a 12th/18th century *risālah* written in Damascus after a devastating earthquake. The author in his relatively short *Tahmīd* seems to adhere to the guidelines set forth by Khalaf (Appendix-3:5) seven centuries ago.

¹⁴⁰ Also see similar *Tahmīd* by same author in Appendix-2:74, which is analyzed in chapter-IV (p.143), and al-Mu'ayyad's *Tahmīd* in Appendix-4:78.

الحمدُ لله وأصلِ الحبل، وناظمِ الشمل، وجامعِ الكلمة، ومُنزِلِ الرحمة، الأَميرِ بالألفة، المانعِ مِنَ الفُرقة، الذي
أحسنَ التدبير، وأحكمَ التقدير، ودعا إلى النَّبَارِ والتَّواصل، ونهى عَنِ العَادِي والتَّقَاطُع. أحمدهُ على ما أجزَلَ
من الصَّنْع، وأجزَلَ مِنَ النُّفْع،

Other models in *Ghurar al-Balāghah* are rather more general and it is difficult to pinpoint the precise theme or context that they would fit into. Perhaps it is up to the *kātib* to customize them for the purpose of his *risālah*.

The prolixity or brevity of the *Tahmīd* is also at the discretion of the *kātib*. Al-Jahshiyārī quotes Ibn al-Muqaffa^c as stating that a *kātib* should economise in his usage of words, and be concise in his beginnings (p. 78). This is quite contrary to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd’s reputation for being verbose. Since ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd was a contemporary of Ibn al-Muqaffa^c, it is possible to see the latter’s statement as a different stylistic preference applying to a specific context. In contexts in which the *kitāb* is to be read aloud, a few of the manuals explicitly advise the *kātib* to use multiple synonyms and be lengthy. Al-Naḥḥās (pp.305-306) and al-Qalqashandī (p.1375) both stress that it is necessary to prolong the *Tahmīd* in the context of victories and similar occasions so that it can be understood by the public listening to it.

Shahādah and Ṣalawāt

The *shahādah* in the *taṣdīr* was a core feature since the very early days of Islam. Its standard form ‘*wa ashhad an lā ilāh illā hū*’ is witnessed in most of the manuals’ references to the *taṣdīr* discussed earlier. The proclamation of the Prophethood of Muhammad does not normally occur in the *taṣdīr*, although there are exceptions. Al-Qalqashandī (pp.1013 and 1018) cites a *risālah* from the Prophet and another from Abū-Bakr in which the *shahādah* is followed by the phrase *muḥammad^c abduh wa rasūluh*.

In the *khutbat al-kitāb*, al-Qalqashandī (p.962) states that the custom of including the *shahādah* after *ḥamd* was introduced by the *muta’akhkhirūn*. It seems to be an innovation of the 4th/10th century, although it is difficult to pinpoint the exact time-frame. This much is certain: earlier *Tahmīds*, such as those by ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, do not include a *shahādah*, possibly since most of these *Tahmīds* followed *ammā ba’d* and the *taṣdīr* which had already proclaimed the *shahādah*. As the *Tahmīd* also became used independently in monographs and in some *kitābs* for general announcements, which would not have begun with the *taṣdīr*, the practice of including the *shahādah* might have

been initiated. Al-Qalqashandī (p.962) cites the tradition of the Prophet, ‘every *khuṭbah*¹⁴¹ [beginning] that does not start with the *shahādah* is like an amputated hand’, as the justification of its use in later times. In most *Tahmīds* where the proclamation of One God is made, the proclamation of the Prophethood of Muhammad follows. Al-Qalqashandī (p.1000) also notes that the inclusion of the *shahādah* and *ṣalawāt* is a sign of the *kātib*’s greatness. Incidentally, none of the other manuals, referred to in this study, discuss the *shahādah* or its inclusion, although samples of *taṣdīr* and *khuṭbahs* that they present do include it.

The *ṣalawāt*, as mentioned earlier, was added to the *taṣdīr* according to most manuals early in the Abbasid period in the 2nd/8th century. Ibn al-Mudabbir (p.238) forcefully says that the inclusion of *ṣalawāt* should not be neglected in the beginnings. He quotes an Abū al-‘Aynā’, who claims that it was the Umayyads who ordered their *kātib*s to remove the *ṣalawāt* from their writings. This means that the *ṣalawāt* was actually reinstated in Abbasid times. He further quotes a tradition by the Prophet explicitly directing the use of *ṣalawāt* in the beginning, middle and end of *du‘ā*, which occurs at the start of *risālahs*. Al-Ṣūlī in his manual states that the *taṣdīr* used to end with the proclamation of One God until the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/ 809), who instructed the addition of the *ṣalawāt*. The addition is seen by al-Ṣūlī as the best virtue of al-Rashīd. This was the standard *taṣdīr ṣalawāt* (p. 40):

وَأَسْأَلُهُ أَنْ يُصَلِّيَ عَلَيَّ مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِهِ وَرَسُولِهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ

References to the *taṣdīr* in the manuals following that period almost always contain the *ṣalawāt*¹⁴². Al-Qalqashandī refers to two Qur’ānic verses that obligate the inclusion of the *ṣalawāt*: 33:56 and 94:4 respectively. He cites ‘Umar al-Madā’inī’s observation of the omission of the *ṣalawāt* by some *kātib*s, who are described as having committed a grave sin and forsaken a great reward.

Al-Qalqashandī (p.963) also debates the permissibility of beseeching *ṣalawāt* on the progeny and companions of the Prophet, arguing for its acceptability if it follows *ṣalawāt*

¹⁴¹ Interestingly, al-Qalqashandī understands the term *khuṭbah* here as referring to the *Tahmīd* and not the traditional oration. This goes to show the fluidity of the term and also the close relation between the *khuṭbah* as an oration on the one hand and the *khuṭbah* as *Tahmīd* on the other.

¹⁴² Al-Qalqashandī also refers to Hārūn’s role in the introduction of the *ṣalawāt* in the *taṣdīr*. For examples of *risālahs* with *ṣalawāt* in the *taṣdīr* see: al-Nahḥās (pp.227-228), al-Ṣābi’, *Rusūm* (p.106), and al-Qalqashandī (pp.1022, 1023, 1024).

on Muhammad. He points out the Fatimid practice of beseeching *ṣalawāt* by referring to the Prophet as their grandfather(*jadd*), as in the following example:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين
من عبد الله ووليه معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين إلى الأمير الأجل . . .
سلام عليك: فإن أمير المؤمنين يحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم
النبيين وسيد المرسلين، صلى الله عليه وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين وسلم تسليماً¹⁴³

The reference to the lineage, and the *ṣalawāt* on the progeny as the rightfully guided Imāms, draw a clear link between the Fatimids and the Prophet. This concise but meaningful *ṣalawāt* highlights the source from which Fatimid spiritual and political authority is derived. An additional feature of the Fatimid *taṣdīr* is the short *ḥamdalah* beside the *basmalah*. This *ḥamdalah* was the standard mark of ratification (*‘alāmah*), of all the Fatimid Imāms and was usually written by the Imām himself¹⁴⁴.

The more elaborate *Tahmīd* came to include the *ṣalawāt* in roughly the same time period as it came to include the *shahādah*. The *ṣalawāt* aided the *Tahmīd* in the contextualization and foundation process. This is exemplified by the *ṣalawāt* in the Fatimid *kitāb* written by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī subsequent to the demise of Imām al-Musta‘lī and the assumption of the Imāmate by his son al-‘Āmir. Being a Fatimid *risālah* it also includes *ṣalawāt* on the progeny of the Prophet, and specifically on ‘Alī, Muhammad’s successor according to Shiites¹⁴⁵. This was the custom in most Fatimid *Tahmīds*.

الحمد لله المتوحد بالبقاء، القاضي على عباده بالفناء . . . يحمده أمير المؤمنين . . . ويسأله أن يصلي على
جده محمد الذي ثبتت حُجَّتُهُ، وَوَضَحَتْ مَحَجَّتُهُ، وَعَلَتْ كَلِمَتُهُ، وَأَنَافَتْ عَلَى دَرَجِ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ دَرَجَتُهُ، صَلَّى
الله عليه وعلى أخيه وابن عمه أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب الذي جعل الله الإمامة كلمة في عقبه
نَاقِيَةً^(43:28)، وَحُبَّهُ جَنَّةٌ يَوْمَ الْفَرَجِ الْأَكْبَرِ وَأَقِيَّةٌ، وعلى الأئمة من ذُرِّيَّتِهِمَا الطَّاهِرِينَ، صَلَاةً دَائِمَةً إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ.

¹⁴³ *Sijillāt* (no.34, p.106; Appendix-2:62).

¹⁴⁴ The *‘alāmah*, also translated as motto or initials, is also referred to by some sources indiscriminately as *tawqīf*, which is additionally used to refer to decrees or edicts of the ruler. Original *‘alāmahs* are found in Fatimid decrees (*manshūr*) studied by Stern (1964). There is no *taṣdīr* in these documents as they are considered quite low in the hierarchy of documents. The *‘alāmah* is below the *basmalah* in the decrees studied by Stern.

¹⁴⁵ Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p.1357; Appendix-2:67). See also another *Tahmīd* in the same context by Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (Appendix-2:68).

In this example, the *ṣalawāt* constitutes almost half of the *Tahmīd*. After reasoning the inevitability of death in the *ḥamd*, the author takes the opportunity of the *ṣalawāt* to describe Muhammad as the one whose proof (*ḥujjah*) was well established, whose path was clear, whose word was lofty and whose status was above all the Prophets. He also takes the opportunity presented by the *ṣalawāt* to describe °Alī as the Prophet's brother, cousin, commander of the faithful (*amīr al-mu'minīn*), the one in whose progeny the Imāmate would continue and the one whose love is a protective shield on the Day of Judgment. Following such a description, the *ṣalawāt* on the Imāms, explicitly stating their descent from both Muhammad and °Alī, builds a strong case for the authority of the new Imām, al-'Āmir, and casts him as an heir to their virtues.

Salām and Ammā Ba'd

The *salām* and *ammā ba'd* are both traditions of the chancery as explicit and compulsory as the ones mentioned above. The *salām* is defined by al-Qalqashandī (p.964) as Islam's greeting (*taḥiyyat al-islām*). He adds that it is required for the unification of hearts and submits a *Ḥadīth* in support of this. Although none of the other manuals refer to *salām* specifically, its place in the *taṣdīr* seems to be assumed. The majority of *taṣdīrs*, such as the Fatimid one quoted above, include the *salām* before the *ḥamd*.

Ammā ba'd on the other hand is expanded on by a number of manuals¹⁴⁶. The contention is that it is the *faṣl al-khiṭāb* attributed to the Prophet David, referred to in the Qur'ān (38:20), and has been used since. Others have attributed it to the pre-Islamic orator Quss b. Sā'idah¹⁴⁷. In practice the placement of *ammā ba'd* varies: in most chancery documents it is after the *taṣdīr*, but in other texts it may come after the *khutbat al-kitāb* or after the *basmalah* if there is no *Tahmīd*.

End-Tahmīds

In the end of this chapter a note must be made on endings in *risālahs*, as the *Tahmīd* often recurs in the conclusion. Al-°Askarī makes a connection between beginnings and endings (p.455):

¹⁴⁶ See Ibn al-Mudabbir (p.232), al-Qalqashandī (p.964), and al-Ṣūfī (p.36), who quotes this verse of poetry linking the *ḥamd* and *ammā ba'd*:

باسم الذي أنزلت من عنده السور * الحمد لله أما بعد يا عمر

¹⁴⁷ Ch. Pellat, "Quss b. Sā'idah", *EI2*.

وَالْأَبْدَاءُ أَوَّلُ مَا يَقَعُ فِي السَّمْعِ مِنْ كَلَامِكَ، وَالْمَقْطَعُ آخِرُ مَا يَبْقَى فِي النَّفْسِ مِنْ قَوْلِكَ، فَيَنْبَغِي أَنْ يَكُونَا جَمِيعًا مُؤَيَّدَيْنِ،

While the beginning is responsible for the first impression, the ending is responsible for the impression people will carry with them. Not as prominent as the Taḥmīds in the beginnings, the practice of the concluding Taḥmīd is based primarily on the following Qur'ānic verse (10:10):

﴿دَعَاَهُمْ فِيهَا سُبْحَانَكَ اللَّهُمَّ وَتَحِيَّتُهُمْ فِيهَا سَلَامٌ وَآخِرُ دَعْوَاهُمْ أَنْ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ﴾

Al-Qalqashandī also cites another verse to make the case for the concluding Taḥmīd (39:75):

﴿وَتَرَى الْمَلَائِكَةَ حَافِينَ مِنْ حَوْلِ الْعَرْشِ يُسَبِّحُونَ بِحَمْدِ رَبِّهِمْ وَقُضِيَ بَيْنَهُمُ بِالْحَقِّ وَقِيلَ الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ﴾

In this case, although he does not refer to this point, the Taḥmīd is portrayed by the Qur'ān as a formula used by angels alongside God's throne. Such depictions are sure to add credence to the Taḥmīd as a formula and encourage its usage. Al-Qalqashandī (p.976) additionally refers to a *Ḥadīth* to support the usage in conclusions and makes the interesting observation that the Prophet was named Aḥmad because he was the last of the Prophets (*khātam al-anbiyā*).

The equivalent of the *taṣdīr* in endings is the short statement '*wa ākhir da'wānā an al-ḥamd li Allāh rabb al-'ālamīn*' or '*al-ḥamd li Allāh waḥdah*'. Al-Qalqashandī prefers the first as it is the most exemplary Taḥmīd having been used as the beginning of the Qur'ān, with the modification of *da'wāhum* to *da'wānā*. This is very often followed by a short *ṣalawāt* since, according to al-Qalqashandī, God has adjoined the Prophet's *dhikr*, remembrance, with His own¹⁴⁸. Similar to the *taṣdīr*, this practice is overlooked in those documents that are not considered important enough to be worthy of the beginning and ending formulae. It is interesting that by this stage, whatever the basis may be, the *ḥamd* and *ṣalawāt* become inseparable: two elements of a single entity.

¹⁴⁸ Al-Qalqashandī comes to this conclusion on the basis of the interpretation of Qur'ānic verse (94:4):

ورفعنا لك ذكرك

He understands this verse as meaning that the Prophet's *dhikr* was raised because it was adjoined to the *dhikr* of God Himself (p.976).

In those documents that begin with a *khutbat al-kitāb* *Tahmīd*, there is also often a similar ending. Though much shorter than the beginning *Tahmīd*, they are also contextual in nature and act as a conclusion to the document, just as the initial *Tahmīd* regularly acts as an introduction. In *Mawādd al-Bayān*, Khalaf refers explicitly to two such *Tahmīd* endings in his *rusūm* for *kitābs* written on the occasion of the transition of the caliphate and on the occasion of victories (Appendix-3:7 and 13). In the latter he advises the *kātib* to praise God the One who has ordained ascendancy for his followers and lowliness for his enemies, the One who draws those self-conceited by his tolerance, and does not ignore those who deviate from His will; and beseech *ṣalawāt* on His messenger and his progeny. A *Tahmīd* in the ending of a victory *risālah*, the beginning of which was quoted above, written on behalf of al-Muṭaṣim¹⁴⁹, echoes the guidelines in *Mawādd al-Bayān*:

فالحمد لله الذي أعزَّزَ دينه، وأظهرَ حُجَّتَه، ونصرَ أوليائه، وأهلكَ أعداءَه. حمداً يَقْضِي به الحق، وَيَتِمُّ به النعمة، وَتَصِلُ به الزيادة. والحمد لله الذي فتحَ على أمير المؤمنينَ وَحَقَّقَ ظَنَّهُ وَأَنْجَحَ سَعْيَه، وحازَ له أجرَ هذا الفتحِ وذُخْرَه وشَرْفَه، وجعلَه خالِصاً لِعَمايِه وَكَمالَه بِأَكْمَلِ الصَّنْعِ وَأَحْسَنِ الكِفَايَةِ، ولم يَرِ بُؤْساً فيه مما يُقْذِي عَيْنَه، ولا خِلا مِنْ سُرُورٍ يَراه، وبِشَارَةٍ تَجَدُّدُ له عِنْدَه، فَمَا يَدْرِي أمير المؤمنينَ مَا مَنَعَ فيه مِنَ الأملِ، أو مَا خَتَمَ له مِنَ الظَّفَرِ. فالحمد لله أولاً والحمد لله آخرًا، والحمد لله على عَطَايَاهُ الَّتِي لَا تُحْصَى، وَنِعَمِهِ الَّتِي لَا تُحْصَى، إِنْ شَاءَ اللهُ تَعَالَى،

The end-*Tahmīd* concludes the document in hope of further victories and focuses the attention on the caliph as the one whose fortune brought this positive conclusion. By having a *Tahmīd* at the beginning and the end a cycle of continuity is established, whereby, with the recurrence of *Tahmīd*, good fortunes will also recur. It is unclear why, but in this example the *ṣalawāt* has been elided. While the end-*Tahmīd* is not as common as the *taṣdīr* or beginning *Tahmīd*, it does become a feature regularly seen in chancery documents and even non-chancery ones¹⁵⁰.

Two other formulae appear regularly in the end of *risālahs*: *inshā' Allāh* (if God wills it) and *ḥasbunā Allāh wa nfm al-wakīl* (3:173)(God is sufficient for us and the best

¹⁴⁹ Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 1026; Appendix-2:53).

¹⁵⁰ For example, in the Fatimid chancery documents *Sijillāt* (Appendix-2:58, 59, 60 and 61) and the non-chancery such as al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* (Appendix-4:28, 34, 41), the end-*Tahmīd* is a standard feature.

whom we entrust; based on Qur'ān 18:23)¹⁵¹. The first is specific to chancery *risālahs* and rarely occurs in the end of other writing. The latter, often called the *ḥasbalah*, is routinely visible in the end of non-chancery prose writing as well, following the end-*Tahmīd* and *ṣalawāt*. Deviation from these static short formulae is quite rare¹⁵².

Conclusion

The philosophy of *iqtidā'*, manifested in the manuals and models surveyed, ensured and continues to ensure the continuity and development of *Tahmīd*. As the examples quoted in this study demonstrate, the rules and models did not stifle the development of *Tahmīd*. The development reflects broader doctrinal, stylistic and social changes and continuities. It reflects the maturation of the *inshā'* style, and with longer more varied *Tahmīds*, a movement on the continuum of orality towards literacy. It also reflects the crystallization of communal identities as in the case of Fatimid *Tahmīds*.

The chancery manuals set the norms within which a great deal of creativity is apparent. While the rules of *Tahmīd* ensured the survival of its primary components and form, its adaptation by talented writers to a range of contexts over the years resulted in a multitude of original and evocative *Tahmīds*. The interplay of this continuity and change drove the evolution of Arabic prose and *Tahmīd*, from a standard *taṣdīr* used since the early days of Islam into a *Tahmīd* (*khutbat al-kitāb*) beginning used in chancery and non-chancery works. The widespread use of *Tahmīd* in non-chancery works, especially after the 4th/10th century, is evidence of the transference of chancery styles and practices into the broader arena of Arabic prose writing (see for examples Appendix-2:79-140). As will be discussed in further detail in the case study, the rules prescribed here are adhered to by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī authors of *Tahmīds*, and Syedna Taher Saifuddin in his *risālahs* nearly eight centuries later.

The permanence of the structure and the principles governing *Tahmīds* means that the manner in which meaning is embedded remains essentially the same through the ages despite the development within the framework. The following chapter uses the shared structure and principles of *Tahmīds* through the various stages of its evolution to develop a methodology for the extraction and appreciation of the depth of meanings in *Tahmīds* across the centuries.

¹⁵¹ For a more detailed discussion of the two see al-Qalqashandī (p.965 and pp. 976-977).

¹⁵² There are sometimes slight, not so significant deviations of the *ḥasbalah* to *ḥasbī Allāh*, changing the plural to the singular, or replacing the plural *nā* with a noun, such as *wa huwa ḥasb amīr al-mu'minīn* (eg. al-Qalqashandī, p.1030).

In the spirit of emulating norms it is fitting to end this chapter with a *Tahmīd*. Al-Ṣūfī in *Adab al-Kuttāb* praises and thanks God for *teaching* us how to praise and thank Him (p. 20):

الحمد لله الذي عَلَّمَنَا الحمدَ وَهَدَانَا لَهُ وَأَثَابَنَا عَلَيْهِ وَجَعَلَ مَادَّةَ لِرِثَادَتِهِ ، وَوَسِيلَةً إِلَيْهِ فِي عَفْوِهِ وَرَحْمَتِهِ،
وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ عَبْدِهِ وَرَسُولِهِ، وَحَبِيبِهِ وَخَيْرَتِهِ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ، وَأَمِينِهِ عَلَى وَحْيِهِ، وَعَلَى آلِهِ الْفَاضِلِينَ
عَمَلَاءَ الطَّيِّبِينَ نَسَبًا، الْمُخْتَارِينَ أَبَا وَأُمَّا، وَسَلَمَ كَثِيرًا

SECTION-II

Method of Analysis



Plate-V

A 12th/18th century manuscript copy of *Dalā'il al-khayrāt wa shawāriq al-anwār fi dhikr al-ṣalāh 'alā al-Nabiyy al-mukhtār*, by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Juzufī (d. 1465AD), one of the most famous liturgical works in Islamic literature. From the Yale University Library's Near East Collection (http://www.library.yale.edu/nearcast/4_exhibits/exhibit2007.htm).

CHAPTER-IV
ANALYZING TAḤMĪD:
RELATIONS AND RHETORIC

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله الحيّ الصّمد، الذي لم يَنْتَسِبْ إِلَيْهِ وَلَدٌ، ولم يُدْرِكْهُ بِفِكْرِهِ أَحَدٌ، أحمده حمدَ مَنْ اتَّخَذَ إِلَى رَسُولِهِ وَأَوْلِيَائِهِ نِسْبَةً، وَدَانَ بِحُبِّهِ وَحُبِّهِمْ حِسْبَةً⁵³، صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى آلِهِ الَّذِينَ إِنْ كُتِبَتْ مَنَاقِبُهُمْ بَيَّضَ الْخَبَرُ، وَإِنْ خَاضَ سَمَاءَ شَأْنِهِمْ يَحْتَارُ الْفِكْرُ، صَلَاةٌ مُتَّصِلَةٌ بِرَحْمَةِ ذِي الطُّوْلِ الْوَسِيعِ، تَدُومُ مَا أَبْدَعَ الْبَدِيعُ، نَحْطِي بِهَا بِشْفَاعَةِ الشَّفِيعِ،

Introduction

The Tahmīd, even in its simplest form, establishes a distinct state of consciousness and a worldview, a frame of reference, through which cosmological existence is viewed. Even the pronouncement of the standard *al-ḥamd li Allāh rabb al-ʿālamīn wa al-ṣalāt wa al-salām ʿalā rasūlih sayyidinā Muḥammad wa ālih al-Ṭāhirīn*, embodies a belief in the One God, Master of the universe, in the Prophet Muhammad, and an acceptance of the tenets of his message and its vision of creation and existence. The encapsulation of an entire worldview in relatively brief Tahmīds is possible due to the rich network of relations, especially with the Almighty, that is created in each Tahmīd.

This chapter argues that the relations that the author chooses to emphasize, the manner in which they are established and the worldview they present, are the source of the Tahmīd's effectiveness and its claim to literary merit. Its persuasive quality, and its literary beauty, in a wide variety of contexts and applications, whether legitimization of authority, explanation of events, community-building, *da'wah* (religious mission) or propagation of a holistic unique view of the cosmos, is a direct result of its natural affinity to the establishment of relations. It also argues that the eloquent rhetoric, that is an essential ingredient of such literary forms, often plays an integral role in the creation and enhancement of relations. The encapsulation of Tahmīd in prose, that features eloquent sight and sound patterns, inspires deeper meanings and enhances the Tahmīd's persuasiveness and impact. The appreciation of Tahmīd and an appreciation of its literary merit is therefore, necessarily, an appreciation, understanding and analysis of the relationships it creates or insinuates, and the manner in which they are created.

⁵³فعل الأمر حِسْبَةً، أي مُنْخَرِجاً أَجْرَهُ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ (المحيط)

Relation is the primal category of thinking. One's conception of the meaning and function of relations contains the key to one's entire metaphysics (Leighton, 1904, p.702).

Our natural, subconscious perception of people and objects is based to a great extent on the perception of their link, affiliation, association (*nisbah*) and relation with us and with our surroundings, including individuals, communities, entities, beliefs, etc. A person is often identified and recognized as the son of so and so, the fellow of such and such institute, the citizen of such and such geographically located and politically bound state, and a believer or non-believer in such and such faith. Our concept of time is in relation to significant religious events for Christians and Muslims, such as the birth of Christ and the *Hijrah*. Even the basic perception of right and left depends on the direction one is facing; as Lanz (1931a, p.346) asserts: "the two directions, however distinct, are determined only with reference to each other". It is by our perception of the relation of contrast that black is distinguished from white. Our understanding of our own lives is often based on a reflection of age old epics and tales. It is often through a cathartic relation with times long past that we contextualize our own existence. Our outlook towards people and objects is based on a multitude of relations, both conscious and subconscious, that are almost continuously conjured up in our mind. The authors of Taḥmīd skillfully utilize this tendency by creating and highlighting specific relations that offer their preferred worldview.

While a Relational Theory has to my knowledge seldom been used to analyze literature, it is a theory much debated and with ensconced standing in numerous other disciplines including physics, philosophy, psychology and even computer science. Just as these theories allow the understanding and analysis of the universe in the specific interests of their respective fields, a relational understanding and analysis of Taḥmīd, inspired by these theories, enables an appreciation of the Taḥmīd's effectiveness in its various roles and its literary value.

In physics, the Theory of Relativity contends that the perception of the physical universe is relative, i.e. a function of the relations of the perceiver to the four dimensions: the three dimensions of space and the dimension of time. Just as this theory proposes an outlook of the physical universe based on these dimensions, so Taḥmīd locates individuals and communities in a different set of metaphysical dimensions, including

'absolute time', offering an alternative, metaphysical outlook on existence. In philosophy, among numerous relational theories, The Relational Doctrine of Space and Time offers an ontological understanding of the universe based on the relations of material objects¹⁵⁴. From an ontological perspective, Impure Relational theories go to the extreme of suggesting that existence is nothing but the sum of all relations¹⁵⁵. These ontological arguments often lead to discussions of the nature of relations; for instance the distinction between external relations, between objects and internal relations, within the object itself. Taḥmīd also offers an ontological perspective of the universe, albeit based on the principles of Islamic theology, with the absolute indescribable existence of God superseding and anchoring all other relations. In the Taḥmīd, also, various levels and types of relations, each playing its part in the larger ontological perspective, are perceivable. In psychology, the 'association of ideas' is a commonly practised analytic method and one of the cornerstones of human psychology¹⁵⁶. The effectiveness of many Taḥmīds relies on the associative power of the human mind in relating and associating contemporary propositions with pre-established religious truths or relating and associating the present with a sacred past. In the field of computer science, the Relational Database Theory is one of the most popular theories for the development of searchable databases¹⁵⁷. In essence the database is a powerful organizational tool. So through the priorities and dependence in relations established by the Taḥmīd, some kind of order and organization is brought forth in the perception of an otherwise chaotic world. While these theories are far more complex than my rudimentary descriptions, a number of the concepts and terms that they employ prove useful in the relational analysis of Taḥmīd.

In view of all these relations and theories, and keeping in mind the infinite relations created in human minds at each moment, what is it that makes the Taḥmīd and its relations special from a literary perspective? What is the best approach towards an appreciation of Taḥmīd? This chapter is an attempt to answer these questions.

Through a well crafted and condensed rendering of those relations that are deemed to be vital according to the belief system of the author, in absolute terms or in the historical context, a state of consciousness and a particular worldview are conceived.

¹⁵⁴ See Hooker (1971).

¹⁵⁵ See Newman (1989).

¹⁵⁶ See Hausman (1967).

¹⁵⁷ See Codd (1970).

The Taḥmīd's ability to create this state of consciousness makes it a strong and persuasive literary tool. Our ability to understand these relations is the key to appreciating and unlocking the meanings in Taḥmīds.

The chapter is divided into three main sections:

- (i) The first section discusses the two basic types of Taḥmīd relations. This is followed by an explication of terminology necessary to analyze Taḥmīd with the relational model and a discussion of the factors, especially Qur'ānic background, that motivate Taḥmīd relations. The section ends by presenting two different approaches, exegetical and eisegetical, which can be used in conjunction with the relational model.
- (ii) The second section focuses on the role of style and rhetoric not only in the enhancement of Taḥmīd relations but also in their creation. The different approaches and the various relations are illustrated with examples of Taḥmīd from *khutbahs* and chancery documents from the 1st/7th to the 8th/14th century.
- (iii) Using the tools of analysis considered in the first two sections, the third section explores the relations, the rhetoric and the states of consciousness evoked in five carefully selected Taḥmīds.

My aim is to make a case for the suitability of the relational model for studying Taḥmīds, including examples from the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. In his article on "Inshā'" (E12) Roemer remarks that "on account of the almost exclusively historical interest of the researchers, little or nothing has been said [about the *risālah*] from the point of view of style, aesthetics or literary criticism". By demonstrating the use of the relational model in a study of the verbal-art and the literary merits of the Taḥmīd, I hope to make a contribution in this area.

I. The Uniqueness of *Tahmīd* Relations and their Dynamics

The *Tahmīd* epitomizes the vital link between the microcosm and the macrocosm. It brings clarity to a labyrinth of human relations. Through its relatively condensed and well crafted format, it focuses attention on a handful of relations, among millions, that are deemed absolutely vital; relations that provide not only the context and frame of reference for contemporary events and issues, but also for an individual's existence at large. Through these relations the *Tahmīd* creates a worldview that proposes answers to some of the fundamental questions of life: Why is there death? Why is there evil? Why is there suffering in this world? What is the meaning and purpose of life? and so on. These questions are answered by focusing on a set of absolute and dynamic relations in the world, which create amongst listeners or readers a collective state of consciousness about human existence that simultaneously addresses and explains local and contemporary relevant issues¹⁵⁸.

The relation of the *Tahmīd* to its local context¹⁵⁹ is similar to that of the *nasīb* of the classical Arabic *qaṣīdah* to its main objective (*gharaḍ*). In the case of a *qaṣīdah* of praise (*madīḥ*) for example, the *nasīb* often introduces a 'moral-code' that is seen fulfilled in the concrete actions of the one being praised (*mamdūh*)¹⁶⁰. The function of *Tahmīd* is also similar to the one described in Stern's (1964, p.111) discussion of the terms *arenga*, (the formal beginning) and *exposito* (the subject matter of the document), in the Fatimid petition (*manshūr*, or decree in Stern's terminology):

The *arenga* and the *exposito* both serve to motivate the issue of the ruler's order – the one by stressing the general moral and religious principals guiding his actions, the other by setting forth concrete circumstances necessitating his intervention.

However, the link between the moral-code and *gharaḍ*, or between the *arenga* and *exposito*, is implicit. Similarly, the *Tahmīd* introduces those principle relations on the basis of which the implicit link between the synchronic and diachronic, between the macrocosm and the microcosm, is perceived and the purpose of the *Tahmīd* is served.

¹⁵⁸ This assertion is based on Anderson's (1991, p.10) view of the survival of communities over the years. He argues that religions are successful because they provide answers to these critical questions.

¹⁵⁹ The context of the audience, i.e. their experience, or the context as laid out in the text following the *Tahmīd*, in a *khutbah*, *risālah* or monograph.

¹⁶⁰ The idea of the 'moral-code' is presented by Sperl and Shackle (1996, p. 39). The code is "not incidental to the subject matter of the poem but reside[s] at its very core". Similarly the *Tahmīd* is not incidental to the subject matter of the document; rather it often represents the core relations on which the message of the document is based.

Since the Taḥmīd is a religious formula, the preferred view point is inevitably conveyed through a hierarchy of interconnected primary Islamic relations. These relations develop a frame of reference for an individual's existence (as part of a community) by creating a spiritual relation and affiliation with a set of people and concepts (God, Prophet, heaven, hell, etc.), often accompanied by a series of descriptive phrases that identify and distinguish them. In other words the chaotic labyrinth of relations, that forms an individual's outlook on his world, is in a sense simplified, through the foregrounding of these primary relations. All else is background, out of focus and less important. In prioritizing a particular set of relations, even the most conventional of Taḥmīds invites individuals to a clearly prioritized worldview. These relations and their dynamics are discussed in further detail below.

Relata and Relational-Propositions

As with any relations, the core is a set of 'relata'¹⁶¹, i.e. the entities that relate, and the 'relational-propositions'¹⁶², i.e. the nature of the relation between them. When describing the relation between the sun and the moon, one may say that the sun is bigger and brighter than the moon. The relata in this relation are the sun and the moon, the relational proposition is one being greater than the other in size and brightness. One may add to the relation the fact that it is the sun's light that the moon reflects; the relational-proposition in this case is one of dependence. It also follows that the moon substitutes for the sun at night. Whereas such relations are relatively simple, the Taḥmīd often boasts a maze of relations with a wide array of relational-propositions. And while it is impossible to classify all Taḥmīd relations here, the primary relata of Taḥmīds are identified below in an attempt to give some sense of structure to Taḥmīd relations.

The primary relata that give the Taḥmīd its basic skeletal structure can be divided into three levels.

- (i) The first level is exclusive to God. A range of relational-propositions are created using His names and attributes.
- (ii) The second level includes those individuals, past and present, who are considered intermediaries between God and the individual or community. This comprises the

¹⁶¹ The term relata is borrowed from Hooker (1971, p.129). The definition of relata as I understand it from the discussion in his paper is that they are the entities that relate in spatial relations. I will use the term to indicate the primary entities that relate in the Taḥmīd whether they are individuals, events or concepts.

¹⁶² The term 'relational proposition' is borrowed from Wong (1980, pp. 243-244). The term in this chapter simply refers to the nature of the relation between individuals, events or concepts. It does not necessitate an acceptance of Leibniz's or Wong's views about relations.

Prophets, especially Muhammad who is considered the Seal of the Prophets, the caliphs and for the Shiites the progeny of Muhammad, the Imāms¹⁶³. The second level also includes abstract concepts such as guidance (*hidāyah*), knowledge (*ʿilm*), the religious mission (*Daʿwah*), the metaphysical Pen (*qalam*), etc.; and concepts that constitute the unseen (*ghayb*), such as heaven, hell etc.

- (iii) The third level comprises individuals as part of the community of God, those who follow the guidance of the Prophet (*awliyāʾ*); or as part of the assembly of the enemies of God (*aʿdāʾ*). This level directly connects the audience with the *Tahmīd*.

I do not claim that the *Tahmīd* creates relations in this order; on the contrary, it comprises a network of relations interconnecting all three levels. Notwithstanding, the relations of the three levels together present an inherent mode of interaction, a hierarchy, an order of being, in which people, firstly as individuals and then as a community, can locate themselves. In a sense the *Tahmīd* is a meeting point between the three levels—between God, the caliph (the state) and the people¹⁶⁴.

The primary relata are supported by a long list of secondary relata. Whereas with primary relata at least one component from each level is present in every *Tahmīd*, this is not the case with secondary relata. The secondary relata are the entities that are used to mirror or represent [as manifestations] the relational-propositions in the primary relata. The planets, day and night, rain, sky, illness, medicine, path, rope, light and darkness are a few examples of secondary relata. These phenomena of nature, the physical entities and cycles created by God, are often presented as manifestations of the will of God and of entities and cycles in the spiritual universe. These secondary relata play an important role in the creation of metaphors, bringing abstract notions closer to our understanding, and in broadening the scope of relational-propositions¹⁶⁵.

Consider for instance Ibn al-Ṣayrafi's *Tahmīds* that introduce the *risālahs* that are compiled as the *Afḍaliyyāt*. The *risālahs* were composed to appease and seek forgiveness from the powerful vizier al-Afḍal after an apparent fallout. While each *risālah* deals with a different theme, a consistent relational-proposition in all the *Tahmīds* is that God

¹⁶³ In later Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Tahmīds* this level would also include the *Dāʿīs* who represent the Imām during his seclusion.

¹⁶⁴ Gratitude is due to Dr. Stefan Sperl for this observation.

¹⁶⁵ *Tahmīd*-4 (Appendix-2:66) analyzed in this chapter (p.146) is an excellent example of the use of relations with secondary-relata.

forgives sinners. In *risālat Lumaḥ al-Mulaḥ* for instance (Appendix-2:99), the proposition in the relation between God and mankind is that He has ordained mercy towards mankind upon Himself. The proposition in the relation between God, Muhammad and the believers is that God has made Muhammad compassionate towards them. Despite the variation in the themes of the *risālahs*, these propositions consistently occur in all the *Afdaliyyāt* *Tahmīds*. Significantly, Ibn al-Ṣayrafī does not explicitly seek forgiveness in the main text of the *risālah*. The primary purpose of the *risālah* is served through the relational-proposition in the *Tahmīd*.

Similarly, in the context of war, the proposition is that God ordains destiny (Appendix-2:13). In the context of conciliation, the proposition is that God unites peoples as he unites the organs of a human body (Appendix-2:73). Certain propositions are well suited to specific goals and are more frequently used than others, as demonstrated by ʿAlī b. Khalaf's *rusūm* (Appendix-3) discussed in the previous chapter. In the context of the transition of caliphate and the death of the predecessor (Appendix-3:7), Khalaf recommends the proposition that God alone is eternal. While the relata are constant, the variance in the relational-propositions ensures the adaptability of *Tahmīds* and the relevance of the worldview presented to specific contexts.

***Nisbah* and *Fikrah*-relations**

Tahmīd relations may be classified into two closely linked categories, one explicit the other implicit. The explicit relations, which I call '*nisbah*-relations', are the basis for the implicit relations, which I call '*fikrah*-relations'¹⁶⁶. While the explicit *nisbah*-relations form the structural and semantic core of the *Tahmīd*, they contain within them the capacity to trigger implicit *fikrah*-relations that are evoked in the individual's mind depending on the context and his background. The *fikrah*-relations are essential in order to appreciate fully the depth of *nisbah*-relations and to relate the *nisbah*-relations with the contemporary context. Since both relations are intertwined and interdependent it proves difficult to discuss them in an isolated manner. Nonetheless it is essential to define both before discussing the main components and factors influencing these relations.

¹⁶⁶ The idea of *nisbah* and *fikrah*-relations was originally inspired by Hausman's (1967, p. 255) discussion of Hume's Theory of Relations, in which he gives a concise description of two different types of relations: Philosophical relations, e.g., resemblance, contiguity in space and time, and cause and effect, connect ordinary objects; natural relations connect our thoughts about them. The two categories are radically different. The first is ontological, the second, psychological.

The term *nisbah*, derived from the Arabic root *nasaba*, signifies association, affiliation, tracing back to, and relation. These significations make it most suitable for understanding *Tahmīd* relations. *Nisbah*-relations, with positive relational-propositions with God as the Maker, with Muhammad as the guide and intercessor, with the Imāms and caliphs etc., create in effect a 'spiritual genealogy' for each individual as part of a collective community of believers (and vice-versa)¹⁶⁷. The *nisbah*-relations locate the relation on an Islamic ontological plane.

A further dimension of *nisbah*-relations is descriptive. The descriptions expound on the qualities and characteristics of the person being related to: our Great God, the Merciful, the Avenger, the Creator of the stars, the universe and the cycle of day and night and Muhammad God's chosen one, the seal of the Prophets, the best of mankind, the intercessor, the guide and so on. The relational-propositions in *nisbah*-relations and its descriptive dimension may lead to the creation of *fikrah*-relations.

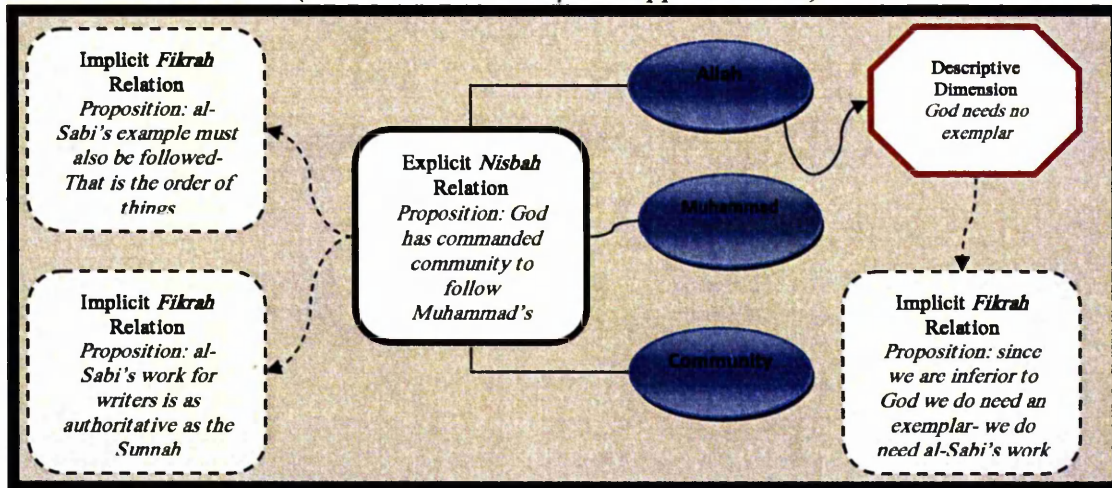
Fikrah-relations are thought-based implicit relations that are triggered by the explicit *nisbah*-relations and descriptions. These are relations that the listener or reader may think of or perceive based on his background and the text's context. They are the gaps that the author leaves for the listener or reader to fill in. Due to the shared background and expectation of the author and audience, an economy of words is achieved whereby few carefully selected words convey a wealth of meaning. The author relies primarily on the nature of relations and the association of ideas. Explaining Hume's understanding of relations, Church (1941, p. 353) states that " 'in common language' the word relation was always used to designate 'that quality, by which two ideas are connected together in the imagination, and the one naturally introduces the other...the nature of this 'manner' ...is that 'of the connection or association of ideas'.

For example, as illustrated in Fig.I below, in al-Ṣābi's *Tahmīd* introducing his chancery manual *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (quoted at the beginning of chapter-III, Appendix-2:93), God is described as the "the Originator without emulation, the Creator without following in the tracks of a maker, the Builder without imitating an originator". Based on an implicit *fikrah*-relation with us as inferior created humans, the description implies that we as humble created beings do indeed require an exemplar. In the *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad, the Prophet is related to God and the community, with the proposition that it is God's command that the community should follow Muhammad's *sunnah*. This

¹⁶⁷ The term 'spiritual genealogy' was used initially in my M.A. thesis (2005).

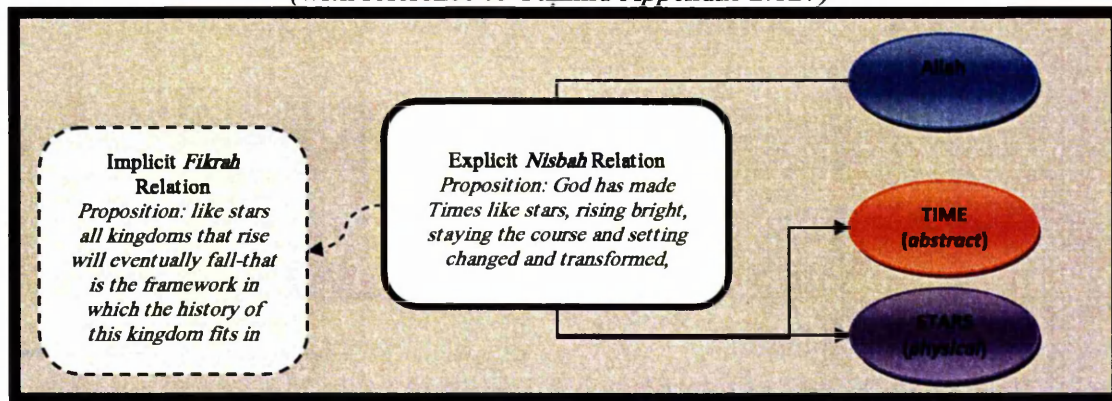
explicit proposition implies that the author, as far as chancery writing is concerned, takes up the mantle of the Prophet. For *kātib*s, his text is the '*sunnaḥ*' that is to be followed. The *fikrah*-relation thus relates the individual's work affecting a handful of individuals with that of the Prophet, ostensibly affecting the whole of humanity; relating his microcosm to the macrocosm.

Figure-I: *Nisbah* and *Fikrah*-Relations
(with reference to *Tahmīd* Appendix-2:93)



Tahmīd relations also explain abstract concepts by relating them to physical or natural realities (secondary relata). As Hausman (1967, p. 257) states, the mind seeks "to mirror the relations among objects [or cycles] it finds in nature". For instance, as illustrated in Fig.II below, in a *Tahmīd* by Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) introducing his history of the Nasiride kingdom (Appendix-2:127), God is praised as the one who ordained that the reality of Time (*azminah*) should be like the cycle of stars, rising bright, staying their course, and setting changed and transformed. In the context of history it is implied (through an implicit *fikrah*-relation) that the story of all kingdoms, including the Nasiride one, is one that starts bright but, as it is the law of nature ordained by God, eventually declines. The abstract concept of 'Time' and change are conveyed through a relation with the readily perceptible (physical) cycle of stars.

Figure-II-Relations with Secondary Relata
(with reference to Taḥmīd Appendix-2:127)



The ability of the Taḥmīd, through the *nisbah* and *fikrah* relations it creates, to be viewed in a local context, or be transplanted to a new context, or be meaningful even without a context, highlights its potential for subjective and multiple levels of signification. Even considering their relatively condensed nature, the relations assume a new color as the context is changed, and thus the possibility of individualistic interpretation is vast. The more relations one perceives, deciphers or associates, the stronger the Taḥmīd is in terms of its impact and richness of meaning. The Taḥmīd in this sense bears the potential whereby individuals are able to view the relations, as grand as they may be, as pertaining to each one of them, in their own unique situations and predicaments.

The nature of *nisbah*-relations so far has been viewed as locating the individual within a community. Taḥmīd relations however also serve to define the location of the Islamic community among other communities and also factions within the Islamic community. The philosophical terms *immanent*— within an object or a boundary (mental or otherwise) — and *transeunt* — with other objects or boundaries — are useful to understand these different classes or aspects of Taḥmīd relations¹⁶⁸.

In the context of Taḥmīd, an *immanent* relation refers to relations between individuals forming a community while a *transeunt* relation refers to relations between communities as relata. However, whether relations are *transeunt* or *immanent* is relative. If the Islamic *ummah* is considered as a unit, then the relationship between the various communities within it would be *immanent*, while the relations between Islam and other religions would be *transeunt*. If, on the other hand a sect within Islam is considered as a

¹⁶⁸ The terms are borrowed from Leighton (1904, p.707).

unit, then the relationship between the individuals within it would be considered *immanent*, while the relationship with other sects would be considered *transeunt*. Thus depending on the context, the frame of reference must be defined.

The interplay of *transeunt* and *immanent* relations, especially in the Taḥmīd, is crucial in the consolidation of the community. Leighton (1904, p.707) articulates this interplay, stating that our nature is preeminently realized through interaction with others. He continues that the “most comprehensive type of relation, then, is furnished by the individual life in society, by the individual as a member of a spiritual and dynamic system of selves: for here no relation is purely *transeunt* or purely *immanent*”. Taḥmīds often use both *transeunt* and *immanent* relations in a synergistic manner in order to delineate a community within the expansive sphere of humanity, and to locate the individual within this community¹⁶⁹.

Summary of Key Terms

- **Relata:** The entities that relate (*Primary:* God, Muhammad, etc.; *Secondary:* cycles of nature, day and night, sun and moon...etc.). [In oval bubbles in figures above]
- **Relational-Proposition:** The nature of the relation (e.g. mercy, eradication, guidance, etc.).
- **Descriptive-Dimension:** The descriptive attribute of one of the entities that relate. The descriptions may also lead to implicit *fikrah*-relations.
- **Explicit Nisbah-Relation:** The explicit relation between two entities. These relations form the core of the Taḥmīd.
- **Implicit Fikrah-Relation:** The implicit thought-based relation that is created in the audience's mind based on their background. Relies on audience's association of ideas on the basis of the *nisbah*-relation.

Role of Context and Audience Background in the Formation of Relations

The local and contemporary context of the Taḥmīd and the cultural background of the audience, especially a background of the Qur'ān, determine the depth perceived in *nisbah* and *fikrah*-relations.

¹⁶⁹ 'Taḥmīd-3' analyzed at the end of this chapter (p.144) is an example of *immanent* relations at play.

Two types of Qur'ānic quotations are found in *Tahmīds*: unmodified and modified, both of which rely on the audience's familiarity with the Qur'ānic text¹⁷⁰. The unmodified are verbatim quotes of the whole or part of a verse. A modified quote is one in which the author makes changes. The criteria for recognizing an unmodified quote is that it cannot be fully appreciated without referring back to its Qur'ānic context. Certain phrases used in every day speech such as *al-ḥamd li Allāh* or *lā ilāh illā Allāh* are not considered as quotes. The changes in the quotations range from a modification of pronouns to the addition of certain words or to a rearrangement of the word-order to suit the rhyme of the *Tahmīd*¹⁷¹. Discussed further in chapter-V (pp.194-196), in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context, Qur'ānic quotations are often introduced or modified in a manner that associates a particular esoteric interpretation to the verse¹⁷².

To illustrate the importance of context and audience background, consider these excerpts from two nearly identical *Tahmīds* from the Fatimid chancery in the 5th/11th century¹⁷³. The *Tahmīds* introduce *risālahs* written fifteen years apart, with varying contexts:

Tahmīd-A (455 H)

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي أرسل سماء جوده على ساحات أمير المؤمنين مدرارا، وجعل فلكتها [ب] يتضاعف عزه وإقباله دوارا، وملائكتها أعوانا لنصره وأنصارا، المنتقم من كل عدو ولد فاجرا كفارا، الهاتك ستره وقد هتك لحرمة الصنيعة عنده أسارا، المدير دائرة السوء عليه أن اتخذ دار النبي على مصطنعه دارا، وسأله النعمة أن لم يحسن للمنع بها جوارا، ذلكم الله لا إله غيره ﴿الذي جعل لكم من الشجر الأخضر نارا﴾ (36:80) ...

Tahmīd-B (470 H)

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي أرسل بسماء جوده على ساحات أمير المؤمنين مدرارا، وجعل فلكتها [ب] يتضاعف عزه وإقباله دوارا، وملكه أعوانا لنصره وأنصارا، المنتقم بهم من كل عدو ولد فاجرا كفارا، ذلكم الله لا إله غيره ﴿الذي جعل لكم من الشجر الأخضر نارا﴾ (36:80) ...

¹⁷⁰ For more on modified and unmodified quotes see Qutbuddin, Husain (2009, p.59ff). In *Tahmīds* quoted in this thesis and in the Appendix, the unmodified quotes are indicated by special parenthesis « », while modified quotes are indicated by a dashed underlining.

¹⁷¹ See for example Appendix-2:14,40, 58, 81, 82, 84, 117, 123, and 127 Appendix-4: 15, 50, 127, 140, 173, 180, and 182.

¹⁷² See also examples of this in analysis of a Fatimid-*Tahmīd* 'Tahmīd-4' (p. 145) below.

¹⁷³ *Sijillāt*, no.5, pp. 42-43 and no. 34, pp. 106-107 (Appendix-2:60 and 62). In discussing these two nearly identical *Tahmīds* it is useful to remember that the Fatimid chancery archived the documents it received and sent. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Qānūn*, discusses at the length the system to be used in archiving (p.131).

While the Taḥmīds are in essence the same, several changes in the text and a new context give each Taḥmīd its own set of relations and meanings. Taḥmīd-A is an introduction to a *risālah* celebrating the defeat of turncoat Ibn Bādīs. It highlights in absolute terms the aid of the angels in defeating the enemy, creating a *fikrah*-relation whereby the enemy of the Imām is the enemy of God. Taḥmīd-B, shorter than the first but very similar in essence, is an introduction to a *risālah* celebrating the heroism of the commander-in-chief Badr in suppressing troublemakers and restoring order to the capital. Here the focus is on a relation with the aides, *aʿwān* – emphasized by the preposition and pronoun, *biḥim* – through whom God defeats His enemies. As a result of the subtle changes and, importantly, through an awareness of the new context, the *fikrah*-relation created in the reader's psyche is quite different.

Before discussing the weighty role of Qur'ānic background, the mention of the term *jiwār*, in Taḥmīd-A, illustrates the importance of cultural background in the creation of *fikrah*-relations. The gravity of the idea of the violation of *jiwār* alluded to in Taḥmīd-A, and the *fikrah*-relation built with ancient Arabian morality (*murūwwah*) would be entirely lost if not for the assumption that the audience would be familiar with it. A *fikrah*-relation is created with Ibn Bādīs' violation of the Imām's *jiwār*, which explains his defeat.

The examples demonstrate how even minor changes to the pronouns or the addition of specific words triggers distinct *fikrah*-relations. The comparison of the examples also ascertains the significance of the context of the Taḥmīd and the background of the reader in determining which *fikrah*-relations are created.

Moving to Qur'ānic background, the *fikrah*-relation created between the Imām and the Prophet in Taḥmīd-A is only possible if the reader has a Qur'ānic background and associates this allusion to angelic aides with the Qur'ānic image, wherein angels are sent to the Prophet's aid¹⁷⁴. This *fikrah*-relation creates in essence a relation of correspondence between the Prophet and the Imām, discussed further below. The Qur'ānic background is mostly assumed and is essential in appreciating the full scope of *fikrah*-relations in the Taḥmīd. Al-Qāḍī (1993, p.311), discussing the impact of the Qur'ān on ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd's epistolography, asserts that through Qur'ānic references "he could appeal to what is *familiar* to his audience and evoke favourable responses from them...". The potential of Qur'ānic references is great in that the author can through a

¹⁷⁴ Reference is probably to the image in the following verses 9:26, 33:9, 3:124-125 and 8:9 in the Qur'ān.

quick reference rely on the audience's knowledge of the full background, requiring the use of very few precious words in *Tahmīds* that are by nature relatively concise.

Indeed, since the worldviews proposed by the *Tahmīds* are based on relations that originate in the Qur'ān, such as the dichotomy of good and evil and their respective fates, it is quite natural that Qur'ānic verses that establish these relations are used. However, their use with reference to specific groups and new contexts leaves open the possibility of discovering new meaning in the verse that is quoted or referred to.

Dahne (2001, pp.5-6) in his article on the usage of the Qur'ān in political speeches in classical Arabic literature argues that the use of Qur'ānic phrases and vocabulary to describe contemporary contexts, for instance transplanting the Qur'ānic phrases describing and condemning the Pharaoh to describe and condemn the Umayyads, creates an 'equivalence of context' between the two groups¹⁷⁵. Dahne concludes that:

Qur'anic vocabulary in political speeches was generally applied for aesthetic reasons and in order to sacralise the speech. As a consequence it strengthened the orator's own position and protected him against possible disapproval. Moreover, the *special* effect of the deliberated 'equivalence of contexts' was emotional in nature; the speech was thus given a note of Qur'anic authority..." (p. 11).

With some adjustments, Dahne's 'equivalence of contexts' is applicable to Qur'ān based and non-Qur'ān based *fikrah*-relations in *Tahmīds*.

Fundamental to what I call the 'principle of correspondence' in *Tahmīds* is a vertical non-conventional understanding of time. On the one hand there is a correspondence with the divine order of the cosmos, whereby the principles and cycles of nature are continuously, 'omnitemporally'¹⁷⁶, mirrored, or deemed equivalent to the contemporary circumstantial context: for example, the mirroring of the cycle of the stars with the divinely ordained rise and fall of kingdoms, the ups and downs in life, *ʿusr* and *yusr*. On the other hand, there is a correspondence, not in an absolute sense but with respect to the qualities which the context entails, between individuals and events in the sacred epic past¹⁷⁷. However, these events that occurred in the past are, due to the principle of correspondence, also happening or mirrored in the present. Therefore the sacred past becomes 'absolutely present'¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁵ Also see Dahne (2005).

¹⁷⁶ The term is borrowed from Anderson (1991, p. 24).

¹⁷⁷ I use the word correspondence instead of equivalence simply because the latter risks implying that the caliph and the Prophet, for instance, are equal. I doubt that was the intention of the authors of *Tahmīd*.

¹⁷⁸ This term is borrowed from Sperl (2007, p.482).

Since the majority of the situations, where the principle of correspondence is applied are related to the Prophet Muhammad, Sperl's (2007, p.482) comparison of time with respect to epic and *Ḥadīth* is pertinent. Comparing the two genres he states: "In Bakhtin's terms the key difference between epic and *Ḥadīth* may thus be formulated as follows: while the epic forges the image of an 'absolute past', *Ḥadīth* transforms the image of the past into an 'absolute present'". Whereas the gap between the past and the present is bridged through the *isnād* in *Ḥadīth*, in Taḥmīd it is bridged through the *nisbah* and *fikrah*-relations. The difference between the absolute presents of *Ḥadīth* and of Taḥmīd is not only that, in the latter, the gap between present and past is abolished, making the image of the past relevant and applicable to the present, but that, to a certain degree, the past and the present actually merge. The past is absolutely present; it in a sense repeats itself. This is reminiscent of the saying attributed to the Prophet David in the Hebrew bible and Islamic treatises: "What was will be, what was known will be known, and under the sun there is nothing new"¹⁷⁹. Anderson (1991, p. 24), articulately expresses this vertical understanding of time:

If an occurrence like the sacrifice of Isaac is interpreted as prefiguring the sacrifice of Christ, so that in the former the latter is as it were announced and promised and the latter 'fulfills'...the former, then a connection is established between two events which are linked neither temporally nor causally – a connection which it is impossible to establish by reason in the horizontal dimension...It can be established only if both occurrences are vertically linked to Divine Providence, which alone is able to devise such a plan of history and supply the key to its understanding...the here and now is no longer a mere link in an earthly chain of events, it is simultaneously something which has always been, and will be fulfilled in the future; and strictly, in the eyes of God, it is something eternal, something omnitemporal, something already consummated in the realm of fragmentary earthly event...a simultaneity of past and future in an instantaneous present.

The qualities of other great individuals and events become absolutely present through *fikrah*-relations. Events such as the great battles of the Prophet, the confrontation between him and the Meccans, and from the Shiite perspective the proclamation of °Alī as his successor, all, through the time warp of the *fikrah*-relations, become absolutely present.

¹⁷⁹ Ecclesiastes 1:9. The Arabic text of the saying is quoted in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1340 (p.81).

The principle of correspondence, which fuses the past with the present, is visible in many Taḥmīds. The following Taḥmīd by Ibrāhīm b. al-°Abbās (3rd/9th century) serves as an example of how a cultural and *Ḥadīth* background may evoke *fikrah*-relations establishing this principle¹⁸⁰:

الحمدُ لله الذي أنجز وعده، ونصر عبده، وأيد جنده، وجعل قُوتَ أمير المؤمنين شرقاً وغرباً مشفوعةً بين
إقامة حق وإزالة باطل، وإزالة عائد، وإبادة عائد، وإقالة مُستقيل، ويسأل الله أمير المؤمنين مسألة العبد سيده
ومولاه، رغبةً إليه، مُتدلاً له، أن يُصلي أفضل صلواته عنده على أكرم أنبيائه.

The underlined beginning of the Taḥmīd reminds those with a *Ḥadīth* background of the tradition of the Prophet on the steps of the Ka‘bah following the conquest of Mecca¹⁸¹:

... سمعتُ رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول وهو على درج الكعبة الحمدُ لله الذي أنجز وعده ونصر
عبده وهزم الأحزاب وحده.

Since an evocation very similar to the beginning of this Taḥmīd is habitually recited by Muslims in *‘Īd* prayers, it is safe to say that a *fikrah*-relation is created in the minds of individuals versed in *Ḥadīth* and popular Muslim culture between the conquest of Mecca and the contemporary victory for which Taḥmīd is being offered. While the reference to Mecca (*aḥzāb*) is elided in the later Abbasid Taḥmīd, the verbatim quotation of the first lines encourages the creation of a *fikrah*-relation with Muhammad’s victory in Mecca. As a result of the Taḥmīd, there arises a principle of correspondence in the spirit of the two battles; both, it is claimed, were for the establishment of Truth (*ḥaqq*), and victory over Falsehood (*bāṭil*). The later victory too is divine providence; it corresponds to the conquest of Mecca in that it too is a fulfillment of the promise of God. This correspondence is also underlined by the *fikrah*-relation between the Prophet, as the conqueror of Mecca, and the caliph, as the champion of this victory. The traditions of the Prophet are, through his successors, absolutely present¹⁸².

A corollary of this principle is that the generally accepted sacredness of the past becomes applicable to the present. To all Muslims, the Prophet’s position and veracity is

¹⁸⁰ Qtd. in Ṣafwat (1937, vol.IV, no.99, Appendix-2:48).

¹⁸¹ *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no.4690 and no. 4355 and 14843, with slight variations. *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, no. 2618, *Sunan al-Nisā’ī*, no. 4717, and in al-Wāqidi’s *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, p. 339. The same Taḥmīd phrase is also attributed to the Prophet in the context of the battle of Badr in *Musnad-Aḥmad* no. 4026.

¹⁸² See also Appendix-2:75, in which a principle of correspondence is created between the Prophet’s abolition of the *jāhiliyyah* and the Abbasids’ abolition of the Umayyad regime.

sacred and unquestioned, the significance of the revolution that vanquished the *jāhiliyyah* is paramount, and the battle of Badr holds epic stature. To Shiites, the appointment of ʿAlī, for example, is the indubitable sacred precedent for the succession of the Imāmate. The past is idealized as pure and spiritual, free of the encumbrance of material considerations and personal gain that befog the present. This reverence of the past, akin to the reverence of the tragic heroes of epics, is crucial in raising the stature of the present. Since the events and individuals of the sacred past are popularly unconditionally accepted, respected and revered, a relation establishing the principle of correspondence with them demands the same acceptance, respect and reverence for the present.

Two Approaches: Exegetical and Eisegetical

The absoluteness and universality of the majority of *Taḥmīd* relations calls for two approaches of interpretation, the type of approach determining the scope of relations that will be perceived. The first approach, which may be called the exegetical or hermeneutical approach, focuses on the relations that may be to a reasonable extent justified as those the author most likely intended his contemporary audience to grasp with reference to their local context. Such relations, once evoked, would create a worldview that would fulfill the original purpose of the *Taḥmīd* and document it introduced.

The second approach is what may be termed an eisegetical, synchronic or neo-critical approach that looks at the relations in the *Taḥmīd* outside their original historical context, transplanting them to a new context, or examining them in an absolute theological and ontological sense without any reference to the original context or authorial intention. Both approaches are employed in the course of this study.

An example of the dual approach may be presented through this *Taḥmīd* by Ghassān b. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd¹⁸³:

الحمد لله الذي نَشَرَ رَحْمَتَهُ فِي بِلَادِهِ، وَبَسَطَ سَعَتَهُ عَلَى عِبَادِهِ، الَّذِي لَا يَزَالُ الْعِبَادُ مِنْهُ فِي رِزْقٍ يَنْتَسِمُونَ،
وَفَضْلٍ يَنْتَظِرُونَ، لَا يَنْقُضُهُ مَا قَبْلَهُ، وَلَا يَنْتَظِي مَا بَعْدَهُ.

Ibn Ṭayfūr, the compiler of *Ikhtiyār al-Manzūm wa al-Manthūr* in which this *Taḥmīd* is originally found, states that it was written in response to the blessing of rain. We may further conjecture that it was written following a rainless period, thus deserving special

¹⁸³ Qtd. in Ṣafwat (1937, vol.III, no.74; Appendix-2:43).

ḥamd. The prime relation in this *Tahmīd* is with God's attribute of *raḥmah*. If viewed in the local context, as a result of the relation, rain becomes an embodiment of the *raḥmah* of God and the source of all sustenance (*rizq*). A further relation is with the Qur'ānic verse 42:28 whose wordings, though modified, are very similar to the first line of the *Tahmīd*. Considering the *Tahmīd* from the second approach, the *raḥmah* without the context of rain could refer to any *raḥmah*: the Prophet, a good crop, good business etc. In an exegetical context, the *raḥmah* and *rizq* could also be in reference to the bounty of knowledge (*ʿilm*), the source of spiritual life that is dispersed among the peoples and is eagerly awaited. This *Tahmīd* could thus very easily be transplanted from the rain context to the context of a homily or sermon.

In some cases, the second approach may be the only one possible, for example where the original context of the *Tahmīd* is simply not known, as is the case in the *Tahmīds* which have been preserved without the *risālahs* they introduce or without any external reference to their context. The *Tahmīds* of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd are a prime example. This also applies to a number of *Tahmīds* preserved in other works such as *Ikhtiyār al-Manzūm wa al-Manthūr*, *Ghurur al-Balāghah*, *Rayḥanat al-Kuttāb* etc. In most cases, however, we are able to make an educated guess about the context as a result of the persistent usage of sets of relations for specific contexts and the templates of *Tahmīd* discussed in the previous chapter. While a full appreciation of *Tahmīds* is only possible by using both approaches, this study emphasizes the second approach to stress the *Tahmīds* independent value over and above its accepted contextual value.

II. Style and Rhetoric in the Creation and Enhancement of Relations

The stylistic components of *Tahmīd* are integral not only to the enhancement but also to the creation of *nisbah*- and *fikrah*-relations. They are not by any means embellishments tangential to the value, purpose and meaning of *Tahmīds*. To use the analogy of architecture, the structural plan of a building corresponds to the core relations developed in the *Tahmīd*, while the ornate façade, the frescos and the mosaics are the sight and sound patterns that highlight and enhance the beauty of the design and relations, and make the edifice timeless. The pattern of the façade often dictates the structure inside. The building's external beauty persuades the onlooker to enter and appreciate the riches it holds within. The following section will demonstrate how the condensed non-narrative core, the generous use of pronouns, the characteristic rhetorical devices: the sound

patterns and the imagery, are essential in the creation and enhancement of *Tahmīd* relations.

Condensed, Non-Narrative Prose

The non-narrative core of the majority of *Tahmīds* and their relatively condensed nature further enhance the timelessness of their message. This too is a similarity shared with *Ḥadīth*.

Literary creativity in...*Ḥadīth* resides not in narrative amplification but precisely in the opposite: in deliberate condensation to provide the briefest time-bound framework for the timeless message which constitutes the core (Sperl, 2007, p. 476).

The non-narrative and condensed structure opens the opportunity for readers, through *fikrah*-relations, to create their own narrative framework, in the quest for 'fullness and continuity'¹⁸⁴. The condensed, non-specific, non-narrative structure makes the *Tahmīd* timeless in the sense that it can be transplanted and adapted with ease to later times and newer contexts. There is no limit, so to speak, to the *fikrah*-relations that can be evoked and created from the relatively condensed *Tahmīds*.

Pronouns

From a linguistic perspective, the use of the relative clause (*jumlat al-ṣilah*), and the profuse use of pronouns (*damā'ir*), in *Tahmīds* is essential to the creation of *nisbah*-relations. All the phrases that follow the initial *al-ḥamd li Allāh* are related to God, on a grammatical level, through the continuation of the clause and the use of apparent and hidden pronouns. The placement of the pronouns goes a long way towards focusing attention on specific issues and people. For instance in this *khutbah* by °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib the potential of the pronoun used to certain degree in all *Tahmīds* is used to the maximum¹⁸⁵:

الحمد لله الذي اختار محمداً منّا نبياً، وأبعثه إلينا رسولاً، فنحن أهل بيت النبوة ومعدن الحكمة...

The focus on 'us' (*nā*) is all important here. The praise is for God; the relation of the Prophet to God is established by God being the subject of the verb *ikhtār* (the pronoun is hidden) of which Muhammad is the object- the chosen. But the relation of Muhammad

¹⁸⁴ The desire for 'fullness and continuity' in narrating (often incomplete and disjointed) events in history is convincingly argued by White (1987, pp. 9, 11, 15 and 21).

¹⁸⁵ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (p.51) Appendix-2:10, °Alī's speech on the day of the *Shūrā*.

with °Alī and his group is made unequivocally clear through the underlined pronouns: chosen from us, sent to us.

An Abbasid *Taḥmīd* from the 3rd/9th century by Ibrāhīm b. al-‘Abbās further illustrates the focusing power and relation building ability of pronouns in the *Taḥmīd*¹⁸⁶:

والحمد لله بجميع محامده التي حُمد بها، على جميع آلائه وجميع بلائه، فيما ولي به خليفته، ونصر به دينه،
وأقام به حقّه، وأعزّ به وليّه، وقمع به من ألد عن سبيله، حمدا يؤدي حق نعتّه، ويوجب به أفضل
مزيده، بمنّه وطوله.

The two primary pronouns in this *Taḥmīd* are highlighted; the pronouns in grey referring to God and in turquoise to the caliph. This example illustrates how the pronoun is not only effective in focusing attention on the caliph but also in incessantly creating a *nisbah*-relation between him and God. This *Taḥmīd* would semantically still make perfect sense if the references to the caliph (the pronouns highlighted turquoise) were removed. But their inclusion stresses the role of the caliph as the instrument used by God to implement His will, adding to the former’s importance, legitimacy and glory.

A later 5th/11th century Fatimid chancery document is an excellent illustration of the maze of pronouns that, linguistically, structurally and semantically, glue the *Taḥmīd* together (Appendix-2:58; pronouns highlighted). In the first segment, each phrase contains a pronoun referring back to God. For ‘*His* praise we are unable to duly offer except through *His* aid; [*He*] lauds one who is of pure birth, through obedience to *Him*, indicating by *His* statement, ‘as for the good land, its vegetation grows with God’s permission, as for the bad [land] it does not grow but misery’(7:58)’. It is through this pronoun, through the *nisbah*-relation with God, that the *Taḥmīd*’s message carries weight; and it is through all these pronouns, especially the link with God that carries through to the end, that the *Taḥmīd* is bound together. In many cases the final phrase of the *Taḥmīd* also creates a pronoun-based relation with the audience¹⁸⁷. The relations between God, the Prophet, °Alī, their progeny is linguistically stressed through these abundant pronouns. The pronouns are the ‘linguistic glue’ that holds the various themes and elements of the *Taḥmīd* together.

¹⁸⁶ Šafwat (1937, vol.IV, no.100).

¹⁸⁷ For example in Šafwat (1937, vol.III, no.209), the pronoun *nā* in *khāṣṣanā*, whereby the audience is distinguished by high *darajāt* for supporting the caliph.

Rhetorical Devices

Rhyme is a pair or more of words *related* by the similarity of the sound of their ending. Parallelism is a pair or more of phrases with similar grammar or structure *related* by their similarity. The patterns that these devices create are in the most basic sense relationships. The patterns in turn, by their very nature, create and enhance *Tahmīd* relations. As I will illustrate in the case study of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Tahmīds*, these patterns too instigate the creation of 'esoteric *fikrah*-relations'. But taking a broader view, the abundance of rhetorical devices in nearly all *Tahmīds* serves to consolidate and add to the psychological impact of *Tahmīd* relations, persuading the audience to adopt the frame of reference proposed through 'tacit persuasion'.

It is not uncommon to find the skilful rhetoric of *Tahmīd* and *inshā'* literature in general dismissed as 'precocious verbal acrobatics' (Arazi, "Risālah", *EI2*). The 4th/10th century Arab linguist al-Rummānī describes *saḥf* as an embellishment restricting writing, as a crown full of jewels on a slave's head, or a studded pendant on a dog!¹⁸⁸ Kurd-^cAlī (1946, pp.17-24) says of *saḥf* that it imposes a great deal of fuss (*takalluf*). Certainly there are cases where aesthetics take precedence over content, but, in the majority of *Tahmīds*, the rhetoric in my view enhances the impact of the content and makes it richer. In reality, rhetoric is an integral ingredient in the creation of the *Tahmīd*'s worldview¹⁸⁹.

Stylistically, the majority of *Tahmīds*, from the beginning, even the beginning of the Qur'ān, abound with rhetorical devices, sight and sound patterns created through *saḥf* (rhyme and rhythm), parallelism, paronomasia, the repetition of synonyms and imagery. *Tahmīd* has since quite early on been consciously adorned with rhetorical devices and even rhyme, even when the rest of the prose, in *khutbahs* for instance, remained unrhymed and free of rhetorical devices. With *risālahs* and monographs, even if unrhymed, in most cases the *Tahmīd* is rhymed. An example is the rhymed beginning of *Adab al-Kātib* by Ibn Qutaybah, while the rest of the script is unrhymed. A brief overview of the two rhetorical devices most characteristic of *Tahmīds*, *saḥf* and parallelism, is necessary.

¹⁸⁸ Ref. in Bonebakker (1977, p.327-330).

¹⁸⁹ See for example articles by Hajjaji-Jarrah (2004) 'The Enchantment of Reading: Sound, Meaning and Expression in Surat al-^cĀdiyāt' and Sells (2004) 'Sound, Spirit and Gender in Surat al-Qadr' in which they explore the capacity of rhyme and rhythm to impact and convey meaning in the Qur'ān.

Saf is succinctly defined by Stewart (2004, p. 82) as ‘rhymed and rhythmic prose’. In his article, “*saf* in the Qur’ān”, which presents an overview of the varying mediaeval and contemporary views¹⁹⁰ and a brilliant exposition on the components and workings of *saf*, Stewart declares that “the most enduring examples of *saf* are to be found in the Qur’ān” (p.75). Each *saf* unit (pp.93-100), he maintains, contains ‘x’ number of rhyming, equal or balanced *saf* phrases (*saf* *ahs*). The units are demarcated by a change in rhyme, length or a new beginning (*maṭlaʿ*). This is an example of a *saf* unit presented by Stewart (p.86):

الحمد لله	<i>Maṭlaʿ</i>
رب العالمين	<i>Saf</i> -phrase-1
الرحمن الرحيم	<i>Saf</i> -phrase-2
مالك يوم الدين	<i>Saf</i> -phrase-3

Coincidentally, the example is also the archetypical *Tahmīd*. As this example illustrates, the norm is that the later *saf* *ahs* are longer than earlier ones, however, there are exceptions. As the example also demonstrates, the rhyme-word of the *saf* *ah* (also called *qarīnah*, *maqtaʿ*, *fāsilah* and *saf*) need not exactly rhyme as in the *qāfiyah*. In most cases the rhyme-word also rhymes morphologically. Cassels (2004, p.2) highlights the occurrence of ‘near-rhyme’ in the Qur’ān, which he defines as the “rhyming of phonetically relatable consonants; and assonance, meaning the occurrence in rhyme syllables of randomly varying consonants”. This is the case in *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* with the rhyme words *‘ālamīn-rahīm-dīn*. In *sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, and in most *Tahmīds*, *saf* (near-rhyme and exact-rhyme) is a defining characteristic. The rhyme and rhythm that *saf* induces effects the consumption of *Tahmīd* semantically and psychologically.

¹⁹⁰ The debate over what constitutes *saf* and its merits is summarized by Stewart (2004). Essentially, those who forbid it do so firstly on the pretext that it was forbidden by the Prophet as it resembled the chanting of the *kuhhān* and secondly that it is unnecessary *takalluf* (fuss), a situation in which the form takes precedence over substance. The proponents of *saf*, including al-Jāhīz (*al-Bayān*, p. 86), al-Naḥḥās (p. 351), Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (p. 26) and ‘Alī b. Khalaf (qtd. in Bonebakker, 1977, pp. 327-330) principally argue that the Qur’ān and even the Prophet used *saf* and *izdiwāj*. As long as the aesthetic element doesn’t become the prime objective, some *takalluf* is not undesirable. Also see Mubarak (1934) and Rippin (2001).

Closely linked to *saf* is *izdiwāj* or parallelism. Two types of parallelism are categorized by Beeston (1983): grammatical and semantic. Grammatical parallelism (p.182) denotes the parallelism in the grammatical structure of the phrases and the sounds it produces. Semantic parallelism (p.180) is further subdivided into three types: i- 'synonymous-parallelism', in which a parallel phrase repeats the content of the first in different words, ii- 'antithetic parallelism', when the parallel phrase offers a sharply contrasted thought, and iii- 'synthetic parallelism', when the parallel phrase "takes the thought further and completes it". Parallelism is also a defining feature of Taḥmīd especially in the 5th/11th century (See for example Appendix-2:65). Examples of these are presented below and throughout the analyses of Taḥmīds in this chapter and in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition.

Lanham (2004) explores why 'sight and sound patterns' are so conducive to persuasion¹⁹¹. He demonstrates through many examples that writing often assumes shapes that carry with them an implicit tendency to harmonize with our own expectations as readers and therefore to more easily persuade. He calls persuasion through the use of rhetoric 'tacit persuasion'.

Shapes, either sound patterns or sight patterns, often seem to bring with them their own kind of illogical persuasion. For the most part, we simply don't know why they affect us as they do. It must come from how the brain processes information but that doesn't really tell us anything. To answer the question properly, we would need to ask how the visual cortex processes visual patterns..., why does the axial symmetry of the human body incline us to relish the same kind of symmetry in the outside world? (p.178)

An answer to this question, Lanham admits, is rather difficult.

We can offer only a general caution: shape makes a lot of difference in prose. A great deal of persuasion occurs in this way and most of it remains tacit, unacknowledged. Some shapes seem to carry their own persuasiveness, irrespective of their content. We feel their presence subconsciously, even if we do not bring that knowledge to self awareness. (p.178).

The sight and sound patterns in Taḥmīds too, I will argue, have in them this subconscious persuasive ability.

¹⁹¹ I am not referring extensively to mediaeval discourses on rhetorical devices in the Arabic literary tradition since the large majority of these are descriptive. The purpose here is to propose a method of analysis that enables an appreciation of the practical role played by the rhetorical devices.

Whereas sound patterns in artistic prose are familiar, sight patterns are less commonly recognized. Sight patterns are the visual symmetric patterns, shaped by the rhetorical devices, which emerge in the written text or as a subliminal visual image in our minds. As an illustration, these sight patterns are intentionally exaggerated in the dissected and color coded representation of the examples of Taḥmīds below. The flow of the sight patterns, that are essentially a consequence of the sound patterns, may be likened to the well known geometric patterns and designs that epitomize Islamic design. It is likely that the desire for symmetry in the visual textual patterns is akin to the desire for symmetry in design in art and architecture and the desire to achieve perfect proportions in Arabic calligraphy. Just as the desire to produce such patterns is similar, so is the effect. Just as the symmetric designs in Islamic art and architecture aim to inspire a sense of order, the sight patterns in Taḥmīds aim to create relations between the visually congruent and tacitly persuade the observer to believe in them.

Both sight and sound patterns, similar in spirit to the examples presented by Lanham, tacitly persuade the audience to adopt the frame of reference suggested through the Taḥmīd relations. Essentially, in Taḥmīds, the structure, rhythm and symmetry created by the sight and sound patterns bring forth a sense of order in a context of chaos.

While it is difficult, as Lanham states, to pinpoint how the persuasion takes place, the following examples will attempt to shed some light on the working of rhetorical persuasion. The examples are selected from different periods to highlight the development in the use of rhetoric and to stress that it was a consciously used tool from the very beginnings of Taḥmīd. To begin with consider this Taḥmīd written by ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd (*Risālah* no. 27 in ʿAbbās, 1988, p. 274) :

أما بعد،

[1]

فالحمد لله الذي اصطفى الاسلام لنفسه، *

وارتضاه ديناً للملائكته وأهل طاعته من عباده، **

وجعله رحمةً * وكرامةً * ونجاةً *** وسعادةً *** لمن هُدي به من خلقه، ***

[2] وأكرمهم *

وفضلهم **

وجعلهم بما أنعم عليهم به ***

[2a] أولياءه المقربين، *

وحزبه الغالبين، **

وجنده المنصورين، ***

[3] وتوكل لهم بالظهور والفلاح، *

وقضى لهم بالعلو والتمكين، **

وجعل من خالفه، وعزب عنه **، وابغى سبيل غيره ***

[3a] أعداءه الأتقنين، *

وأولياء الشيطان الأخسرين، **

وأهل الضلالة الأسفلين، ***

[4]

مع ما عليهم في دنياهم من الذل والصغار، *

فأعجل لهم فيها من الخذلان والانتقام، **

إلى ما أعد لهم في آخرتهم من الحزب والحوان المقيم والعذاب الأليم، ***

إنه عزيز ذو انتقام.

This relatively early Taḥmīd, most likely written following an Umayyad victory, uses several rhetorical tools including *safʿ* (rhyme and rhythm), parallelism and repetition to tacitly convey the power and legitimacy of Islam and its patrons, the Umayyads. The internal and external rhyme and rhythm of this Taḥmīd induces a sense of flow as is experienced in music. The sound pattern induced by the pronoun rhyme '*hi*' in *nafsihi*, *malā'katihi*, *ibādihī*, *khalqihī* is unmistakable. In the next sentence, the internal sound pattern, one may even call it beat, in *rahmatan*, *karāmatan*, *najātan*, *sa'ādatan*, has a psychological effect through the repetition of the sound pattern, evoking an emotion similar to one created by a climaxing drum beat. The patterns, regardless of whether it is logically justifiable or not, relates and links the soul, the angels and the obedient servants of God; it relates mercy with honor, and salvation with happiness.

The sight pattern overall is striking. Notwithstanding the difficulty of crafting words, it is evident that ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd crafted this Taḥmīd with great care to finish with such a visual pattern. From the representation above the symmetry is unmistakable. Segment-1 and 4 anchor the Taḥmīd with three phrases each, the first focusing on Islam and Muslims and the last on their enemies. Segment-1 creates a positive *nisbah*-relation between God and the Muslims with the proposition that He has made Islam a source of mercy, honour, salvation and joy (*rahmah*, *karāmah*, *najāh*, *sa'ādah*) for them. Segment-4 creates a negative *nisbah*-relation between God and the enemies with the proposition that He has ordained humiliation, lowliness, defeat, revenge and severe punishment (*dhull*, *ṣaghār*, *khidhlān*, *intiqām*, *'adhāb alīm*) for them. The visual placement of these two groups, three lines at the beginning and three lines at the end, clearly demarcates them.

The two middle segments are subdivided into two parts each. Segment-2, consolidates the positive *nisbah*-relation created in segment-1, while segment-3 acts as a transition in which the 'enemies' are introduced. The three short phrases, sub-segment-2a and 3a (in dark blue in the presentation above), are the same rhyme and are antithetically parallel: in segment-2a they reinforce the positive relation of believers with God while in segment-3a they create a negative relation with the enemies. The parallelism is synthetic and synonymous within the description of each group: *awliyā'ah al-muqarrabīn*, *wa hizbahū al-ghalibīn*, *wa jundahū al-mansūrīn*. These three phrases are in turn antithetically parallel with the descriptors of the group of *ʿadā'*: *ʿadā'ah al-aqallīn*, *wa awliyā' al-shayṭān al-akhsarīn*, *wa ahl al-dalālat al-asfalīn*, which internally hold the

same pattern as the first group. The parallelism is further enhanced by the acoustic parallelism created by the sound *ẓn* at the end of all six phrases.

The parallelism creates a set of horizontal and vertical coordinates which clearly demarcates the two groups; their relatively uniform patterns stress the desire for order, tacitly persuading the audience that reality is as ordered as the Taḥmīd that seeks to represent it. Thus, the Taḥmīd's worldview, that is the dichotomy in the state and eventual outcome of both parties, is not only visually reinforced, but is effectively embodied in the patterns. Whether true or not, the visual pattern draws the reader to accept what is said as the truth. In Lanham's words: "patterns like these become templates for thinking; they both frame thinking and, by their formal "logic", urge certain thoughts upon us" (2004, p. 182).

The use of rhetorical devices in this early Taḥmīd is relatively less compared to later Taḥmīds, such as the ones discussed below. However, the brief analysis of some of the rhetorical agencies in this Taḥmīd is indicative of the consciousness of ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd and early orators and writers of the persuasive effect of sound and sight patterns.

The second example is from three centuries later, written in the 5th/11th century, from Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Ghurar al-Balāghah*¹⁹². Presented as a model Taḥmīd, it is isolated from its historical context. But it is highly likely, based on the relations in the Taḥmīd, that it is in a context of hostility but with the possibility of reconciliation. The Taḥmīd creates a bipolar worldview, discussed further later in this chapter, whereby the world is dissected into two: good and evil.

¹⁹² Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Ghurar*, (pp. 50-51, Appendix-2:71) .

- [1] الحمد لله العادل حكّمه،
الواسع حلمه،
- [2] حافظ أوليائه وعاصمهم، وغالب أعدائه وقاصمهم،
ومميز الحق ورافعه، ومذل الباطل وواضعه،
ومظهر الدين وناصره، وقامع الكفر وقاهره،
مجل بأسه من خراج عن أمره، ومنزل سطوته من عند طاعته،
- [3] الذي جعل الناس ضروباً بين:
رشيدي وغوي،
وسعيد وشقي،
وأريب وغبي،
ومطيع وعصي،
- [4] ووفى كل فريق منهم استحقاقه من نعيمه وعذابه،
ثوابه وعقابه،
- [5] غير عادل بهم عما اكتسبوه،
ولا ناقص لهم مما استوجبوه،
ولا مانع لهم مع ذلك من مورد عفوّه،
ولا راد لهم عن باب صفحته،
- [6] ما لجأوا إلى الإقصار،
ورجعوا عن الإصرار،
وعادوا بالاستغفار،
وأقلعوا عن التماذي والاستمرار.

The patterns in this Taḥmīd capitalize on 'chance'¹⁹³. There happen to be words that convey the desired meaning that happen to rhyme in the end and have a similar conjugational pattern (*sarf*). But in this case, rather than capitalizing on the chance resemblance of terms to suggest a natural affinity, the aim is to suggest contrast. While the grammatical parallelism in the lines, highlighted by the different color shades, suggests an affinity, the semantic antithetical parallelism, suggests contrast – perhaps mirroring natural perception, where people, both *awliyā'* and *a'dā'*, are humans who are on the surface similar, but are opposites in spirit and soul. However, while in human experience the relations and demarcations are often fuzzy, the neatly ordered Taḥmīd presents a worldview that clears all confusions and tacitly persuades the reader and listener of the rightfulness of his group and the wrongfulness of the other. While the world has different shades of gray, the Taḥmīd draws a picture, greatly enhanced by the sight and sound patterns, that is black and white (or red and blue in this case ☺).

The bipolarization is further stressed through the list of synthetically parallel coupled-phrases describing the two groups in segment-3: *rashīd wa ghawīyy*...etc. It is possible to imagine the Taḥmīd to be semantically comprehensible even without the second, third and fourth couplets. However, beyond what they add in terms of meaning, the sight and sound pattern that is created is very ordered and clear. The listing of the characteristics in Lanham's words, "creates a world of equal integers which permits systematic search and arrangement. Metaphor generalizes experience. The list *iterates* it, describes the universe by describing each particular in it" (2004, p. 186). The reiteration of the words, keeping in mind the hybridity of Taḥmīd, is especially important. It provides for the vocabulary in one of the phrases not being understood by some listeners and also that the message is properly registered even in the less attentive listener's mind. The grammatical and synonymous parallelism that follows (segment-4) in *na'imihī wa 'adhābih, wa thawābihī wa 'iqābih* is the final distinction between the two groups. Whether we like it or not, repetition of an idea is persuasive, a concept that advertising agencies too fully understand. It can possibly be said here that the symmetrical, rhythmical and musical pattern is pleasing to the eye and the ear. Lanham (2004, p.179) argues that this play on words creates patterns that please us; they persuade us, according to him, even if their logical content does not merit it.

¹⁹³ The concept of chance in tacit persuasion is borrowed from Lanham (2004, p.179).

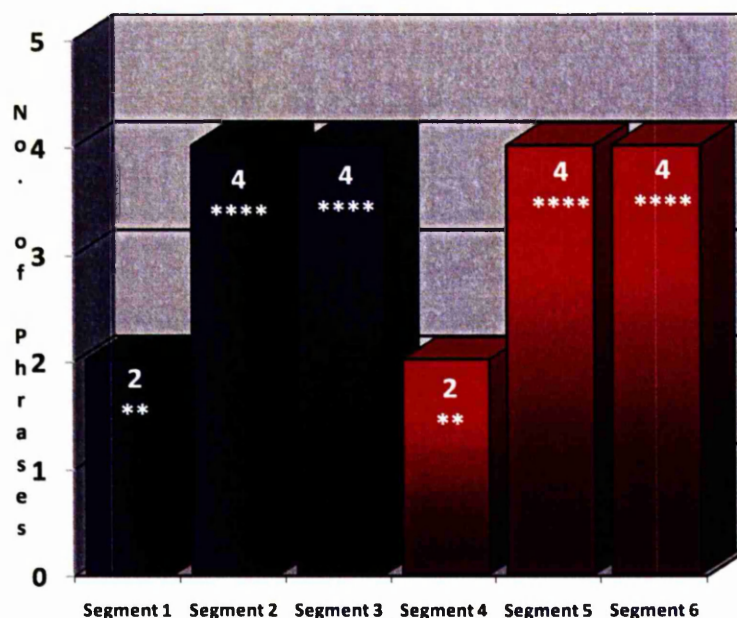
After this distinction a change is visible both in the content and the pattern in segment-5, starting with the phrase *ghayr °ādil*. A conciliatory mood overcomes. The phrases are again grammatically parallel, but as opposed to the antithetical parallelism in the beginning of the *Tahmīd*, the semantic parallelism is now synthetic. The sound patterns rather than being harsh stops, *him*, *yy* are now a smooth *ūh* and *ār*. The two separate moods of the *Tahmīds* are actually demarcated in the very first line of the *Tahmīd* through the soft contrast in the grammatically parallel words *hukmuh* and *hilmuh*. The first part (segment-1- 3) relates to power and authority (*hukm*), while the second (segment-4-6) relates to tolerance and clemency (*hilm*).

The two parts are demarcated both audibly and visually. The symmetry within each part is almost as perfect as any geometric pattern thanks to the use of morphologically equally weighted and rhyming words. Visually there is a pattern of 2-4-4-2-4-4 (see fig.3). The second segment, although eight phrases as compared with four, is in effect similar to segment-3 where the coupling of good and evil completes it semantically and balances it visually and audibly. The first 2-4-4 group is a manifestation of what God has pre-destined; the relations within this group are static. In [segment-1] God's *hukm*, His rule, although pre-ordained, is just (*°ādil*); He [segment-2] duly supports righteousness and suppresses falsehood; He [segment-3] has divided people into those who are wise, guided and happy and those who are unwise, misguided and miserable. In the second 2-4-4 group there is a subtle change. While the duality remains, the second 2-4-4 segment is a reflection of free will, albeit will given by God. The relations become dynamic where there is a possibility for the individual to choose a different path. What each individual deserves (*istihqāq*) [segment-4], comes into play and God [segment-5] is related to as One not discounting good deeds, leaving open the door of His mercy for those [segment-6] who mend their ways. The *Tahmīd* visually and semantically strikes a balance between the age old knotty concepts of predestination and freewill. Both coexist in this world, each in its own right, just as they coexist in this symmetrical *Tahmīd*. It is true that the content and the relations built within the *Tahmīd* are integral in this persuasion, yet the force that the tacit persuasion adds cannot be dismissed. There is a deliberate capitalization on the power of tacit persuasion, a trend that is also visible in Fatimid *Tahmīds*¹⁹⁴.

¹⁹⁴ See also the sight and sound patterns in *Sijillāt* (no.56, p.182; Appendix-2:65; the patterns are highlighted).

In many cases, especially in Fatimid *Tahmīds*, the end-rhyme is chosen especially so that a particular Qur'ānic verse can be quoted at the end, or a particular verse is quoted because it fits the end-rhyme¹⁹⁵. This raises an interesting question: does the thought precede the pattern or does the pattern precede the thought? I believe it is equally true that just as thought garners certain patterns, certain patterns also garner specific thoughts.

Al-Sabi's Tahmid Sight and Sound Patterns
Figure-3



Imagery

Imagery is not a hallmark of *Tahmīd* as is rhythm and parallelism, yet certain images, featuring often enough to be called stock images, add to the persuasiveness and impact of the *Tahmīd*. These images are essential in creating the relations between theological entities and the perceived world. The most common are images of light, of religion as a path, images to describe the bounty of God, his Prophet and caliphs, and images

¹⁹⁵ For example the Qur'ānic verse referring to birth of *dhukūr* in the context of the birth of a son to the Imām this *Tahmīd* is in *Sijillāt* (no. 6, p. 46, Appendix-2:61). Also see *Sijillāt* (no. 56, p. 182, Appendix-2:65). For more examples see: Shayyal (1952, no. 1 p. 184) Appendix-2:68; *Sijillāt* no.'s 2, 4, 40, 58 (Appendix-2:58, 59, 63, and 66), 57, 60; and Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, *Istinzāl al-luṭf* in *Rayḥānat* p.52 Appendix-2:129.

depicting the inability of humans to fathom the nature of God, especially in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Tahmīds*¹⁹⁶.

Images of light abound in *Tahmīds*: *ḥamd* is offered, for instance, for the light of guidance, or the illuminating light of Prophets and caliphs. For example, in the Fatimid context, it is worth highlighting this image of the Imām's succession, conveyed in this excerpt as a light emerging when another dims, as a star rising when another sets¹⁹⁷:

... والحمد لله الذي نصب الأنبياء لمرأشده أعلاما... ، وعاقبَ بين أنوار الإمامة فإذا انقبض نور انبسط نور، وتابع ظهور بدوره ليشرق طالع إثر غارب بغور، رحمة شاملة للعالمين... .

The succession of the Imāmate, the necessity of one Imām following another, is impressed upon the reader through this imagery. The relation with this natural, daily observable phenomenon persuades the audience of its inevitability, explaining the passage. In Aristotle's words, metaphor gives a "charm and distinction" to expression, but even more, it is "another way to give 'clearness' and 'liveliness' to the expression of our thoughts" (qtd. in Corbett, 2004, p.142). The light imagery does just that in this example in elucidating the abstract concept of the Imāmate.

The images of the road, path and rope are some of the images used to express guidance, Islam and the link with God. In one Fatimid document Islam is described as follows¹⁹⁸:

... فهو العروة الوثقى، والطريق المثلّى، والدرجة العليا،

What these images also help to do according to the Roman rhetorician Quintilian (d. before 100 C.E.), is "render our thoughts [of abstract concepts in this case] vividly concrete" (qtd. in Corbett, 2004, p.143). The concepts of guidance and religion are concretized using imagery to which we can easily relate. The professed link between God and the people, for instance, is given the concrete image of a firm tie or bond (*al-urwah al-wuthqā*) between the two. That this is an image extracted from the Qur'ān adds to its forcefulness¹⁹⁹. Such images, and variations of them, are common in *Tahmīds*, and add to their impact.

¹⁹⁶ The images depicting the inability to fathom God in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition are discussed in chapter-V (p.180).

¹⁹⁷ Qtd. in Al-Shayyāl (1958, no.8, pp. 269-270, Appendix-2:69).

¹⁹⁸ Qtd. in Al-Shayyāl (1958, no.10, p. 286, Appendix-2:70).

¹⁹⁹ Qur'ān (2:256 and 31:22). Also worth noting is Qur'ānic image of *ḥabl-Allāh* (3:103). The importance of these images in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context is discussed in chapter-V (p.183).

The following *Tahmīd* from the 8th/14th century is an ideal example of *Tahmīd* imagery. The *Tahmīd* is written by the Andalusian Lisān al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb as an introduction to his monograph *al-Siḥr wa al-Shiʿr* quoted in his auto-anthology *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb* (pp. 26-27, Appendix-2:128).

الحمد لله الذي رَأَى أَجْنَحَةَ الْأَفْهَامِ بِالْإِمْدَادِ وَالْإِلْهَامِ، فَمَضَتْ إِلَى أَغْرَاضِهَا مُضِيَّ السَّهَامِ، وَأُنْشَأَتْ فِي آفَاقِ
الْعُقُولِ سَحُبَ الْخَوَاطِرِ، مَا بَيْنَ الْمُخْلِيفِ وَالْمَاطِرِ، وَالصَّبِّبِ وَالْجَهَامِ. وَالصَّلَاةَ وَالسَّلَامَ عَلَى سَيِّدِنَا وَمَوْلَانَا مُحَمَّدٍ
خَيْرِ الْأَنَامِ، الَّذِي جَعَلَهُ فِي رَوْضِ هَذَا الْوُجُودِ الْمَجُودِ بِسَحَابِ الْجُودِ زَهْرَةَ الْكَمَامِ، وَخَتَمَ دِيوَانَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ مِنْ
دَعْوَتِهِ الْحَقِيقَةِ السَّمْحَةِ بِمَسْكَةِ الْخِتَامِ، وَالرِّضَا عَنْ آلِهِ الْبَرَّةِ الْأَعْلَامِ، أُولَى النَّهْيِ وَالْأَحْلَامِ، مَا قَذَفَتْ بِشَهْدِ
الْحِكْمَةِ نَحْلَ الْأَقْلَامِ، وَسَلَّمْ تَسْلِيمًا كَثِيرًا²⁰⁰،

The expression in this *Tahmīd* could have very easily been without the rhetoric and without metaphors; yet imagining it without them would change its character completely. The wings of thought (*afhām*) are described as being given the feathers of inspiration, which then enables them to fly like arrows – arrows are also fitted with feathers to give them buoyancy – and create in the skies of the mind clouds of ideas, some fruitful, full of rain, and others unfruitful, rainless; a sequence of imagery that in the words of Quintilian “lends credibility to our arguments” and excites the emotions (qtd. in Corbett, 2004, p. 142). Here too the imagery is used to draw a relation between the abstract concept of thought and concrete objects perceivable in nature, making the abstract more vivid, and, through the combination of the wings, arrows and clouds, provoking the audience to visualize a fantastic image. The image of the cloud is re-utilized in the *salawāt* where Muhammad is described as showering the flowerbed of existence with rain from the cloud of generosity.

The effect of these images, coupled with the sight and sound patterns and supported primarily by the underlying relations and meanings, is the recipe for a strong and impactful *Tahmīd*. It is, as Greek rhetorician Longinus puts it, “able in many ways to infuse vehemence and passion into spoken words, while more particularly when it is combined with the argumentative passages it not only persuades the hearer but actually makes him its slave” (qtd. in Corbett, 2004, p. 142).

²⁰⁰ These are the definitions of some of the more unfamiliar vocabulary: *mukhlif*: remainder or residual; *jahām*: rainless cloud; *majūd*: thirsty.

The rhetorical aspect is so much a part of *Taḥmīd*, thanks to its hybridity, that an understanding of it without an appreciation of the effect and role of the rhetorical devices would be incomplete. The crucial point in this discussion is that stylistic features and rhetorical devices are not tangential additives, but are integral ingredients in establishing the relations, enhancing their impact and communicating the meanings in *Taḥmīds*.

III. An Analysis of Five *Taḥmīds*

The following section analyzes a selection of *Taḥmīds*, using the methodology outlined above, with the aim of highlighting the various purposes served by the *Taḥmīd* relations and the worldviews they present. The selection of a few examples from an enormous cache of *Taḥmīds* is an arduous task, and to analyze them comprehensively is even more difficult. The main objectives that governed the criteria for inclusion are the following:

1. To include a demonstrative range of the various functions or purposes of *Taḥmīd*. These include the instillation of the fear of God (*taqwā*), legitimization of authority, community-building, and contextualization of history. Because each *Taḥmīd* almost inevitably serves more than one function, it is counterproductive to organize this section with respect to the functions served.
2. To include samples from different time periods, demonstrating the endurance and development of *Taḥmīd*. With this in mind, the five range chronologically from the 1st/7th until the 7th/13th century and are discussed in chronological order. However, this is by no means a claim that these *Taḥmīds* represent a comprehensive chronological survey.
3. To include *Taḥmīds* from different geographical, political and religious contexts, demonstrating the adaptation of the *Taḥmīd* to local practices and beliefs. Thus I have included *Taḥmīds* from Early-Islamic Medinah (or Kūfah), Umayyad Shām, Abbasid Mosul and Baghdad and Fatimid Cairo.
4. To include samples from the different genres in which the *Taḥmīd* commonly appears, namely the *khutbah*, *risālah*, and monograph. Since *risālahs* were the main bastion for the development of *Taḥmīd*, and because the case study focuses on *Taḥmīds* in *risālahs*, more examples from the *risālah* genre are included than from others.

5. To include examples with variance in style. This specifically refers to variance in the length of the *Taḥmīd* and the style and extent of the usage of rhetorical devices and Qur'ānic quotations.
6. To include *Taḥmīds* written by authors with an established status in classical Arabic prose such as 'Alī-b. Abī-Ṭālib, 'Abd-al-Ḥamīd-al-Kātib, Hilāl-al-Ṣābi', al-Mu'ayyad-fī-al-Dīn-al-Shirāzī, and 'Izz-al-Dīn-b. al-Athīr.

The analysis of *Taḥmīds*, selected on the basis of these criteria, is essential in order to establish the feasibility of the methodology discussed in this chapter for the interpretation of thematically, chronologically, stylistically and geographically diverse *Taḥmīds*. The analysis also aims to give a flavor of the general variety of *Taḥmīds*, before concentrating on Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Taḥmīds* in the case study.

List of Taḥmīds Analyzed

	Author	Location-Affiliation	Purpose	Genre	Period
Taḥmīd-1	'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 40/661)	Kūfah	<i>Taqwā</i>	<i>Khuṭbah</i>	1 st /7 th century
Taḥmīd-2	'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 123-3/750-1)	Shām-Umayyad	Legitimizing authority-bipolar outlook of existence	<i>Risālah</i>	2 nd /8 th century
Taḥmīd-3	Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (d. 407/1016-7)	Baghdad-Buwayhid	Community building	<i>Risālah</i>	5 th /11 th century
Taḥmīd-4	Al-Mu'ayyad fī al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (?) (d. 470/1078)	Cairo-Fatimid	The cycle of life	<i>Sijill</i> / <i>Risālah</i>	5 th /11 th century
Taḥmīd-5	'Izz al-Dīn b. al-Athīr (d. 661/1233)	Mosul/Baghdad (?) Abbasid	Contextualization of History	Monograph	7 th /14 th century

Tahmīd-1 (1st/7th century—Taqwā)

This *Tahmīd* (Appendix-2:21) introduces a forceful and moving homiletic *khutbah* by °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib in which he exhorts the audience on *taqwā*²⁰¹. Exhortation to *taqwā*, a weighty term implying fear of God, piety and religiosity, is one of the key functions of *Tahmīd*. It is possible to say that it is the principal underlying function of all *Tahmīds*, even when there are other political and social purposes involved. However, in these homiletic *khutbahs* and in other similar circumstances, it is most likely the primary purpose. *Taqwā* is induced through the *Tahmīd* itself by addressing the difficult, and to a certain degree inexplicable and abstract, relations with God.

In line-1, the *Tahmīd* establishes complex simultaneous *nisbah*-relations of distance and closeness: God is beyond reach because of His unlimited power (*hawḷ*) but, at the same time, near through His benevolence (*ṭawḷ*). This relation is characterized as the 'tawḥīd-paradox' and discussed further in chapter-V (p.182). This complex relation evokes at once the fear of God's power and gratitude for his grace, inducing a consciousness of *taqwā*. By connecting individuals to God through these relations, the 'unseeableness' and abstractness of the Almighty is suddenly very tangible through manifestations of His powers and boons. As the graphic representation of the *Tahmīd* (Appendix-2:21) shows, this state of consciousness is accentuated by the tension created in the grammatical-parallelism of the two parts of the first line and the simultaneous semantic antithetical-parallelism. The relation in the very beginning sets the frame of reference for the prospect of God's punishment and reward.

Line-2 addresses another binarism: God is giver of all bounties (*māniḥ*) and alleviator of difficulty (*kāshif*). As a result of the choice of descriptors or qualities used to praise God, the *fikrah*-relations differ. While line-1 induces a state of anxiety, the *fikrah*-relations created in line-2 suggest complete dependence, that in turn induces the

²⁰¹ *Nahj al-Balāghah* (no.82, pp.160-161, known as *al-khutbah al-gharrā*). The editor states that it is related in tradition that when °Alī delivered this sermon it raised goose bumps on the audience's flesh, brought tears to their eyes and made their hearts shudder. The numbering is added in order to assist with referencing in the analysis. With regards to the authenticity of the *khutbah*, a study in *al-Tawḥīd*, vol.7, no.1 based mainly on al-Khaṭīb's (1966) work *Maṣādir Nahj al-Balāghah wa asānīduh*, lists six other sources where this *khutbah* appears. In terms of the highly developed use of rhetoric, specifically parallelism and end-rhyme—though more matured than written prose of the same period, and even of later periods, as is evidenced by a comparison with 'Tahmīd-2'—it is characteristic of the large majority of the *khutbahs* attributed to °Alī in *Nahj al-Balāghah* and even characteristic of pre-Islamic (such as the *khutbah* by Quss b. Sā'idah) and early Islamic *khutbahs* (including some delivered by Muhammad). Al-Khaṭīb (1966, pp.184-188) addresses the issue of rhetoric in °Alī's *khutbahs* and presents examples with similar style and use of rhetorical devices from the pre-Islamic and early Islamic period.

consciousness of *taqwā*. Line-3 elaborates the relation with God's grace, using more or less synonymous phrases. The repetition of the idea, enhanced by the grammatical and semantic synthetic-parallelism, as noted earlier, is a tool of tacit persuasion (especially for an oral *khutbah*), which heightens the realization of the relation and consequently also the sense of *taqwā*.

The series of descriptive phrases in line-4 are an ingenious adaptation of the standard *khutbah* *Tahmīds* referred to in chapter-II (p.52). Each of the verbs, even in the standard *Tahmīd* which bears echoes of *sūrat al-Fāṭihah*, creates a specific relational-proposition with God: faith (*īmān*); guidance (*hidāyah*); support (*istfānah*); dependence (*tawakkul*). In this *Tahmīd*, the descriptions of God following these propositions seem to be consciously chosen to reflect the binarism initiated earlier. In the pair 4a and 4b, which share a common rhyme, 4a asserts belief in the eternal or infinite beginning of God, embedded within which is the assumption of human finiteness and the relational distance it entails from God; 4b, on the other hand, builds a relation of guidance with God who is near (*qarīb*) and the one who guides (*hādī*). Also continuing the interplay that began with °*alā* and °*danā* in line-1, in the second pair 4c and 4d, marked also by the change in rhyme, 4c builds a relation of support from God who is powerful (*qādir*) and the subduer (*qāhir*), reinforcing the Almighty's power; while 4d builds a relation of dependence on God, who is close since He is the sufficer (*kāfī*) and supporter (*nāsir*). The interplay and balance between a relation with God that proposes distance on the one hand and then proposes closeness on the other hand, an interplay that is highlighted by the grammatical-parallelism, gives a strong impetus to the consciousness of *taqwā* that is sought.

The proclamation of the Prophethood of Muhammad in line-5 establishes two explicit *nisbah*-relations with God: servitude and Prophethood. In the order of existence Muhammad, too, has this dual role. The following lines (6a, 6b and 6c) are an elaboration of his second role, i.e. his relationship with the *ummah*, the audience of the *khutbah*. Thus, the three levels of relata are linked through the utilization of the linking powers of pro-nouns. While the *hu*, in °*abduhu* and °*rasuluhu*, established the Prophet's link with God, °*arasalahu*, with the object implied (*ilaykum*), establishes a relation between the listeners and the Prophet. At first glance the binarism carried through till now seems to break here. However, on a closer look, 6b and 6c are two categories of 6a, the execution of God's commands. In 6b, the relation is with Muhammad who delivered God's promise

of freedom from blame (to those who accept), and in 6c it is with Muhammad who gave warning (to those who do not accept his message)²⁰².

While the *nisbah*-relation with the Prophet as the one who promises freedom and warns is explicit, a *fikrah*-relation with the author of the *khutbah*, °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, is also established. As the one delivering a *khutbah* with the very messages the Prophet was sent with, the principle of correspondence, in the dissemination of this message, exists between the Prophet and °Alī. Through this *fikrah*-relationship what follows is more authoritative.

Throughout this *Tahmīd*, the sight and sound pattern that is created has a remarkable persuasive effect. The rhyming of the words, the morphological and grammatical parallelism, the rhyme and its timely changes, tacitly persuade the audience. The effectiveness of the binarism and the relations is multiplied through the ordered pattern of these devices, and the sense of *taqwā* is consequently heightened. The sight and sound patterns are common to many of °Alī's *khutbahs* and are highly developed compared with the next *Tahmīd* and with prose writing of the first few centuries in general.

Tahmīd-2 (2nd/8th century—Legitimizing Authority: the Bipolar Universe)

This *Tahmīd* (Appendix-2:40) asserts legitimacy through a bipolar worldview²⁰³. Written by °Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib in the early 2nd/8th century, most likely in response to a victory by the Umayyad caliph Marwān in Armenia²⁰⁴, this is a model that is replicated and adapted time and again in numerous *Tahmīds*²⁰⁵. It boasts, at this rather early stage, a quintuple *Tahmīd*, sequentially building a case for the legitimacy of the campaign and of the caliph.

The first segment presents a worldview in which existence is divided into two spheres: Truth and Falsehood, Right and Wrong, Good and Evil. The acceptance of this demarcation is the basis for the righteousness of the community and the legitimacy of its ruler. In most later *Tahmīds* the dichotomy is epitomized by the two words *ḥaqq* and

²⁰² The two words °*udhr* and *nudhr* are used in Qur'ān 77:6.

²⁰³ In °Abbās (1988, no. 26, pp. 273-274) and Ṣafwat (1937, v.II, no. 512), with slight variation.

²⁰⁴ This is on the basis of °Abbās's (1988, p. 68) contention in his study of °Abd al-Ḥamīd's life and works. It is not possible to ascertain the specific victory since the main body of the *risālah* is lost.

²⁰⁵ There are many other *Tahmīds* that use the *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil* dichotomy created in this *Tahmīd*. See for instance *Tahmīd* by °Abd al-Ḥamīd (°Abbās, 1984, no.24; Appendix-2:38), Ṣafwat (1937, vol.III, no. 211; vol.IV, no., 96, 99, 170; Appendix-2:44, 47, 48, 50), Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Ghurur*, (p.56; Appendix-2:72)), *Sijillāt* (no.4 and 43; Appendix-2:59 and 64).

bāṭil, inspired by or based on the Qur'ānic categorization²⁰⁶. In this *Tahmīd* the dichotomy is unmistakable, even without the presence of both keywords: only *ḥaqq* is used, while *bāṭil* is represented by related words. The distinction between the two groups lies primarily in the relational-proposition between them and Islam, which is in turn related to God as His chosen religion. Those who uphold Islam (*qām bihi dā'iyan*), are related to God as His soldiers and supporters, while those who oppose them are related with disbelief (*kufr*), misguidedness (*tīh al-shaqā'*) and ignorance (*jahālāh*). Each of these two sets of relations is marked by the repetition of the verb *ja'ala*, attributing the disparate consequences of the two groups to God. Though not an absolutely ordered pattern, the coupling, *jundahu al-ghālibīn wa anṣārahū al-musallaṭīn*, and the intermittent rhyming, *...qad istahwathu dhillat al-kufr bi zulamiḥā wa ḥayrat al-jahālat bi jiwāriḥā*, act as a glue that binds the components of each group, separating one from the other. In clarifying this classification, the primary relations that are responsible for the distinction are made unambiguously clear. As a result of this bipolarization, the grey areas, or the difficulties in justifying battles and policies, are eliminated, with a clear cut black and white order of existence taking its place.

The worldview, the binary outlook of existence, is further stressed by addressing the disparate consequences of being associated with either of the two categories, persuading the audience to relate themselves to the righteous group. For the supporters of *ḥaqq*, the reward is twofold: the first is in relation to the other group, attaining victory over them and inheriting *their* land, *their* wealth, *their* dwellings and *their* state. The second is in relation to God, a relation that is characterized by their oath pledging their lives to God in exchange for heaven. Both rewards are inspired in their entirety from Qur'ān 33:27 and 9:111; the audience's Qur'ānic background is assumed and it is anticipated that they will make the connection. The two rewards are summed up in the last phrase of segment-1: the people of *ḥaqq* are on their way to the best of this world and the Hereafter (*ilā khayr al-dunyā wa al-ākhirah*). On the other hand, the enemies of Islam and its supporters, apart from losing their worldly wealth, are promised a deluded wretchedness (*tīh al-shaqā'*) in both worlds. The honor (*ʿizz*) of Islam, enjoyed by its supporters because of their relation of allegiance with it, is in stark contrast to the

²⁰⁶ For example verses 2:42, 3:71, 8:8, 13:19, 17:81, 18:56, 21:18, 22:62, 31:30, 34:49, 40:5, 42:24, 47:3. See for example *Tahmīd* by Ibn al-Muqaffa^c using verse 8:8 in *Ṣafwat* (1937, v.III, no. 28; Appendix-2:42).

humiliation (*dhillah*) of *kufī*. On the basis of the worldview that sees the world divided into these two categories, all those associated with *ḥaqq* gain legitimacy.

The reference to verse 33:27, which is in the context of the *ahzāb* campaign in the Qur'ān, while describing the exploits of battle promised to the believers, creates a *fikrah*-relation of correspondence between the early exploits of the Prophet and this victory, and consequently between the Prophet's role as guardian of Islam and the caliph's. The *fikrah*-relation also raises the stature of this particular victory to that of the iconic victories of Muhammad.

To assert legitimacy, segment-2 and 3 draw an explicit *nisbah*-relation between Muhammad, the people of *ḥaqq* and Islam, with the proposition that God fulfills His promises to them. The promises are upheld always as a result of the Prophetic inheritance (*mawārīth al-nubuwwah*) that has reached the caliph²⁰⁷. The twin relations, the first between Muhammad and the people of *ḥaqq* (the Islamic *ummah*) the protection of whom is a promise made by God to the Prophet, and the second, between Muhammad and the caliph, reassert Muhammad's authority over the *ummah* and, on the basis of the inheritance, that of the caliph. In segment-3, the fulfillment of the promise (*waʿd*) is to Muhammad and the caliph in the same sentence. The principle of correspondence, implied above in the Qur'ānic quotation, is made explicit here. The promises made above are fulfilled for the caliph, as they were for the Prophet, asserting that he is among the people of *ḥaqq*, and therefore asserting his legitimacy.

In the second segment, the group related to *ḥaqq* is now significantly described as the *ummah*, as a consequence of the shared primary relations. The bonding or community-building is a result of the mutual relations: primarily the relation with Islam, their relations with each other as comrades in the army of God, and their antagonistic relation with the enemies. It is also a result of the shared consequences, the victory and the booty of battle, and the shared aspirations for the fulfillment of the promises in the Hereafter. Lastly, and this connects it to the issue of legitimacy again, it is because of a shared legitimate leader, the Prophet and later the caliph who inherits his authority, that they are an *ummah*.

Segments-4 and 5 connect the first and second levels of *relata* with the third level, the community. This is done by an assertion of the fulfillment of God's promise to his

²⁰⁷ An interesting exception to this rule is a *Tahmīd* by Muʿāwiyah asserting legitimacy on the basis of being in the land of *Shām*, because it is a holy-land and because of the relation of the land with early Prophets. See Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ* (p.13).

ummah by supporting them and abandoning their enemies. While the bipolarization in the first segment is absolute, without reference to a specific context, in the fourth and fifth segment the contemporary audience becomes part of the righteous category, through the explicit *nisbah*-relation with God's support. The support forms a *fikrah*-relation between the contemporary audience and the promises of reward in the Hereafter made in the first segment. The focus in segment-5 on the audience is emphasized through the use of the plural first person pronoun: *ḥammalanā*. All the pronouns until that point are in the third person. Hence this is the last link: moving from God, to Islam, to the Prophet, to the caliph and finally to the *ummah*.

To sum up, the worldview that perceives existence as a division of *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*, in the local context classifies the Muslims as people of *ḥaqq* and their enemies as people of *bāṭil*. As a result of this worldview, the war is justified, the victory is seen as one promised and ordained by God, and the spoils of battle are free for the righteous to enjoy. Further, by the fulfillment of this promise, equated with the fulfillment of the promise to Muhammad, the legitimacy of the caliph as the inheritor of Muhammad's legacy, and consequently as the rightful caliph of the Muslims, is bolstered. The rightful group, under the legitimate leadership of the caliph is bonded as a community. As a result of the lack of specific detail, the lack of narrative and the absoluteness of the worldview endorsed, the *Taḥmīd* can be easily transplanted to a different time and context to assert the righteousness and solidarity of a group and the legitimacy of their contemporary leader. This worldview, in a timeless manner, encourages the audience to be part of, and to support, the people of *ḥaqq*.

Taḥmīd-3 (5th/11th century—Community-building)

This concise and eloquent *Taḥmīd* is found in Hilāl al-Ṣābi's collection of model *Taḥmīds* in his 5th/11th century chancery manual *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (p.57; Appendix-2:74). The *Taḥmīd*, one of two similar *Taḥmīds* by the author²⁰⁸, is primarily aimed at consolidating the community. For this purpose it creates a worldview, through a series of relations with secondary relata, whereby the order of nature is seen to dictate unity and harmony, a harmony *willed* by God.

²⁰⁸ (p.57, Appendix-2:73).

The worldview in this Taḥmīd, in contrast to the dichotomy of 'Taḥmīd-2', is one of harmony within the *ummah*. While in 'Taḥmīd-2' both *immanent* and *transeunt* relations are used, this Taḥmīd, in order to establish a consciousness of harmony, focuses on *immanent* relations. *Immanent* relations refer to the harmonious, mutually shared relations and aspirations within each group, and *transeunt* relations refer to the relations between two groups. This consciousness of harmony is propagated by the fundamental relational-proposition, the unity of the *shaml* of the Muslim community, being mirrored in a series of similar propositions in secondary relata in nature. The explicit *nisbah*-relation of God with the joining of the broken bone, the reconnecting of the cutoff rope, and the patching of the widening tear, suggests an order of existence that calls for the restoration of harmony. The tangible relations between the secondary relata, inspired by pre-Islamic idioms, create a *fikrah*-relation with the presumed rift within the community and persuade the audience to adopt a similar consciousness with regard to the intangible bond within it that is presently broken. The images of nature, already associated with God, since He is the active participle, are explicitly related to God's will. Reconciliation is ordained by God, bringing forth amelioration, success and triumph. The relation of God's will with reconciliation is in stark contrast to other Taḥmīd's where it is God's will that has steered the two parties to war²⁰⁹. It is in fact the shared belief in God and His will that is the primary source of harmony. The reconciliatory spirit is also mirrored in the sound and sight patterns.

Visually and audibly, as is apparent from the dissected representation (Appendix-2:74), the Taḥmīd is carefully divided into three sections, each section representing a phase on the path to reconciliation. Though with a positive note, the first segment presents relations that highlight the problem: the broken bone, the cut off rope, the torn garment: all leading to a *fikrah*-relation with the presumed rift within the community. The second segment, marked by the repetition of *alladhī* and a change in rhyme (new *saḥf* unit), presents relations that extol the remedy for the problem referred to in segment-1. In this segment the relations with God's destiny (*aqdār*), lead to and promise reconciliation. The Taḥmīd, as the introduction to a presumed *risālah*, is itself a part of the remedy. The final segment, marked by the repetition of *ḥamd*, signals the resolution and the fulfillment of the promise.

²⁰⁹ See for instance °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib's *khutbah* Taḥmīd (Appendix-2:13).

The symmetry and harmony within and between the segments demands the same from individuals who are part of the community. Demonstrating near-perfect internal symmetry, each segment is divided into four phrases, the four phrases further divided into couplets. For each segment throughout the Taḥmīd, each couplet is then syntactically, conjugationally and synthetically parallel. The parallelism is enhanced by the end-rhyme of the couplets, except in segment-2 where it remains the same for all four phrases, adding a taste of *luzūm mā lā yalzam*, by stretching the rhyming to the three end letters in the first three phrases. But even in segments-1 and 3, where the end rhyme changes, the conjugation of the rhyme word remains very similar, resulting in the same end rhythm for all the four phrases in both segments. The paronomasia in *ṣalāḥ*, *islāḥ* and *falāḥ* and in *maṣṣūd* and *maqsūd*, and the soothing sound pattern *ā*, repeated by the numerous active participles: *jāmiʿ*, *jābir*, *wāsil*, *rāqīʿ*, and in the nouns: *intishār*, *inkisār*, *inqiṭāʿ*, *ittisāʿ*, add to the tacit persuasion. This Taḥmīd, and the Taḥmīds of this period in general, demonstrate an astute consciousness of the power of sight and sound patterns and also a perfection of the language skills required for such craftsmanship. In association with the semantic message, the sight and sound patterns are skillfully molded for the local context.

The Taḥmīd is most likely to have been written looking back at an internal *fitnah* (sedition) of some sort between rival religious sects or political factions, something that was not uncommon in the 5th/11th century. The exact context of this Taḥmīd being unknown²¹⁰, an exegetical approach is not possible. However, the contention is based not only on conjecture, but on the basis of the guidelines set by ʿAlī b. Khalaf in the same century in his chancery manual, *Mawādd al-Bayān*, discussed in chapter-III (pp.83). The Taḥmīd fits the mould of what Khalaf calls the forbiddance of discord in religion (‘*al-nahy ʿan al-tanāzuʿ fi al-dīn*’)²¹¹. ʿAlī b. Khalaf’s instructions highlight the importance of a specific worldview being established, through a set of relations, to deal with common circumstances. As always, due to the relative absoluteness of the Taḥmīd, this particular introduction could easily be used to redress a *fitnah* and reconcile the community today.

²¹⁰ Since the Taḥmīd is part of a chapter on model Taḥmīds, without any introductory remarks by the author, it is nearly impossible to ascertain the specific context. That it was written simply as a model cannot be ruled out either.

²¹¹ See Guidelines in Appendix-3:6. The Taḥmīd also fits the description of ‘*kutub fi al-ḥaḍḍʿ alā luzum al-taʿāl*’ (Appendix-3:3).

Tahmīd-4 (5th/11th century —The cycle of life)

This *Tahmīd*²¹² (Appendix-2:66) introduces a *sijill* sent in the name of the Fatimid Imām al-Mustanṣir in the 5th/11th century, to the Ṣulayḥid leader in Yemen, an ally of the Fatimids, congratulating him on his victories there. Although using the same bipolar view of existence, and although in response to victories, this *Tahmīd* creates a very different worldview compared to 'Tahmīd-2' on account of the dire state of affairs in the capital, Cairo. To contextualize the turbulent period, the *Tahmīd* proffers a worldview that explains the rise and fall in the fortunes of the empire by relating the political circumstances to the cycles and realities of nature, and by relating *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil* with the Hereafter (*ākhirah*) and this world (*dunyā*) respectively.

The relating of the rise and fall of the political fortunes of the people of *ḥaqq* to the cycle of day and night creates a consciousness that accepts it simply as a natural cycle ordained by God, such is the case in this world. The case for acceptance is further strengthened by building a simultaneous consciousness explicitly creating a *nisbah*-relation between the people of *ḥaqq* and *ākhirah*, and between wrongdoers (*muḥrimūn*) and *dunyā*. The former's relation with *dunyā* is therefore a mixed one involving both tranquility (*ṣafw*) and turbidity (*akḍār*). A further point is that the *dunyā* unites both righteous people (*abrār*) and miscreants (*fujjār*), and distributes its days, that is power or rule, among people who are good (*akhyār*) and evil (*ashrār*), a relation mirrored in the cycle of day, that is when the good people are paramount, and night, when evil rules. The worldview created by this relation explains the success of the latter group in creating chaos in the capital and the empire in recent years. While both groups share in the *dunyā*, the *ākhirah* is reserved for the *awliyā*, the dissenters getting nothing but punishment.

Adding to this is the sight and sound pattern that creates two visually equal blocks in the first *Tahmīd* [segment-1a and 1b], each with six phrases with a mutual end rhyme, and each ending with a Qur'ānic verse. Segment-1a's representation of the mixed

²¹² *Sijillāt*, no. 58, pp. 190-191. The author of this *sijill* is unknown, however, the style is very similar to that of the Fatimid Dā'ī, al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī, who was appointed to the *Diwān al-Inshā'* in 443/1051. The *sijill* is dated 468/1076, two years prior to al-Mu'ayyad's death. Even if he was not directly responsible for the *sijill*, al-Mu'ayyad's leadership of the *diwān* clearly had an effect on the style of writing as apparent in this *Tahmīd*. The style of the *Tahmīd* is especially comparable to the *Tahmīds* known to have been written by al-Mu'ayyad in his *Majālis*, discussed further in the next chapter. A close look at the *Tahmīd* leaves no doubt about the author's knowledge of Fatimid esoterics and symbolism, further strengthening the speculation that al-Mu'ayyad was the author, especially since he reached the pinnacle of the Fatimid spiritual hierarchy. In the *unwān* and *taṣdīr* of the *sijill*, illustrate the numerous titles by which the Fatimid leaders in Yemen are addressed (discussed in chapter-III), and the *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad as the Imām's grandfather.

fortunes of the believers in the *dunyā* is visualized through the conjugationally parallel couplet ending of four of the six phrases in that segment: *layl/nahār*, *ṣafw/akdār*, *abrār/fujjār* and *akhyār/ashrār*. The couplets are also synthetically parallel, but the two words forming each couplet are antithetical. The last two phrases in the segment represent only the *ākhirah*, and thus break the couplet rhythm. The next segment 1b, not incidentally rhyming with *mujrimūn*, visualizes their fortunes which are all rather dismal: there is no other side, thus no coupling, and there is no respite, thus no change within the segment. The culmination of each segment with a Qur'ānic verse, that embodies the primary relation in each of them, constituting the final stroke of death, is a forceful ending characteristic of many Fatimid Taḥmīds.

The two Qur'ānic verses stress the relation of the two groups to *ākhirah* and *dunyā*, respectively, and the nature of their relation. Verse 38:46 describes the relation of the first group to the Hereafter, which attests to the purification of the believers for the Hereafter. The Taḥmīd urges believers to overlook the difficulties they have been facing by counseling them to concentrate their energies and hopes on their true home, the *ākhirah*. Conversely, verse 15:3 draws a very different relation for the second group in which disbelievers are given liberty in this world to eat, take joy, and false hope, only to realize their misfortune in the Hereafter. This verse, consolidating the relation of the second group to *dunyā* and the temporary nature of their success, again advocates the first group to overlook the material advances of the latter in recent times. The pragmatic tone of this Taḥmīd and the worldview it presents are in marked contrast with 'Taḥmīd-2', which proclaims the fulfillment of the promises. Using the same basic binarism, but presenting a distinct worldview, it contextualizes the present circumstances, explaining their cause, and providing hope in the Hereafter.

The second segment, with three phrases, constitutes a break from the bipartite segment-1, introducing the Imām and his role in this context. After establishing a *nisbah*-relation between God and the Imām, in that God has bestowed him with the Imāmate, the segment characteristically ends with a Qur'ānic verse. In verse 5:97 a *nisbah*-relation is established between the Imām and the *Ka'bah*, with the proposition that it is because of the Imām that the *Ka'bah* is established and populated ('*ammara*). There is a descriptive dimension to the *Ka'bah*, which is depicted as the sacred sanctuary (*al-bayt al-ḥarām*), and 'an asylum of security for men'. This description creates an esoteric *fikrah*-relation between the *Ka'bah* and the Imām, since according to Fatimid esoterics

the Imām is the true living metaphysical *Ka'bah*, whom the physical *Ka'bah* represents²¹³. In the context of the insecurity that prevailed in this period, the *nisbah*-relation between the Imām and the *Ka'bah* evokes a *fikrah*-relation that equates the two on an esoteric plain.

In the *ṣalawāt* on the Prophet and °Alī, a very different binarism and relation is highlighted, establishing the legitimacy and authority of the Fatimids. In terms of the sight and sound pattern, segment-3 is different from all others. Within it we only have a pair of couplets, mirroring the twosome Muhammad and °Alī. All the endings within the segment are also couplets: *sharīkan-wa-wazīrā*, *ḍiyā'an-wa-nūrā*, *al-shamsa-ḍiyā'an-wa-al-qamara-nūrā*, save the first phrase. The singularity of the first phrase ending represents Muhammad's uniqueness in his capacity as the *nadhīr*, the Prophet to whom the Qur'ān was revealed, while the rest of the phrases endorse the togetherness of Muhammad and °Alī²¹⁴.

Semantically, the relation of Muhammad and °Alī is depicted by linking it to accepted relations from the sacred past and to secondary relata. The *nisbah*-relation between Muhammad and °Alī on the one hand, and Mūsā and Hārūn on the other, evokes *fikrah*-relations based on Qur'ānic verses and traditions of the Prophet²¹⁵. Based on the explicit *nisbah*-relation and the *fikrah*-relation with the Qur'ānic relationship of Mūsā and Hārūn, °Alī is perceived as Muhammad's brother, *wazīr* and successor.

The association of Muhammad and °Alī is envisaged by the relation with secondary relata, that is the sun and moon respectively. While this image illustrates a relationship of Prophet (*nabīyy*) with his successor and legatee (*waṣīyy*), it is also a reference to Fatimid esoteric symbolism wherein the physical sun and moon are representatives of Muhammad and °Alī who are the true metaphysical sun and moon. The symbolism also extends further: just as the sun derives its power and light naturally from God, Muhammad derives his *nūr* and inspiration from God; as the sun lends its light to the moon, Muhammad passes on his *nūr* and inspiration to °Alī. The relation of

²¹³ The binary of the physical and metaphysical in the Fatimid tradition is discussed further in chapter-V (p.188). The relation between the *Ka'bah* and security is also emphasized in verse 2:125 of the Qur'ān.

²¹⁴ The binary of Muhammad and °Alī is also discussed in detail in chapter-V (p.188).

²¹⁵ The relation is explicated in the Qur'ān in verses 20:29 and 25:35. Discussed further in chapter-V, the tradition of the Prophet is cited with slight variations in many sources of *Ḥadīth* including *Musnad-Aḥmad* no.2903, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, no.3403, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no.3663, and *Sunan Ibn Mājah* no.112:

علي مني بمنزلة هارون من موسى، إلا أنه لا نبي بعدي

Muhammad and °Alī not only establishes the legitimacy of °Alī but also that of the Fatimids, who derive their legitimacy from both Muhammad and °Alī.

In segment-4, once again we have three phrases, visually relating it with segment-2 (which is also three phrases). Segment-2 is focused on the present Imām (al-Mustanṣir) and segment-4 on all the Imāms in the spiritual and physical blood line of Muhammad and °Alī. The relation of the Imāms to °Alī is stressed by the words 'in his progeny' (*min dhurriyyatihi*). The legitimacy is further stressed within the context by relating the compulsory command to obey the Imāms to God, and by relating those who believe in the Fatimid Imāms to the Prophetic traditions (*sunnah*) and unity (*jamā'ah*), generally a prerogative claimed exclusively by the Sunnis. In the wake of the difficult circumstances, an endorsement of this legitimacy and authority in the consciousness of their subjects is of paramount importance. By relating the Imāms to the community in this last segment, the *Tahmīd* comes full circle. Starting with the Praise of God (the first level of relata), having discussed the fortunes of two rival parties in relation to God, and having created relations between the Prophet, °Alī and Imām in the following segments (the second level of relata), the *Tahmīd* ends by locating individuals as part of the community of *sunnā and jamā'ah* (the third level of relata), the people of *ākhirah*, in association with the two former levels.

The relations and consciousness created in the *Tahmīd* above are perfectly suitable for the context of this *sijill*; as a result of the absoluteness of *Tahmīd* relations, the lack of details and the universality of the consciousness created, they are also meaningful across time and in different contexts. For instance, a very similar *Tahmīd* is used by al-Mu'ayyad, the presumed author of this *sijill*, as an introduction to his autobiography. Al-Mu'ayyad uses similar relations to the ones created here, to contextualize and console himself with regards to the stressful trials and tribulations that he experienced in the Fatimid court²¹⁶. On a more general note, applying the eisegetical approach, this *Tahmīd* can easily be envisioned as a homiletic effort, counseling and encouraging people to devote themselves to the Hereafter through embracing the principles and practices of their religion.

²¹⁶ See al-Mu'ayyad's *sīrah Tahmīd* (Appendix-4:14). For a study of al-Mu'ayyad's life see Qutbuddin, Tahera (2005) and Klem (2003).

Taḥmīd-5 (7th/13th century—Contextualization of History)

Written by the famous historian Ibn al-Athīr as an introduction to his renowned work *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh* in the 7th/13th century, this Taḥmīd (Appendix-2:117) contextualizes his work by creating a consciousness of the eternity, stability and permanence of God versus the continuous change, tumultuousness and finiteness of everything else. The relations witnessed in this Taḥmīd recur in other works on history such as Ibn Khaldūn's *Muqaddimah* (Appendix-2:125)²¹⁷.

God is above and beyond all that constitutes history. Since humans are the primary protagonists in history, there exists a relation of inequality with God with respect to all that befalls them. While God is eternal without a beginning, and permanent without an end, human history is all about beginning and ending: Ibn al-Athīr's work *begins* with Adam and ends with the author. While God is *the* True King whose essence cannot be fathomed, the identity and personality of all other kings is the bread and butter of history. While God is Omnipotent, all that is in the world is a manifestation of His powers; history is a narration of the result of those powers being exercised. While God is hallowed, no calamity reaching Him, history is a record of those recurrent calamities that befall humanity. While God is uncorrupted by change, no one but Him is exempt from it.

The cycles ordained by God, the tension in the rapid succession of highs and lows, is expressed through the rapid succession of the opposing coupled words, resembling climaxing drum beats: *rafʿ/khafḍ*, *baṣṭ/qabḍ*, *ibrām/naqd*, *imātat/iḥyāʾ*, *ījād/ifnāʾ*, *isʿād/idlāl*, *fʿzāz/idhlāl*, and sealed by a Qurʾānic truth resolving the rapid climax through the image of the rise and fall of kings drawn in verse 3:26, quoted with a slight modification in the Taḥmīd. While the relation with God is explicitly stated in all the propositions above, the relation with human history is implied; although fairly obvious, it is somehow much more powerful than if it were explicitly stated. In effect, the Taḥmīd highlights the forces that move history: the finiteness of things, the lives and deaths, the personalities of the kings, the events, the calamities, the changes, and the cycles, and associates them with God.

The Taḥmīd then takes a homiletic tone, creating a consciousness of humility through a relation with those peoples in the past who have perished and been eradicated. The lesson to be learned from their fate is reaffirmed through the Qurʾānic verse 19:9, in

²¹⁷ See also Ibn al-Ṣayrafi's Taḥmīds in the context of al-Mustaʿlī's death (Appendix-2:67 and 68) and Taḥmīd in Ibn Kathīr's *al-Bidāyah wa al-nihāyah*.

which God rhetorically inquires: 'do you feel or hear any of the people We destroyed'? The *fikrah*-relation between those gone by and the audience evokes a principle of correspondence in terms of fate, reminding the living of their mortality. As seen in earlier *Taḥmīds*, the segment ends with a Qur'ānic verse 7:54, which stresses the Omnipotence of the Almighty.

After addressing the rather depressing human relations that nudge forward the course of history, the author makes a shift in tone, ending with a more positive and hopeful worldview. In the second segment, the author relates to God as a beneficiary of His grace and bounty, kindling a glimmer of hope in the dark picture of history and the bleak context of human relations. Adding to the positive note, in the *ṣalawāt*, Muhammad is related to both Arabs and non-Arabs, to all of mankind, as a unifying force in a world fraught with chaos, a relation stressed by the synonymously parallel phrases. Muhammad's progeny and companions are lanterns of light in a world besieged with darkness. The pragmatic and negative consciousness of human interaction and history is balanced, or perhaps even outweighed, by the optimistic spiritual or utopian consciousness brought forth by relating to Muhammad, his progeny and companions.

The *Taḥmīd* of this work, one of the most comprehensive and organized works of history until the 7th/13th century, a fragment compared to the ten volume text, explains the basic mechanisms that drive history. Using the exegetical approach, the *Taḥmīd* prepares the audience for the beleaguered human relations that are to follow from the creation of Adam, to the birth of the Prophet, and henceforth year by year till the author's age. Using the eisegetical approach, the *Taḥmīd* is conceivably a balanced consciousness that frames existence, highlighting the light of Prophetic guidance as the only hope in the dark labyrinth of human relations; a consciousness, the applicability of which is timeless.

Conclusion

The appreciation of relations is a productive means to extrapolate and interpret the *Taḥmīd*'s multiple layers of meaning. The *Taḥmīd* establishes the fundamental relation with God and is key to His remembrance (*dhikr*)²¹⁸. This relation God and the relation with His Prophet creates the fundamental worldview that all *Taḥmīd*'s present: the Unity of God, the Righteousness of the Prophet and his message and the essential underlying

²¹⁸ See Appendix-2:17, wherein praise is offered to God 'who made *ḥamd* the key to His *dhikr*'.

tenet, the existence of the Hereafter. Within this broad worldview that unites the Muslim *ummah* as a community, authors further define their worldviews depending on the context, whether it is the bipolar universe divided into *ḥaqq-bāṭil*, or the harmony of nature, the tranquillity and turbidity of destiny, the cycle of history etc. The relational approach is one method of appreciating the well-defined worldviews presented by Taḥmīds.

These worldviews, which are generated on the basis of Taḥmīd relations and are enhanced by its rhetorical patterns, encompass the entire cosmological existence and explain local events. Its primary relations consolidate the Islamic *ummah*, but at the same time, it has the ability to be moulded so as to define the specific worldviews of communities within the *ummah*, such as the Faṭimid-Ṭayyibī community. The following section focuses attention on their Taḥmīd tradition and its well-defined worldviews.

SECTION-III
The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd
Tradition

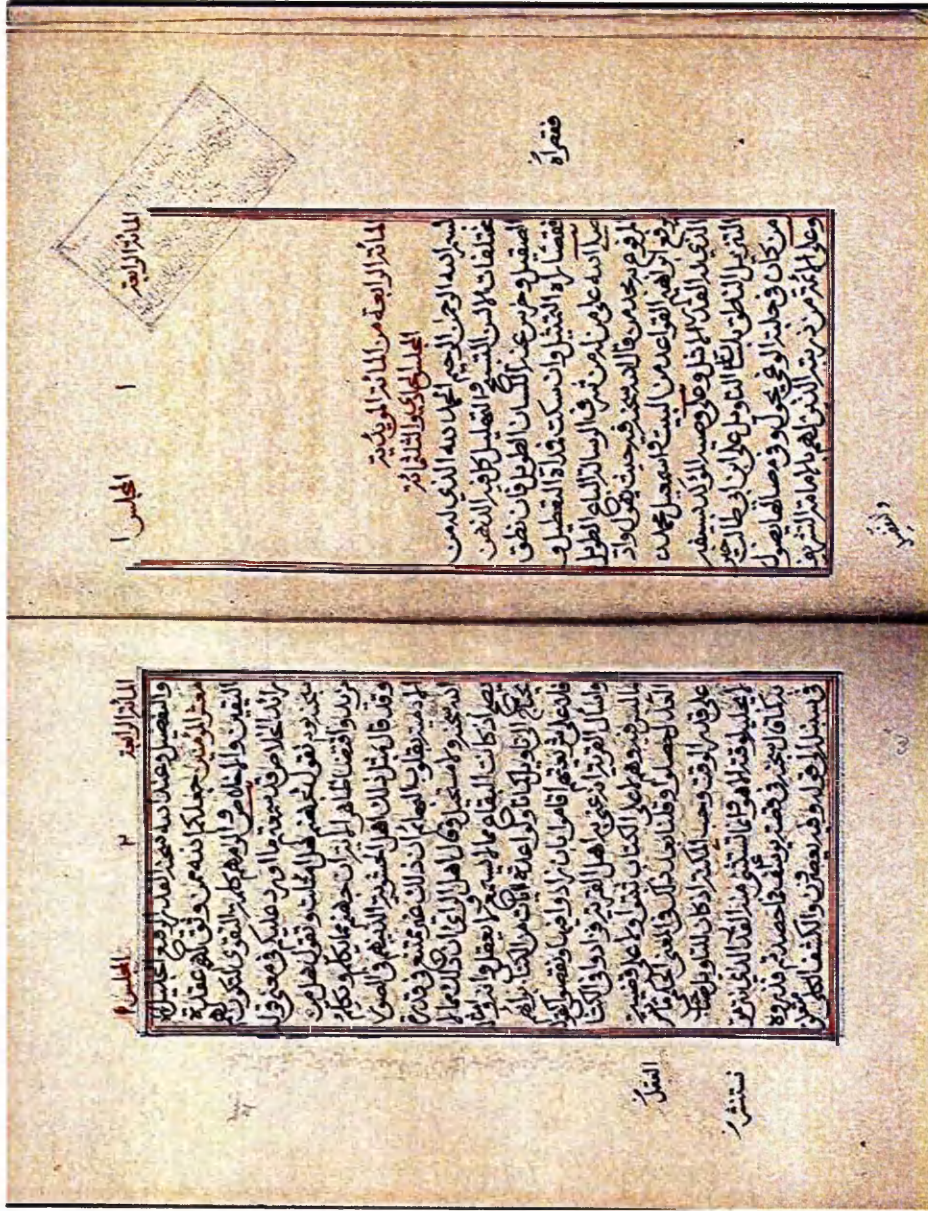


Plate-VI

The first *Majlis* in a manuscript copy of the fourth volume of the seminal 5th/11th century Fatimid scholar and Dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirāzī's *Majālis*, copied in India in 1331H (1913AD). From the library of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Da'wah in Mumbai.

CHAPTER-V

THE FATIMID-ṬAYYIBĪ TAḤMĪD TRADITION:

THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF ITS COMPONENTS AND RELATIONS

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَيْسَ لَأَسَارَى الْفِكْرِ فِي تَحْقِيقِ مَعْرِفَتِهِ فَكَأَنَّكَ عَلَى أَنَّ الْعَجَزَ عَنْ إدْرَاكِهِ إدْرَاكَ، الْمُرَجَّحُ
الْوَهْمُ فِيهِ بَيْنَ السُّكُونِ وَالْحَرَكَ، فَلَا سَكُونٌ وَلَا حَرَكَ، كَيْفَ وَكَلَاهُمَا تَعْطِيلٌ وَإِشْرَاكَ، وَإِنَّمَا لِلْهَلَاكِ
أَشْرَاكَ، فَسُبْحَانَ مَنْ دُونَ تَوْهَمِهِ مِنْ ظُلُمَاتِ الْعَجَزِ أَفْلَاكَ، وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى الْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى النَّاجِي مَنْ لَهَا
اسْتِمْسَاكَ، مُحَمَّدٌ خَيْرٌ مَنْ نَزَلَتْ عَلَيْهِ بِالْوَحْيِ وَالنَّزِيلِ أَمْلَاكَ، وَعَلَى وَصِيِّهِ الَّذِي هُوَ بِأَعْدَاءِ دِينِهِ فَتَاكَ،
وَلِجُنِّ النَّعْيِ بِسَيْفِ الرُّشْدِ هَتَاكَ، عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ الَّذِي عَلَّمَهُ لَمَّا وَرَاءَ الْحِجَابِ دَرَاكَ، وَسَيْفُهُ لِأَجْسَامِ
الْعَدَى بَتَاكَ، وَعَلَى الْإِمَّةِ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِهِ الَّذِينَ هُمْ لِلشَّفَاعَةِ مُلَاكَ، الْفَائِزِ مَنْ لَحِظَهُ بِجِبَالِهِمْ أَشْبَاكَ،²¹⁹

Introduction

Fatimid-Ṭayyibī refers to Shī‘ā Muslims of the Ismā‘īlī-Musta‘lian-Ṭayyibī sect now better known as Dawoodi-Bohras (the Dawoodis are the largest denomination of Bohras; other comparatively minor denominations include ‘Aliyas, Sulaymanis and Mahdibaghwalas)²²⁰. In 524/1130, the 20th Fatimid Imām al-Āmir was assassinated, and his son the 21st Imām al-Ṭayyib is believed by the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs to have gone into seclusion or *Satr* (the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs do not recognize the subsequent four caliphs in Egypt to be legitimate Fatimid Imāms). The Fatimid religious mission was already well established in Yemen and India, and among them the *Da‘wat al-satr* continued in the name of al-Ṭayyib. The *Da‘wah* is headed by a Dā‘ī-Muṭlaq (also called Dā‘ī *al-Satr*) who represents, together with the ranks of *Ma’dhūn* and *Mukāsir*, the secluded Imām in the progeny of al-Ṭayyib. The first Dā‘ī was appointed at the command of Imām al-Āmir by his *hujjah* – a high rank in the spiritual hierarchy – al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah, the Ṣulayhid queen of Yemen. Following the Imām’s seclusion, the Dā‘īs were based in Yemen until the transfer of the seat of the *Da‘wah* to India in the mid-15th century. The base of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da‘wah* today is in Mumbai, India, where the present head of the

²¹⁹ Al-Mu‘ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-75 (Appendix-4:24).

²²⁰ A recent anthropological study of the Dawoodi Bohras (Blank, 2001) focusing on the usage of modern technology in a community which now has a world-wide diaspora, gives insights into the practices and dynamics of community organization and ritual today. See also Qutbuddin, BS (2009) “History of the Dawoodi-Bohra Tayyibis in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: The Dais, The Dawat and The Community” and Qutbuddin, T (2009) “The Daudi Bohra Tayyibis: Ideology, Literature, Learning, and Social Practice”.

community, the fifty-second Dā'ī Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin, resides. The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition of learning, including the Ṭahmīd, is a live tradition that is practised by the community today.

This chapter argues that the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition, in relation to the wider convention of Ṭahmīd, is similar yet different. It has travelled geographically from Egypt (4th–6th/10th–12th century) to Yemen (6th–10th/12th–16th century) to India (10th–14th/16th–20th century) over a thousand years, shares the basic core structure, principles and functions of the Ṭahmīd tradition at large, but is also, in a number of ways, distinct. Its distinctiveness lies in the worldview that underlies and permeates each of its praise-preambles: the binarism of the physical and intellectual and the consciousness of continuity of the Prophetic spirit of leadership and guidance (*tasalsul*). In addition to this, its individuality is a result of the Ṭahmīd gradually becoming something more than a strong introduction – developing in effect, as a medium for *madīḥ* and *ma'rifah*, praise and religious enlightenment, into an end in itself.

The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī perception of Ṭahmīd as a powerful introduction, and as a source of intellectual illumination in its own right, is apparent from the dramatic increase in length over time and the manner in which it is introduced and quoted. Investigating the transfer of the chancery from the hands of the Fatimids to the Ayyubids, Horst Hein (1968) notes that Ṭahmīds are markedly longer in chancery documents written by a *kātib* in the Fatimid period, as compared to those written by the same *kātib* later in the Ayyubid period. This clearly shows a disposition on the part of the Fatimids for longer Ṭahmīds. The eminent Fatimid Dā'ī and remarkable scholar al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1077), himself a key figure in establishing the distinctive nature of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition, introduces a Ṭahmīd quoted within the body of one of his *Majālis al-Ḥikmah* (henceforth *Majālis*) with the following words:

قد سمعتم ما قرئ عليكم من كلام الحكمة، ما يعين عليكم فيه الشكر لولي النعمة، – ونحن نسوق من مثلها في التحميد
العلي، والوعظ العقلي، ما تستنير العقول بالآله، وتشرق النفوس بضياءه²²¹،

The Ṭahmīd itself is thus presented as a source of wisdom and knowledge (*ḥikmah*) that enlightens the mind and soul. Nearly a century later in India, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī

²²¹ *Majālis* 3-222matn (Appendix-4:55). Also see the introduction to the Ṭahmīd quoted in *Majālis*, 3-227(Appendix-4:57). A number of *risālahs* and *khutbahs* are also quoted in the *Majālis* including their Ṭahmīds, e.g. 3-244, 247, 254, 255 (Appendix-4:59).

Syedna Taher Saifuddin (d. 1385/1965) also quotes in the main-body of his *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1340H (p.72) part of a Ṭahmīd from the *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244H (Appendix-4:178) of an earlier Dā'ī. The quoting of the Ṭahmīd in the main-body of the text (*matn*), is itself an indication that it is consciously conceived as a source of *ḥikmah* and *ma'rifah*. The Ṭahmīd is indeed an introduction to the *matn*, but becomes a pseudo-*matn* itself.

The chapter is based on a study of a wide range of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī works, most of which are still in manuscript form. As the bibliographies of works covering the domain of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition show, there are hundreds of unpublished works²²². Some of these works, in the *Majlis* format described below, have literally hundreds of Ṭahmīds. It was thus possible to get a general understanding of the tradition as a whole from a survey of approximately three hundred Ṭahmīd samples taken from the three major phases of the tradition in Fatimid Egypt (4th-6th/10th-12th century), Yemen (6th-10th/12th-16th century) and India (10th-14th/16th-20th century). This demarcation is useful since the changes in religious and geopolitical circumstances of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* push forward the development of their Ṭahmīd tradition. The criteria for the selection was, firstly, that it should include Ṭahmīds by authors that are considered to have had a significant influence, such as al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 322/934) and al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1077) among others in the Fatimid phase, Dā'ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 596/1199), Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215), and Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468) in the Yemeni phase, and in the Indian phase the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, especially those written in the time of the Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817) and Syedna Taher Saifuddin (d. 1385/1965). Secondly, the selection tries to include – as much as possible since not all texts are accessible – samples from the variety of sub-genres within the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition: jurisprudence (*fiqh*), esoterics (*ta'wīl*), *Majālis al-Ḥikmah*, refutations, histories, biographies, and *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*. A selection of Ṭahmīds, especially those referred to in this chapter, is presented in Appendix-4. It must however be said that, as is the case in the broader Ṭahmīd tradition, the full use of the potential of Ṭahmīd, realised in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs* for instance, is not universal and varies greatly depending on the period, author and subject matter of the Ṭahmīd.

²²² The main bibliographies are Majdū', *Fihrist*, Ivanow (1963) and Poonawala (1977).

A number of works, which are extensively referred to in this study, deserve to be individually introduced at the onset. The *Majālis al-Ḥikmah* of al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī, also called the *Majālis Mu'ayyadiyyah*, are an eight volume collection of *Majālis* lectures delivered by al-Mu'ayyad on each Thursday in Fatimid Cairo in the time of the Fatimid Imām al-Mustansir (d. 486/1094)²²³. Each volume comprises one hundred *Majālis* (hence the name '*me'at*'), possibly compiled as such at a later date. Each *Majlis* begins and concludes with a Taḥmīd and in between addresses the esoteric signification of selected Qur'ānic verses. While the length varies, each *Majlis* is on average 4-5 printed pages. Earlier works, such as al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's two volume work *Ta'wīl al-Da'aim*, are also in the same format, but the Taḥmīds within al-Mu'ayyad's work are a milestone within the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. The *Majālis-Mustansiriyyah*, one volume of less than a hundred *Majālis*, written in roughly the same period as al-Mu'ayyad, are also in the same format²²⁴. In the Yemeni phase, 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd's *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ wa al-Bayān* also follow the pattern set earlier in Fatimid times. The sheer volume of Taḥmīds in the *Majālis*, 1600+ in al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* alone, facilitates the observation of recurring patterns and relations.

Among the many works written in the Yemeni phase the compendium *Majmū' al-Taribiyah* (henceforth *Majmū'*) must be mentioned. It is a collection of short epistles mostly authored in the early Yemeni phase (6th-7th/12th-13th century), but including a few from Fatimid times. The collection is commonly attributed to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholar Muhammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 584/1188), who is also the author of a number of its epistles. The compendium provides a wide sampling of Taḥmīds from both the Fatimid and Yemeni phase and, crucially, from a wide selection of authors.

Finally, the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* in the Indian phase, discussed further in the following chapter, must be briefly introduced. These are annual *risālahs* written in Ramaḍān each year on the behest of Dā'īs. The milestone of personally authoring the *risālah* was achieved by the fifty-first Dā'ī Syedna Taher Saifuddin. These *risālahs* boast unique Taḥmīds that include *qasīdahs* and anecdotes and are significantly longer than any

²²³ The *Majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad are discussed further in chapter-VI (p.204). The first three volumes have been meticulously edited and published by Prof. Hatim Hamiduddin. Other editions of the same volumes leave much to be desired. The remaining five are still in manuscript form.

²²⁴ The authorship of *Majālis-Mustansiriyyah* is attributed to the wazir, military commander Badr al-Jamālī in the time of the Fatimid Imām al-Mustansir (d.486/1094), who is reported by 'Imād al-Dīn (*Uyūn*, vol.VII, p.185) to have devoted the last few years of his life to the Fatimids' religious mission (*Da'wah*), delegating his responsibility of state and arm to his son al-Afdal, whom he was grooming to take his place.

earlier Ṭahmīd, continuing for over fifty pages in the time of Syedna Taher Saifuddin²²⁵. A large selection of these *risālahs* survives, mostly in manuscript form, and is an excellent source for the understanding of the evolution of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd in the Indian phase. The Ṭahmīd of a *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*, from the time of the Dāʿī ‘Abd-‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn, is analysed in depth in the following chapter as an illustrative sample of the Indian phase. The final chapter then focuses on the praise-preamble of the first *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* authored by Syedna Taher Saifuddin, as the apex of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition in India.

On the basis of this survey, this chapter compares the characteristics of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds with the features of the broader tradition discussed in the first two parts of this thesis. It highlights firstly the differences in the components and structure of the Ṭahmīd, especially the esoteric dimension of the components and the additional sub-components. Secondly, it focuses on the unique relations that are developed with respect to God and with respect to the Prophet and his progeny.

Components and Structure

Signification of the Four Primary Components: The Esoteric *Ta’wīl* Dimension

The heritage, political and theological dimensions of Ṭahmīd, discussed in the beginning of this thesis, are also a prominent aspect of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition. The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd inherits and embraces the heritage of the pre-Islamic, as well as the four hundred years of Islamic, tradition²²⁶. The fundamentals of Ṭahmīd, its basic structure and primary components, its placement, usage and functions, are all inherited. The theological and political dimensions also persist. The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd represents the Islamic identity of the Fatimids, by maintaining the same basic structure and sustaining core relations with God and the Prophet, as well as by manifesting their Shiite beliefs. The Ṭahmīds, for instance, assert their physical and spiritual descent from ‘Alī, who is related to Muhammad as his rightful heir and successor. The assertion of

²²⁵ *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1353H, 1356H (Appendix-4:189) and 1375H for example.

²²⁶ Al-Mu’ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-43, acknowledges the dimension of pre-Islamic inherited tradition. He states that ‘the people that have passed have had differing beginnings (*fawātiḥ*), with which they began their documents. Then this beautiful beginning [*basmalah/ḥamid*] came and erased the remains of these earlier beginnings. It surpassed the earlier ones with its splendour, glow and beauty, until all [the peoples] yielded to it and acknowledged its excellence’.

this communal Shiite identity had significant implications in relation to their archrivals, the Abbasids, who also claimed legitimacy based on their ancestral proximity to the Prophet.

The added esoteric or *ta'wīl* dimension distinguishes Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds from the broader Islamic tradition²²⁷. The term *ta'wīl*, in addition to its literal meaning, interpretation, in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlī tradition refers to the hidden esoteric signification of Qur'ānic verses and rites of the *Sharī'ah*. Only the Imām, and those who are given authority by him, have the right to extract these meanings. It is also worth noting that each verse, rite or symbol can have more than one perspective (*wajh*) of *ta'wīl*. In other words, each 'signifier' can have, technically speaking, a vast number of 'signified-s'. These esoteric meanings are not coincidental, but are considered the intended meaning of the text. In fact the literal text (*zāhir*) is considered to be a 'cover' over the hidden inner meaning (*bāṭin*)²²⁸.

In the context of the components of Ṭahmīd, the *ta'wīl* dimension refers to the esoteric signification that each of the components individually and innately possesses. Much of the signification, discussed below, rests on the contiguity of numerical values (derived from the components) to individuals, concepts and entities²²⁹. The following excerpt from a Ṭahmīd by Syedna Taher Saifuddin, in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1375H, clearly demonstrates a conscious appreciation of the existence of another 'hidden' dimension²³⁰:

نَحْمَدُهُ سُبْحَانَهُ لِمَعْنَى حَمْدِهِ بِحَقِيقَتِهِ عَارِفِينَ، وَلِمَاءِ الْحِكْمَةِ مِنْ أَنْهَارِ الْجَنَّةِ بِأَيْدِنَا غَارِفِينَ، وَلَوْجُوهِنَا إِلَى قِبَلَةِ الْحَقِّ فِي صَلَاتِنَا صَارِفِينَ،

The call to reflect upon the true meaning of *ḥamd*, and the subsequent reference to wisdom and knowledge (*ḥikmah*), from the rivers of paradise, alludes to the wealth of

²²⁷ This fourth dimension can also be considered as a part of the theological dimension. However, it is considered an independent dimension because of its significance in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. The Sūfī tradition also perceives hidden meaning in components of Ṭahmīd. Gril (1996, pp. 33-52), focusing on Ibn 'Arabī's interpretation of the *basmalah* and *ḥamd* and Ayoub (2004), present examples of Sufi symbolism. The focus here, however, is on the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoteric interpretation.

²²⁸ For further reading on *ta'wīl* in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition see Qutbuddin, Husain (2009), Steigerwald (2006) and Poonawala (1988).

²²⁹ The numerical values are based on the number of letters, number of repeated and non-repeated letters, the numerical value of letters etc.

²³⁰ Hinting at the esoteric signification of *ḥamd*, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1287H begins:

الحمد لله الذي جعل الحمد مثلاً على أعلى خُودِهِ

ḥikmah that is contained within *ḥamd*. Based on the awareness and expectation of the binarism of the apparent and hidden meaning (*ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*), for those who are immersed in the tradition, a *fikrah*-relation is created with the true meaning of *ḥamd*. For those aware of the *ta'wīl*, through esoteric *fikrah*-relations with the esoteric signification, even the standard *basmalah*, *ḥamdalah*, *shahādah* and *ṣalawāt* are quadri-dimensional.

It must be stressed that, as is the case with *fikrah*-relations based on Qur'ānic and *Ḥadīth* quotations and allusions, a background in the domain of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoterics is necessary for the appreciation of the esoteric *fikrah*-relations. Just as the Qur'ānic *fikrah*-relations would not be perceived by those unaware of the Qur'ānic verse and its context, as discussed in chapter-IV (p.114), the esoteric dimension of the components and its *fikrah*-relations would not be appreciated by those uninitiated in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoterics.

What follows is not an exhaustive presentation of the esoteric signification of these components in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature, but rather a substantial illustrative selection. As there is no single work that discusses the esoteric signification of the Ṭahmīd components, the exposition is based on an investigation into Fatimid-Ṭayyibī primary sources. A number of written accounts of sermons by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'īs, especially Syedna Taher Saifuddin, dedicated to one or more of these components, were also a vital source of information, particularly owing to their references to various primary sources not readily accessible.

Basmalah

The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī authors consider the *basmalah* as being part of the *Fātiḥah* and of all other *sūrah*s it precedes, and thus as part of the Qur'ān²³¹. Its *ta'wīl* is thus, as is the case with the *ḥamd* and the *shahādah*, a *ta'wīl* of the Qur'ān. In a telling anecdote frequently repeated in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī sermons, it is reported that 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās, the notable exegete of the Qur'ān, was in the company of 'Alī b. Abī-Ṭālib in the mosque in Kūfah. The two sat together and 'Alī began explaining the meaning of the *basmalah* to 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās after the evening '*ishā'* prayers. This explication continued until the *mu'adhdhin* called for the *fajr* prayers. 'Abd-Allāh b. 'Abbās stated that the night had

²³¹ See al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *al-Majālis wa al-Musā'irāt* (p. 135), al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-43, *Majālis-Mustanṣiriyyah*, Majlis-3. Why it is considered part of the Qur'ān and the implications of this is discussed in the latter two sources. Al-Gharawī (1982, pp. 77-87) presents a summary of the varying views about the *basmalah*'s status especially in the Twelver Shiite tradition.

past and 'Alī had not even completed the meaning of the dot (*nuqtah*) under the *bā'* in the *basmalah*²³². The tradition is telling as to the mindset that expects meaning in every dot and every letter.

Al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī, one of the indispensable sources for Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoterics, discusses the meaning of the 'name' in the *basmalah*²³³. He starts with the understanding that beginning with the *basmalah* is to begin with God's name; through the name (*'ism*), one can know and recognize the named (*musammā*). He then argues that there are two kinds of names: first, those that are written with letters, and lifeless, and second, those that are alive and endowed with the faculty of speech and thought (*ḥayyah nāṭiqah*)²³⁴. The latter, he says, are the true names of God: the Prophets and the Imāms, who are the guides to the true *tawḥīd* of God, the *musammā*, and the mediators between the worshipper and the worshipped. He defines the Qur'ānic verse: 'leave those who deny His names' (7: 180), as a denial of the succession of those who represent God²³⁵. Thus the *basmalah* with this dimension is not only a *nisbah* with God, but a relation with God *through* a relation with His Prophets and their successors.

Other authors have focused on the number of words and letters in the *basmalah* and their esoteric signification. In *Majālis-Mustansiriyyah* (Majlis-3), the author begins with the four words of the *basmalah* and states that, while they may mirror the four elements (*istūqṣṣāt*): Fire, Water, Wind and Earth, and the four humours: Blood, Black Bile, Yellow Bile, and Phlegm, this is not their prime significance. They originally refer, according to the author, to the two *ḥudūd-rūḥāniyyah*: the angels symbolically referred to as *lawḥ* and *qalam*, and the two *ḥudūd-jismāniyyah*: the position of *nabiyy-waṣiyy* or Imām-*ḥujjah* (*ḥujjat-ʿuẓmā*, the heir-apparent). The fundamental Fatimid-Ṭayyibī concept of God's *ḥudūd*, sing. *ḥadd*, is succinctly defined by Walker (1996, p. 68):

In the terrestrial abode of humans, there is likewise a hierarchy arranged in ascending, vertically organized ranks. Unlike the concept of past and of historical

²³² Narrated by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in a *wa'z* sermon on the second of Muharram 1380/1960. Al-Gharawī (1982, pp. 46-47) cites a number of Twelver Shiite sources that state on the authority of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib that the essence of the Qur'ān is in the *basmalah* and the essence of the *basmalah* is in the *nuqtah* of the *bā'*. One of the significations of the solitary *nuqtah* is *tawḥīd* (pp. 171-172).

²³³ Al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-43. The same proposition is put forward in *Majālis-Mustansiriyyah*, Majlis-3. For a summary of the traditional views on the *'ism* see al-Gharawī (1982, pp. 51-138).

²³⁴ Note that in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī philosophy '*nuṭq*' (the faculty of speech) is always linked with the corresponding ability to think rationally, on the basis of which speech is possible.

²³⁵ In a Ṭahmīd in his *Majālis*, 2-185 (Appendix-4:45), describing the Imāms he states:

...أسماء الله الحسنى ، الخاسر من الحذر في أسمائه...

development, this hierarchy operates in theory throughout time. The difference is that, while its ranks are fixed and do not change, its personnel – those who hold the position of each rank – are individually mortal...The *ḥudūd*, to use the Arabic term for hierarchical ranks, were, for the Ismailis, both a theoretical explanation of higher order, angelic beings which all have special roles in the cosmic structure and a practical organization of quite secular officers of the Ismaili movement... The word *ḥadd* (singular of *ḥudūd*) indicates a boundary, a set limit, a fixed rank. The world is according to Ismaili theory, governed by its hierarchies.

Nabiyy (or *nāṭiq*) denotes the rank of Prophethood while *waṣiyy* (or *asās*) that of the Prophet's legatee or successor. *Hujjah* in this case refers to the *ḥujjat-ʿuẓmā*, the heir-apparent. The rank of Imām-*ḥujjah* mirrors ranks of *nabiyy-waṣiyy*. Those who seek knowledge (*mustafidīn*), receive from the *ḥudūd-jismāniyyah* the flow of knowledge, that has in turn flowed to them from the *ḥudūd-ruḥāniyyah*. This flow of 'spiritual knowledge', the signification of which is embedded in the *basmalah*, is the source of salvation for the *mustafidīn*.

The *Majālis-Mustanṣiriyyah* (Majlis-3) further asserts that the letters of the *basmalah*, divided into those that are repeated and those that do not repeat, five and five respectively, are the basis for another esoteric signification²³⁶. One signification is in reference to a *Ḥadīth* in which Muhammad states that 'I received from five and passed on to five; and between me and my God are five'. The five that are between him and God are the angels (*ḥudūd-ʿulwiyyah*), *Jibrāʾīl*, *Mikāʾīl*, *Isrāʾīl*, *Iwāḥ* and *qalam*. They are represented by the five non-repeating letters, as they remain the same throughout time. The five from whom he received his knowledge and responsibilities from, and the five to whom he passed it on, are five human *ḥudūd* (*ḥudūd-suflīyyah*); they are represented by the five letters that repeat because they recur in every age.

In *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1352H (pp.166-173) Syedna Taher Saifuddin, with reference to the writings of al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān and the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholar Muhammad b. Ṭāhir, maintains that one of the significations of the recurring five letters is (i) the Imām, (ii) his *bāb* (the highest rank after the Imām) (iii) his *ḥujjah* (a rank following the *bāb*) (iv) the *Dāʿī* and (v) *Maʾdhūn*. The repetition of the five letters symbolizes the recurrence and presence of these ranks in every age. The number five is also significant in that it is considered a circular number (*ʿadad dāʿir*), in that if five is

²³⁶ Those that do not repeat are: *bāʾ*, *sīn*, *hāʾ*, *nūn* and *yāʾ*. Those that do repeat are: *alif*, *lām*, *mīm*, *rāʾ*, and *ḥāʾ*.

multiplied by five, further multiplied by five, a five always appears. This is also seen as a reflection of the presence of these five *ḥudūd* in every age²³⁷.

The signification of the total number of letters, nineteen, is also worth noting. A Yemeni Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholar, the *Ma'dhūm* 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 554/1159), has an entire *risālah* entitled "*Risālat al-Basmalah fī Ma'rifat al-Tis'ata 'Ashar*" (in *Majmū'*, vol. II). The significance of this number in particular is based on the Qur'ānic verse 74:30-31, in which the *number* of the angels in charge of hell, is given as nineteen, and is said to be a source of turmoil and confusion (*fitnah*) for those who do not believe, and a source of certainty (*yaqīn*) for those who do believe²³⁸. There are many significations attached to the number by the author, including the representation of the structure of the universe. For example, the seven planets and twelve constellations added together are nineteen; when we write '*al-ma'dīn*' (minerals; 6-letters), '*al-nabāt*' (vegetation; 6-letters), and '*al-ḥaywān*' (animals or living beings; 7-letters), in other words the constituents of creation, the number of their letters is also nineteen. But more importantly from the spiritual sense, the number represents the spiritual hierarchy. The *bism-Allāh* constituting seven letters represents the heptads (*asābī'*) of Imāms that come one after the other just like the calendar weeks²³⁹. It is noted by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholars that these first two words of the *basmalah* constitute seven letters because of the elision of the *alif* after the initial *bā'*, which in regular script would be written; the *ḥikmah* for the elision of the *alif* is precisely, they argue, so that the number of letters of the two words would be seven and of the full formula nineteen²⁴⁰. The remaining twelve letters signify the twelve *ḥujjah*-s of the Imām, like the twelve hours of the day²⁴¹. The number of letters in the names of the pure-pentad (*khamṣat-aṭḥār*), Muhammad(4), 'Alī(3),

²³⁷ Syedna Taher Saifuddin *wa'z*-sermons.

²³⁸ The reference and discussion of verse 74:30-31 is in *Majālis-Mustansiriyyah*, Majlis-3. The discussion of the number nineteen is in greater detail in "*Risālat al-Basmalah*" in *Majmū'*, vol. II.

²³⁹ This verse in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *diwān* also draws the comparison between the heptads of Imāms and calendar weeks.

نترى أسابيع الأئمة منهم * من كل أسبوع يلي أسبوعا

²⁴⁰ Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin, the present Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī, noted this in one of his sermons. While describing the precise manner in which the *basmalah* should be written, al-Qalqashandī states that the *bā'* should be elongated to represent the elided *alif* (p. 960).

²⁴¹ The term *ḥujjah*, pl. *ḥujaj*, literally argument or evidence, refers in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition to specific ranks in the spiritual hierarchy of *ḥudūd*, referred to above. Every Imām has twelve *ḥujaj*, repeated twice: twelve *ḥujaj* of the night (*ḥujaj al-layl*), who stay with the Imām, and twelve *ḥujaj* of the day (*ḥujaj al-nahār*), who spread around the world to invite people to the *Da'wah* of the Imām. According to the tradition, the number of these *ḥujaj*, twelve, is signified by other Qur'ānic verses as well, for example 5:12, 2:60 and 7:160.

Fāṭimah(5), Ḥasan(3) and Ḥusayn(4), are also nineteen. There are many other parallelisms discussed in the *risālah*, both spiritual and non-spiritual, but those presented here suffice to illustrate how the *basmalah*'s esoteric dimension incorporates a Fatimid-Ṭayyibī view of the physical and intellectual cosmos.

Ḥamd

The significance of *ḥamd* – closely associated with *sūrat al-Fāṭiḥah*, discussed in chapter-I – in Islamic philosophy and in ritual practice, cannot be overstated. The added importance of *ḥamd* for the Fatimids, due to the esoteric significance of Ṭaḥmīd (discussed below), is evident in its prominence in Fatimid ritual practices and symbols of authority. As mentioned above, the Ṭaḥmīds in Fatimid chancery documents were markedly longer. Additionally, the seal (*'alāmah* or *tawqī'*) of all the Fatimid Imāms was consistently *al-ḥamd li Allāh rabb al-'ālamīn* (al-Maqrīzī, vol. I, p.403 and Babinger, 'Tawqī', *EI2*). *Sūrat al-Fāṭiḥah* was also embroidered in gold thread on a white silk cloth banner and hung next to the Imām's pulpit on Fridays and festivals (al-Maqrīzī, vol. I, p.448). This was undoubtedly a conscious emulation of the Prophet's banner of *ḥamd* (*liwā' al-ḥamd*), which according to al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-44, , 2-36 and 2-37) is to be raised for the Prophet on the Day of Judgment. Al-Mu'ayyad also presents an esoteric interpretation of the physical description of the banner provided by the traditions. In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition today, the *'alāmah* of the previous and current Dā'ī both begin with *ḥamd*²⁴². The numerous significations of *ḥamd* is also the theme of many sermons. Two aspects of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoteric signification of *ḥamd* are presented here with respect to two Qur'ānic *ḥamd* verses: 1:1 and 17:44.

The first of these aspects deals with *ḥamd* as part of *sūrat al-Fāṭiḥah*. Discussing the *sūrah*, the meaning of its names, the signification of the verses and their number, seven, al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 2-36 and 2-37) states that *sūrat al-Ḥamd* represents the concept of *walāyah*, allegiance to the Prophet and his successors. *Walāyah* – specifically the allegiance to and acceptance firstly of 'Alī as Muhammad's heir and the master of the *ummah* (*mawla*) after him, and then of the chain of appointed successors from among their descendents – is considered by Ismaili-Shiites as one of the pillars of Islam. For the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs it involves an acknowledgment of a specific chain of Imāms in Muhammad and 'Alī's progeny, different from other Shī'ahs such as Twelvers, as well as

²⁴² The *'alāmah* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin is presented in Plate-I.

the *walāyah* of the Dā'ī Mutlaq-s in time of seclusion, culminating in the allegiance to and obedience of the present concealed Imām and the present Dā'ī²⁴³. Al-Mu'ayyad argues that this signification is substantiated by the accepted clause that a prayer (*ṣalāh*) is not valid if the one praying omits or forgets to recite *sūrat al-Ḥamd* in any of the *rak'ahs*²⁴⁴, while it remains valid if one forgets to recite the other *sūrah* to be recited in conjunction. The invalidity of the *ṣalāh* without *sūrat al-Ḥamd* reflects the invalidity of the *Da'wah*, the esoteric signification of the *ṣalāh*, without *walāyah*, the esoteric signification of the *sūrat al-Ḥamd*.

In the second *ḥamd* verse we consider, 17:44, it is asserted that 'there is not a thing, but proclaims or repeats (*yusabbihū*) His praise (*bi-ḥamdih*); but you do not understand their glorification (*tasbīḥahum*)'. One of the *ta'wīl* explanations for this verse is based on the etymon of the word *sabbāḥa*, defined usually in the context of this verse as the glorification of God. Syedna Taher Saifuddin asserts that the root *sabbāḥa* also signifies 'to make swim'- moving or drawing from one place to another²⁴⁵. All 'things' (*Kull shay'*)— minerals (*ma'ādin*), plants (*nabāt*), animals (*ḥaywān*) and humans (*insān*), the primary constituents of this world — offer *ḥamd*. Plants draw minerals into themselves, animals draw plants, and humans draw both plants and animals, raising their status. *Tasbīḥ*, literally, making the lower denomination 'swim' towards the higher one, is the *ḥamd*, or gratitude of the higher denomination to God. By moving and drawing the lower to the higher, all 'things' eventually reach the status of human beings, and are given the opportunity for salvation. In a similar vein, each incumbent of the Imāmate or the Dā'ī-ship offers *ḥamd* by drawing and elevating to his position the one who will succeed him. By metonymic extension, the person who succeeds, also is the *ḥamd* of his predecessor. In this fashion, *ḥamd* can be seen to embody the mechanism and philosophy by which the continuous cycle of the physical and spiritual realm is sustained and the creator's plan — the eventual salvation of the entire world — is achieved.

²⁴³ For a Fatimid-Ṭayyibī specific understanding of *walāyah* see al-Qādī al-Nu'mān, *Da'aim* vol.1, of which the full first chapter is devoted to a discussion of the concept, pp. 1-97. Nanji (1976) gives an overview of the concept in the Ismā'īlī tradition based on the first chapter of *Da'aim*. The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī understanding of *walāyah*, allegiance to the Imām or Dā'ī, includes the signification of love (*maḥabbah*), and obedience (*fā'ah*). *Walāyah* is also referred to in many Ṭahmīds, for example in al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis*, 2-126 (Appendix-4:30).

²⁴⁴ Also according to *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, no. 295 and 296.

²⁴⁵ Exposition in a *wa'z* sermon, also see *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1344H for an exposition on *ḥamd* (pp. 110-114).

Shahādah

The extensive esoteric dimension of the *shahādah* follows from this *Ḥadīth* ascribed to the Prophet: if the words of faith, the testament to belief in One God and Muhammad as His Prophet (the two *shahādahs*) are placed in one scale of a balance, and the skies, the earth and all that exists in between them placed in the other scale, the *kalimat al-ikhḷās*, would be the heavier²⁴⁶. Al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-9 and 1-10) argues that it is impossible to accept this *Ḥadīth* – and thereby the veracity of the Prophet – if we take it literally. The written letters of the *shahādah*, if put on a scale, would not outweigh the universe. Therefore the 'weight' must result from the meaning encompassed by it, its underlying esoteric dimension. He contends that Muhammad declared the universe would be outweighed by the *shahādah* because it contains within it the world of the Intellect (*'ālam al-'aql*), the world of the Soul (*'ālam al-nafs*), the skies (*'ālam al-aflāk*), and the earth (*'ālam al-ṭabī'ah*). He draws a simile between the *shahādah* and the embryo or zygote (*nuṭfah*). Just as the minute zygote contains the blueprint of an entire human being, so the relatively short *shahādah* encompasses the whole of creation. The number twenty-eight, according to al-Mu'ayyad based on a breakup of the constituents of the *shahādah* detailed in the table below, is the fundamental resonating number underlying the *shahādah*, which reflects and contains within it the blueprint of the universe, both physical and intellectual.

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Derivation		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	2-parts [i-no God/ii-but Allāh]	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	i- <i>alif</i> , ii- <i>lām</i> , iii- <i>hā'</i>	=	3
Four words	=	i- <i>lā</i> , ii- <i>ilāha</i> , iii- <i>illā</i> , iv- <i>Allāh</i>	=	4
Seven sections [<i>maqāṭi'</i>]	=	<i>lā</i> (1), <i>i-lāh</i> (2), <i>il-lā</i> (2), <i>Al-lāh</i> (2)	=	7
Total number of letters	=	<i>lām</i> (x5) + <i>alif</i> (x5) + <i>hā'</i> (x2)	=	12
Grand Total				28

In *Majmū'*, vol. I, the same system of derivation is presented by Muhammad b. Ṭāhir on the authority of Imām 'Alī²⁴⁷. This division is the basis upon which al-Mu'ayyad draws

²⁴⁶ The *Ḥadīth* is quoted by al-Mu'ayyad in *Majālis*, 1-9. In *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no. 6295, a similar *Ḥadīth* is perplexingly attributed to the Prophet Noah by Muhammad.

²⁴⁷ There are some differences, however, with al-Mu'ayyad's parallelisms. For instance, the components of the heavens are presented as *falak al-muḥīt* and *falak al-burūj* instead of the fixed and un-fixed planets, and some additional details, for example the names of the 7 *mudabbirāt*. Beyond this system, the parallelism of the number of letters of the names of *ḥudūd* with the number twenty-eight, presented below, is an original contribution in *Majmū'*. The exposition on the *shahādah* in *Majmū'*, vol. I, is quoted by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1350H, pp. 89-107.

parallels with the basic structures of the universe: the heavens, the earth, time, human beings and the Qur'ān.

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Components of Macrocosm – the Heavens (<i>āfāq</i>)		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	i-fixed and ii-unfixed planets [<i>kawākib</i>]	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	i- Sun, ii-Moon and iii-Stars	=	3
Four words	=	i-Heat, ii-Dryness, iii-Cold, iv-Humidity	=	4
Seven sections [<i>maqāṭi'</i>]	=	The 7 heavenly bodies influencing the working of the world [<i>mudabbirāt</i>]	=	7
Total number of letters	=	The 12 Constellations	=	12
Grand Total				28

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Components of the Earth		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	i-Inhabited lands and ii-wastelands	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	i-Length, ii-Width and iii-Depth	=	3
Four words	=	i-Soil, ii-Minerals, iii-Plants and iv-Animals	=	4
Seven sections [<i>maqāṭi'</i>]	=	The 7 <i>aqālim</i> Territories	=	7
Total number of letters	=	The 12 <i>jazā'ir</i> -Islands	=	12
Grand Total				28

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Components of Days-Time		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	i-Night and ii-Day	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	i-Past, ii-Present and ii-Future	=	3
Four words	=	4 Seasons: i-Winter, ii-Summer, iii-Spring and iv-Autumn	=	4
Seven sections [<i>maqāṭi'</i>]	=	7 Days = Week	=	7
Total number of letters	=	12 Months or Year	=	12
Grand Total				28

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Components of Microcosm – Human Being		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	i-Body and ii-Soul	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	Three souls [<i>jawāhir</i>]: i-the capacity of Growth, ii-Sensory capabilities, and iii-the faculty of Speech	=	3
Four words	=	The four humours	=	4
Seven sections [<i>maqāṭi'</i>]	=	The main body parts [<i>a'dā'</i>]: (2 hands, 2 legs, back, stomach and head)	=	7
Total number of letters	=	12 limbs [<i>jawāriḥ</i>]: (2 shins, 2 knees, 2 thighs, 2 forearms, 2 elbows, 2 upper arms)	=	12
Grand Total				28

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Components of Qur'ān		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	i- <i>muḥkam</i> and ii- <i>mutashābih</i>	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	Three interconnected obligations of obedience [<i>tā'āt</i>] (reference to Qur'ān 4:59)	=	3
Four words	=	The 4 rivers of heaven	=	4
Seven sections [<i>maqāṭi</i>]	=	7 heavens/ 7 <i>shidād</i> (difficult years)/ 7 corpulent cows/ 7 emaciated cows	=	7
Total number of letters	=	12 chiefs [<i>naqīb</i>] / 12 springs	=	12
Grand Total				28

The *shahādah* for Muhammad as the Prophet of God is considered a branch (*far'*), from the main *shahādah* (*aṣḥ*). Expanding on an esoteric discussion by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Syedna Taher Saifuddin derives the number twenty-eight from the *shahādah* of the Prophethood of Muhammad as well in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1350H (p. 114). The significations of the *shahādah* are the central theme of the *risālah*, in which expositions from various Fatimid-Ṭayyibī works are compiled. As with the *shahādah* of Muhammad, Syedna Taher Saifuddin also often adds his own insights. Interestingly, this *risālah* begins with a fascinating Ṭahmīd (Appendix-4:186) that is completely devoid of dotted letters, just like the two *shahādahs*.

Al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-11) quotes another *ḥadīth* pertaining to the *shahādah* of God: Muhammad avows that 'he who utters the *shahādah* with faith (*mukhlīṣan*), has entered paradise'; when asked what it means to utter it with faith (*mā ikhlāṣuhā*)?, he answers that through the knowledge (*ma'rifah*) of its, literally, boundaries and limits (*ḥudūd*), and the fulfilment of, literally, the duties owed to it (*ḥuqūq*)²⁴⁸. The *ḥudūd*, as was discussed earlier, in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition signifies the set limit of a particular rank in the religious hierarchy. This hierarchy and the role of each *ḥadd* is discussed in detail and well established in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī texts. The relevance of this *Ḥadīth* increases because a number of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī authors allude to it in their Ṭahmīds, expecting the audience to create a *fikrah*-relation with their knowledge of its esoteric dimension²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁸ Traditions similar to the first part of this *Ḥadīth*, assuring salvation for those who faithfully utter the *shahādah*, appear in *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no. 7725, 10295, 12359, 15885 and 21048 and in *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* no. 3514. I have not found any reference to the *ḥuqūq* or *ḥudūd* of the *shahādah* in the canonical Sunnī *Ḥadīth* collections.

²⁴⁹ In *Majmū'*, vol. II, the beginning of *Risālah li al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb* (Appendix-4:126) reads:

Based on al-Mu'ayyad's derived number twenty-eight, with or without a parallel with the derivation system itself, Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholars parallel the *shahādah* with the ranks and names of the *hudūd*, the Angels, the Prophets the Imāms and the Dā'īs, and with the *huqūq*, the tenets of the divine law, the *Sharī'ah*, and the duties owed to these *hudūd*.

The following table, based on a discussion in *Majmū'*, vol. I, presents the model signifying the hierarchy and states of the *hudūd* as paralleling the number twenty-eight and the components of the *shahādah*²⁵⁰:

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Components of Hierarchy of <i>Hudūd</i> in Every Era		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	Equivalent to i- <i>zuhūr</i> , appearance and ii- <i>satr</i> , seclusion of the Imām	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	Three qualifying signs of an Imām: i-biological lineage, ii-spiritual pedigree, and iii-the act of <i>naṣṣ</i> , appointment by his predecessor.	=	3
Four words	=	The <i>arba'at al-ḥurum</i> for every Imām (the <i>rutbah</i> of <i>bāb</i> and the three <i>rutbahs</i> after him)	=	4
Seven sections [<i>fusūl</i>]	=	The seven <i>rutbahs</i> -levels of <i>hudūd</i> (in the hierarchy referred to above): i- <i>rutbah</i> of <i>ḥujaj</i> , ii- <i>du'āt al-balāgh</i> , iii- <i>al-du'āt al-muṭlaqīn</i> , iv- <i>al-du'āt al-maḥṣūrīn</i> , v- <i>al-ma'dhūnīn</i> , vi- <i>al-mukāsirīn</i> , vii- <i>al-mu'minīn al-bālighīn</i> .	=	7
Total number of letters	=	A <i>naqīb</i> in each of the 12 <i>jazīrahs</i> .	=	12
Grand Total				28

Another approach, also in *Majmū'*, vol. I, is based on the derivation of the number twenty-eight, but corresponding to the number of the letters of the *hudūd*'s names and ranks. The following are a few examples:

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله ليقاتنا ويجاداً... شهادة المخلص في تحقيقاتها، الغارف بحُدودها، القائم بحقوقها،

A similar expression is also found in a number of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* in the Indian phase, for example in 1213H (Appendix-4:172), 1214H (Appendix-4:173) and 1273H.

²⁵⁰ The exposition in *Majmū'*, vol. I, is quoted in full in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1350H, pp. 89-113.

<i>Ḥudūd- 'ulwiyyah</i> 5 Angels	القلم 5	الروح 5	اسرافيل 7	ميكائيل 6	جبريل 5	28 letters		
Seven <i>Nātiq-s</i> Prophets	آدم 3	نوح 3	ابراهيم 6	موسى 4	عيسى 4	محمد 4	قائم 4	28 letter s
Seven <i>Asās-s</i> (or <i>wasiyy</i>) Legatees	شيث 3	سام 3	اسماعيل 6	هارون 5	شمعون 5	علي 3	حجة(القائم) 3	28 letter s
<i>Atimmā'</i> - First Seven Imāms	حسن 3	حسين 4	علي 3	محمد 4	جعفر 4	اسماعيل 6	محمد 4	28 letter s
<i>Ḥudūd- sufliyyah</i> 5 Recurring <i>ḥudūd</i>	الامام 6	الباب 5	الحجة 5	الداع ²⁵¹ 5	الماذون 7	28 letters		

In *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1350H (p.108) Syedna Taher Saifuddin applies this system of derivation to the heptads of Imāms after Muhammad b. Ismā'īl, the seventh Imām, until the twenty-first Imām, al-Ṭayyib, who is said to have gone into seclusion, with the Imāmate continuing in his progeny. He also quotes the forty-fifth Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī's application of the same approach to the heptads of Dā'īs till his time. Syedna Taher Saifuddin continues the sequence further to his own time (pp.109-111). Based on these correlations, the *shahādah* in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context, in addition to the affirmation of the Unity of God, affirms allegiance to His Angels, Prophets, Imāms and Dā'īs, and thus endorses the all important concept of *tasalsul*, the unbreakable chain of succession from God's earliest appointed representative to the present.

With respect to the *ḥuqūq*, the pattern of paralleling discussed earlier is applied in *Majmū'*, vol. I, to the seven pillars of Islam according to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī creed, detailing through the parallelisms the elements of each pillar²⁵². This is the correlation vis-à-vis the pillar of *ṣalāh* for example:

²⁵¹ In Qur'ān (2:186, 54:6 and 54:8), Dā'ī is without the *yā'* for grammatical reasons. I presume that it is on that basis that it is written without *yā'* here for the sake of numerical correlation.

²⁵² The seven pillars are i-*walāyah*, ii-*ṭahārah*, iii-*ṣalāh* iv-*zakāh* v-*ṣawm*, vi-*ḥajj*, vii-*jihād*. See al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, vol.I, which is a monograph devoted to an elaboration of these seven pillars.

Components of <i>Shahādah</i>		Components of the Pillar of <i>Ṣalah</i>		Number Derived
Negation and Affirmation	=	It involves: i- <i>ḥarakah</i> , movement and ii- <i>sukūn</i> , rest	=	2
Three repeated letters	=	Three levels: i- <i>farīdah</i> , obligatory prayers, ii- <i>sunnah</i> , traditions of the Prophet and iii- <i>nāfilah</i> , extra.	=	3
Four words	=	4 elements: i-time, ii- <i>niyyah</i> , the intention, iii-ablution, and iv-the <i>qiblah</i> .	=	4
Seven sections [<i>fuṣūl</i>]	=	Seven compulsory actions: i- <i>takbīrat al-iḥrām</i> , ii- <i>tawajjuh</i> -facing [God or Mecca], iii-recitation of Qur'ānic <i>surahs</i> , iv- <i>rukū'</i> , v- <i>sujūd</i> , vi- <i>tashshahhud</i> , and vii- <i>taslīm</i> .	=	7
Total number of letters	=	12 types: i- <i>zuhr</i> , ii- <i>ʿaṣr</i> , iii- <i>maghrib</i> , iv- <i>al-ʿishāʾ al-ākhirah</i> , v- <i>fajr</i> , vi- <i>ṣalāt al-janāʿiz</i> , vii- <i>ṣalāt al-ʿidayn</i> , viii- <i>ṣalāt al-kusūf</i> , ix- <i>ṣalāt al-khawf</i> , x- <i>ṣalāt al-istisqāʾ</i> , xi- <i>ṣalāt al-marīd</i> , xii- <i>ṣalāt al-musāfir</i> .	=	12
Grand Total				28

Through these numerical correlations, the *shahādah* is seen to verify and demonstrate the truth of the Prophetic *Ḥadīth*. The *shahādah* for the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs is first and foremost an affirmation of the Unity of God; however, with its esoteric dimension, it is also an acceptance of the *ḥudūd* and *ḥuqūq* it represents. A declaration of the *shahādah* in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context involves an acceptance of the worldview it is said to contain, an acknowledgment, through obedience, of the *ḥudūd* it represents, and an acceptance of the obligation to perform the tenets of worship that it embodies. In ending his discussion of the *shahādah* in the *Majālis* (1-10), al-Muʿayyad tantalizingly states: 'that which remains unrevealed is [a lot] more' (*mā fī al-ghishāʾ akthar*).

Ṣalawāt

Ṣalawāt is associated in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context with the continuity of the chain of Imāmate based on the signification of the root *waṣala* (to connect or adjoin). In the context of encouragement for pronouncing *ṣalawāt* on Friday, a day which symbolizes the *Daʿwah* of Muhammad, al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, in *Taʾwīl al-Daʿāim* (vol. I, p. 320), expounds the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī interpretation of the Qurʾānic directive for *ṣalawāt* in verse 33:56. Basing his argument on the meaning and implication of the word *muṣallī*, (the one who prays) – in this case *ṣalawāt* – he says that in Arabic the *muṣallī* is literally the horse that follows the leading horse, the *mujallī*, in a race. The *ṣalawāt* from God, *inn Allāh wa malāʾikatah yusallūn* 'alā al-nabiyy, is His establishment of the continuity from *mujallī* to *muṣallī*, from one Imām to another. When the *mujallī* departs, the *muṣallī* takes

his place, himself becoming the *mujallī*. The command to believers to perform *ṣalawāt*, *yā ayyuhā alladhīn āmanū ṣallū ‘alayhi*, is a command to adjoin and connect each *muṣallī* with each following *mujallī*, to acknowledge and accept each succeeding Imām whom God has adjoined (*waṣala*) with the preceding Imām. The beseeching of *ṣalawāt* by believers is then firstly an action, an acceptance of the succession of Imāms established by God after Muhammad, and secondly an utterance of the literal *ṣalawāt*, *Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā Muhammad wa ‘ālī Muhammad*, which is a prayer to God that the line of Imāmate may forever continue in Muhammad’s progeny. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān finally states that if the distinct meanings of *ṣalawāt* from God and *ṣalawāt* from the believers are not acknowledged, to say *Allāhumma ṣalli ‘alā Muhammad*, linguistically a command (*fi’l amr*), would be a *radd ‘alā Allāh*: to tell God to offer *ṣalawāt* when he is asking you to beseech *ṣalawāt*²⁵³.

Al-Mu’ayyad (*Majālis*, 4-373) offers a similar esoteric interpretation of *ṣalawāt*, based on the Qur’ānic injunction and the practice of beseeching God to perform *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad and his progeny ‘as it was performed on Abraham and his progeny’. He asserts that this is the manner in which the vast majority of Muslims pray *ṣalawāt* during the last sitting in the ritual prayer (*tashahhud*)²⁵⁴:

اللَّهُمَّ صَلِّ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِ مُحَمَّدٍ كَمَا صَلَّيْتَ وَبَارَكْتَ عَلَى إِبْرَاهِيمَ وَآلِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، إِنَّكَ حَمِيدٌ مُجِيدٌ⁴

Al-Mu’ayyad bases his argument on the Muslim belief that the status of Muhammad is greater than that of Abraham. He questions the logic of asking for something – in this case beseeching *ṣalawāt* – for the greater as it was granted for the lesser; it is usually the reverse. The reason for this form of prayer, he answers, is the meaning of the *ṣalawāt*. It is a Fatimid doctrinal tenet that Muhammad is in the line of Abraham and that the line of Imāmate has not been severed between them. We are given the duty to beseech God that the line of Imāmate should similarly remain unbroken in the progeny of Muhammad until the Day of Judgment.

²⁵³ Sunnī exegetes suggest that from God, *ṣalawāt* is *rahmah*, from angels it is *barakah* and *maghfirah* and from humans it is *du‘ā* and *ta‘zīm* (al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi‘* and al-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ*; in exegesis of Qur’ān 33:56).

²⁵⁴ Many Sunnī *Ḥadīth* collections narrate more or less similar accounts of Muhammad being asked how they should beseech *ṣalawāt* on him, after verse 33:56 was revealed. The Prophet with minor variations is said to have replied:

قولوا اللهم صل على محمد وعلى آل محمد (أزواجه وذريته) وبارك على محمد

وعلى آل محمد كما باركت على إبراهيم في العالمين إنك حميد مجيد،

Musnad-Aḥmad, no. 16450, 17431, 22494; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* no. 5883, 3118; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim* no. 615, *Muwaṭṭa‘a’ Mālik* no. 357, *Sunan al-Nisā’ī* no. 1274, 1277, and *Sunan Abī Dā‘ūd* no. 831.

Syedna Taher Saifuddin builds upon these interpretations and validates them for the succession of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'īs as well during the Imām's seclusion, based on an assertion by the forty-third Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī (d. 1232/1817) that the Dā'īs are included in the term *āl Muhammad* by way of spiritual lineage. The interpretation of verse 33:56 then applies also to the chain of Dā'īs during the Imām's seclusion²⁵⁵.

As a result of the esoteric dimension, the most conventional of Ṭahmīds contains, for those initiated in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoteric tradition, a labyrinth of *fikrah*-relations. Through this dimension, the formulae that are 'the symbol of Islam' also become for the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs a symbol of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*. While al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and al-Mu'ayyad must be recognized as the most influential figures in establishing this dimension for the components of the Ṭahmīd, the contributions of other authors, and most recently Syedna Taher Saifuddin, make the esoteric dimension alive and pertinent for Fatimid-Ṭayyibī audiences today. The dimension highlights concepts that are relevant and integral for the identity and formation of the community. By its very nature it enforces the concept of binarism of the overt and the covert, a concept that is fundamental in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. It also enforces the all important concept of *tasalsul*, the continuity of the *Da'wah* through a chain of individuals in the line of the Prophet. The importance of this concept is further enforced through the additional sub-components of Ṭahmīd discussed below.

Structure and Additional Sub-Components: A Reflection of the *Ḥabl-Allāh*

The rules pertaining to the basic structure and primary components of Ṭahmīd, preserved in the mediaeval chancery manuals discussed in chapter-III (p.77), remain more or less unchanged in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. What does change is the manner in which some of these components are dealt with. The *basmalah* for instance is said to be written, for the sake of '*barakah*', by the Imām himself in some of the Fatimid chancery documents and by the Dā'ī himself in the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*²⁵⁶. The *ḥamd* and

²⁵⁵ From a *wa'z* sermon by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in Muharram 1352/1932.

²⁵⁶ In most documents in the *Sijillāt-Mustansiriyyah* collection, which the editor suggests is a copy of the original chancery documents, below the *basmalah* we have the statement: *bi khaṭṭ al-yad al-nabawiyyah al-sharīfah*, 'written by the noble prophetic hand'. With the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, original manuscripts from the time of the forty-third Dā'ī (d.1232/1817) are evidence that the *basmalah*, accompanied by the '*alāmah*' or official seal of the Dā'ī, was written by Dā'ī himself. This practice continues in the time of Syedna Taher Saifuddin. Once the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* started being printed, a decorated blank box was left

shahādah in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition develop a distinct set of relations that are discussed later in this chapter and are both noticeably longer. It is worth noting that in some of the *risālahs* in the late Indian phase the Ṭahmīd constitutes approximately fifty percent of the *risālah*²⁵⁷, in some instances including an entire *qasīdah*²⁵⁸. A tradition of *tasbīḥ* (*subḥānahu min ilāhin...*), an extension of the *ḥamdalah* section initially seen in the Fatimid phase, becomes a standard feature in the later phases of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition²⁵⁹. But most important, in terms of change, is the expansion of the *ṣalawāt* and the addition of sub-components within it. The time frame given below for the appearance of these sub-components is based on my survey of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds.

The *ṣalawāt* gradually expands over time with the changing dynamics of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da‘wah*. The reason I say ‘expand’, and not ‘change’ is because, according to Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, all those on whom later *ṣalawāt* is offered explicitly are already implicitly implied in the kin or household (*āl*) of Muhammad. In the Fatimid phase (4th–6th/10th–12th century) we witness the inclusion of explicit *ṣalawāt* on ‘Alī as the successor to Muhammad, followed by a *ṣalawāt* on the progeny of both Muhammad and ‘Alī, sometimes with a specific mention of Imām *al-‘Aṣr* (Imām of the time)²⁶⁰; this explicit relation of the Fatimids to Muhammad and ‘Alī also served as an affirmation of the legitimacy of Fatimid rule. In the Yemeni phase (6th–10th/12th–16th century) it is further expanded with the addition of *ṣalawāt* on Faṭimah, Muhammad’s daughter and ‘Alī’s wife, the vital link that connects the Imāms to Muhammad as well as ‘Alī (hence the name *Fāṭimiyyīn*), and *ṣalawāt* on the two grandsons of Muhammad, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn²⁶¹. As the Yemeni period is after the seclusion of the Imām, it also

above the *ḥamdalah*, in which the *basmalah* was to be written by the Dā‘ī’s hand. See Plate-VII and VIII for illustration of the Dā‘ī’s ‘*alāmah*’.

²⁵⁷ See for example *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244H (Appendix-4:178).

²⁵⁸ See for example *Rasā‘il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1213H, 1214H, 1244H, 1246H, 1335H, 1337H, 1349H, 1350H, 1356H (Appendix-4:172, 173, 178, 179, 182, 184, 185, 186, and 188).

²⁵⁹ See for example al-Kirmānī, *al-Risālah al-Waḍiyyah* (Appendix-4:12), from the Fatimid period, *Risālat Maḥajjat al-Rashād* (Appendix-4:125) in *Majmū‘*, vol. II, from the Yemeni phase and from the Indian phase, *Rasā‘il-Ramaḍāniyyah* 1216H, 1247H and 1248H (Appendix-4:180). The majority of Syedna Taher Saifuddin’s *Rasā‘il-Ramaḍāniyyah* contain the *subḥānah*.

²⁶⁰ For example in the Fatimid phase see al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, *Ta’wīl al-Da‘ā‘im* vol. I, Majlis-2 of Part-2 (Appendix-4:7), and al-Kirmānī, *Tanbīḥ al-Hādī* (Appendix-4:13). All the Ṭahmīds in al-Mu‘ayyad’s *Majālis* (Appendix-4:15–105) contain this sub-component. Most of the chancery *Sijillāt* (Appendix-2:58–66) from this period referred to and quoted in earlier chapters also include this feature. In the Yemeni phase see for example Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, *Tanbīḥ al-Ghāfilīn* (Appendix-4:113). In the Indian phase see for example Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161). Most of the Ṭahmīds of the latter two phases are almost sure to have this feature.

²⁶¹ See for examples of *ṣalawāt* on Faṭimah and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn: ‘Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, *Risālat al-Basmalah* (Appendix-4:124) in *Majmū‘*, vol. II, (the author also beseeches *ṣalawāt* on each of the Imāms

includes in its initial period a *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib – believed to be in seclusion – as the Imām al-‘aṣr, followed some time later by *ṣalawāt* on the Imām al-‘aṣr in the progeny of al-Ṭayyib, known as Ṭayyib al-‘aṣr. With the drastic change of circumstance brought forth by the end of Fatimid political hegemony and the seclusion of the Imām, the *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib and Ṭayyib al-‘aṣr maintained and confirmed the spiritual affiliation and relation with the Fatimids²⁶². Also, owing to the change of the dynamics of the *Da‘wah*, the practice of beseeching *ṣalawāt* on the Dā‘īs is established²⁶³. In many initial examples, the Dā‘īs are mentioned within the *ṣalawāt* on the Imām as their representatives, including them in the *āl* of Muhammad. However, until Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *ṣalawāt* on the Dā‘īs is not as explicit and as consistent. All the sub-components of the *ṣalawāt* introduced in the Yemeni phase are continued in the Indian phase (10th–14th/16th–20th century), though with a much increased length in the *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah*.

At the end of the Indian phase, in the *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, the occasional inclusion of historical anecdotes and praise poetry within the *ṣalawāt* is a novel feature. The anecdotes are invariably traditions that illustrate the virtue and stature of the relata upon whom *ṣalawāt* is beseeched. In *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1246H (Appendix-4:179) for

by name until al-Ṭayyib) and *Maḥajjat al-Rashād* (Appendix-4:125) in the same compendium, vol. II; also Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd, *al-Risālah al-Kāmilah* (Appendix-4:150) (only on Fātimah). These are fairly early examples of the feature from the 5th-6th/11th-12th century. In the Indian phase see for example Ḥasan b. ‘Alī, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161) and Qamruddin b. Hibat-Allāh al-Mu‘ayyad, *Risālat Dāfi‘at al-Aḥzān* (Appendix-4:165). Nearly all the *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah* (Appendix-4:166, 172-189) also contain the *ṣalawāt* on Fātimah, albeit it is relatively short compared to the other *ṣalawāts*.

²⁶² The practice of beseeching *ṣalawāt* on the Imām al-‘aṣr is witnessed in the Fatimid phase as well but after seclusion *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib is almost always beseeched. For examples of *ṣalawāt* on the Imām al-‘aṣr in the Fatimid phase see al-Kirmānī, *Tanbīh al-Hādī* (Appendix-4:13) and also *al-Risālah al-Lā’ihah* (Appendix-4:129, from the time of al-Mu‘izz 4th/10th) and *Risālat li ba’d al-hudāt* (Appendix-4:1127) both in *Majmū‘*, vol. II. For examples of *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib in the Yemeni phase see Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī b. al-Walīd, *al-Risālah al-Kāmilah* (Appendix-4:150) and ‘Imād al-Dīn, *‘Uyūn*, vol. I (Appendix-4:152). In the Indian phase see for example *Risālat al-Munīrah wa al-Ḍiyā’* (Appendix-4:163) and all *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah* (Appendix-4:166, 172-189).

²⁶³ See for example, in the Yemeni phase, al-Khaṭṭāb, *Munīrat al-Baṣā’ir* (Appendix-4:112) (reference to Dā‘īs as the *maqāmāt* who represent the Imām; not explicit), Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm, *Risālat al-Iḥsān* (Appendix-4:114, explicit *ṣalawāt* on Dā‘īs), ‘Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, Majlis-101, 103, 106, 108, 109, 110 (Appendix-4:132, 135, 138, 140, 142, 143, reference to *ḥujaj* and *du‘āt* in relation to al-Ṭayyib). In the Indian phase see *Risālat al-Na‘y* (Appendix-4:162) in Ḥasan b. Alī Khān b. Tāj, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161), also in *Risālat al-Munīrah wa al-Ḍiyā’* (Appendix-4:163), Qamruddin b. Hebat Allāh, *Risālat Dāfi‘at al-Aḥzān* (Appendix-4:165), Miṣṣā Sāhib Walī bhāi *Risālat al-Najm al-Thāqib* (Appendix-4:181). The *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah* 1224H (Appendix-4:176), 1244H (Appendix-4:178), 1248H (Appendix-4:180), mention Dā‘īs in relation to al-Ṭayyib. In *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah* 1214H (Appendix-4:173), 1292H, 1299H, 1307H, 1312H *rahmat* and *riḍwān* or *salām* or *taqdīs* is beseeched on the Dā‘īs. In *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah* 1215H (Appendix-4:174), 1216H; 1256H, 1273H; 1289H; 1324H explicit *ṣalawāt* is beseeched. It is not consistent in these times. From the beginning of the 14th/20th century it is consistent and remains so in all of Syedna Taher Saifuddin’s over forty *Rasā’il-Ramaḍāniyyah* (Appendix-4:182-189).

instance, one anecdote introduced by the phrase *'an ibn 'Abbās qāl qāl rasūl-Allāh...* praising 'Alī, and another beginning with *rawā al-Tirmidhī* praising Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, interrupt the flow of the predominantly non-narrative text²⁶⁴. The occasional inclusion of such anecdotes is evidence of the perception of Ṭahmīds by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī authors as a medium for *ma'rifah*.

The inclusion of *qaṣīdahs* is another unique feature. The precise nature of the *shi'r* varies, being sometimes a series of short verses after the *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad, 'Alī and the Imāms (*Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1246H; Appendix-4:179), and sometimes a lengthier *qaṣīdah* after the *ṣalawāt* on the Imāms and Imām *al-'aṣr* respectively (*Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244H; Appendix-4:178). The presence of a *qaṣīdah* within the Ṭahmīd is at first puzzling, but, if we consider the Ṭahmīd from a different aspect, we realize that the Ṭahmīd itself is indeed nothing more than an elaborate prose version of the *madīḥ qaṣīdah*. The *ḥamdalah* and *shahādah* are a praise and recognition of the Almighty while the *ṣalawāt* is the praise and recognition of Muhammad and, in the case of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, of all those on whom *ṣalawāt* is offered. In this light, it is not surprising that, since *madīḥ* is one of the primary purposes (*aghrād*) of the classical *qaṣīdah*, it should find its way into the Ṭahmīd.

It is also worth noting, especially after a lengthy discussion of the role of rhetoric in creating and enhancing Ṭahmīd relations in the previous chapter, that the mono-rhymed bi-hemistichal *qaṣīdah*, based on the classical *'arūd* metre system, is perhaps the epitome of rhyme and rhythm. It is possible to argue that these *qaṣīdahs* establish Ṭahmīd relations and enhance their effect, building on the Ṭahmīd's tradition of rhetorical excellence. A sampling of the rhetorical value of the *qaṣīdah* within the Ṭahmīd is offered during the analysis of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1214H (Appendix-4:173) in the next chapter (p.239).

A number of factors are likely to have encouraged the appearance of the *qaṣīdah* in this late phase of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition. For one, perhaps as a result of the Indian milieu, the highly ornate style of composition in this phase and acute consciousness of sight and sound patterns anticipated the inclusion of poetry. Secondly, the length of the Ṭahmīd had increased to a degree that needed a change to alleviate the

²⁶⁴ In the same *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* also see the *ṣalawāt* on the Prophet. Also see Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1352H in which an anecdote is narrated in the *ṣalawāt* on 'Alī (p. 16) and another during *ṣalawāt* on the Imāms (p.25).

monotony of the lengthy prose. The *qasīdah* was in my view the solution. Thirdly, the Taḥmīd of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* could be understood in the Indian context by a select few who read and understood the Arabic language, while the *qasīdah* is recited *en masse* in community gatherings, in a melodious manner that allowed the non-Arabic speaking audience to enjoy its rhyme and rhythm while fulfilling the act of offering praise to God and beseeching *salawāt* on the Prophet and his progeny. Because of its oral heritage, its meter and rhyme, it is also easy to memorize even for those who do not speak the language. In a more general context, the increased popularity of religious praise poetry from the 7th/13th century, especially after al-Buṣīrī, may have promoted the inclusion of the *qasīdah* in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīds²⁶⁵.

Two other features that are not strictly part of the Taḥmīd but are commonly associated with Taḥmīds, the prayer (*du'ā*) and the address to the audience (*khīṭāb* or *'unwān*), are expanded in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. The association of *du'ā* with *ḥamd* is well established by *sūrat al-Fāṭiḥah* as discussed in chapter-I (p.36). In Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīds, it features either immediately before or after *ammā ba'd*, a likely development of the short *du'ā* that followed the name of the addressee in chancery documents. In al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* and in other works in the same format, the beginning Taḥmīd is always followed by a *du'ā*, while the end Taḥmīd is always preceded by a *du'ā*. In later *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, especially those authored by Syedna Taher Saifuddin, the *du'ā* also becomes a relatively long and prominent feature, and supplications extending to several pages are authored or quoted. These *du'ās*, like the *qasīdahs*, are also often used independently in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī liturgy.

The *khīṭāb*, after *ammā ba'd*, acts as a link between the author and the audience, and connects the audience to the whole sequence of relata mentioned above. In the majority of works of the Fatimid, Yemeni and most of the Indian phase, the *khīṭāb*, most likely also an adaptation of the address before the Taḥmīd in the chancery documents, is limited to *ma'shar al-mu'minīn*. In the last stages of the Indian phase, in the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, the *khīṭāb* also becomes a feature wherein the author introduces himself. This develops further, the introduction then consistently being followed by a salutation (*salām*) of the audience.

²⁶⁵ Sperl and Shackle (1996, p.15) assert that religious themes, especially Prophetic eulogy, the category to which the Taḥmīd *qasīdahs* belong, became increasingly popular from the 7th/13th century onwards. The *qasīdah* became an established medium of religious expression.

The expansion of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd in general, and of the *ṣalawāt* in particular, distinguishes it from the broader Ṭahmīd tradition. As described in greater detail later, a strong physical and spiritual *nisbah*-relation is created between God, the Prophet and the Imāms using these components and sub-components. The succession represented in the *ṣalawāt* is not a matter of chance, but is presented as being divinely ordained. The expanded structure of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd – beginning with God, moving to His Prophet, the Prophet's successor, 'Alī, his wife Faṭimah, then the Imāms, the descendants of 'Alī and Muhammad through Faṭimah, until al-Ṭayyib, then the Imām *al-'aṣr*, then the Dā'ī and finally the *khīṭāb* in which the Dā'ī *al-'aṣr* introduces himself and bestows his *salām* on the audience – emphasizes, and is the verbal representation of, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī understanding of the Qur'ānic concept of *ḥabl-Allāh*, the rope of God²⁶⁶, of which one end is said to be in God's 'hand' and the other in the hands of his subjects. The concept of *tasalsul*, that is the continuity of the chain of Imāmate, and Dā'ī-ship during *ṣatr*, is inextricably connected with this concept of the rope of God, in which the final association with a living being is what establishes the relation with those that have passed.

The addition and expansion of these features is therefore by no means tangential. The *ṣalawāt* on the progeny of Muhammad, with all it represents, is a matter of faith. These verses by al-Shāfi'ī, the great Sunni jurist from his *Diwān* (p.89), ironically perhaps, express well the importance of the expanded *ṣalawāt*:

يَا آلَ بَيْتِ رَسُولِ اللَّهِ حُبُّكُمْ * فَرَضَ مِنْ اللَّهِ فِي الْقُرْآنِ أَنْزَلَهُ
يَكْفِيكُمْ مِنْ عَظِيمِ الْفَخْرِ أَنْكُمْ * مَنْ لَمْ يُصَلِّ عَلَيْكُمْ لَا صَلَاةَ لَهُ

Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd Relations: *Tawḥīd*, *Tasalsul* and Binarisms

This section considers the distinctiveness of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī relations: firstly with respect to God and secondly with respect to the Prophet and his progeny. While the relations are often shared with the wider tradition, the relational propositions and approach are quite unique. The relation with God can exist only through his Prophets and

²⁶⁶ The concept is based on Qur'an 3:103 in which believers are exhorted to cling to the *ḥabl-Allāh*. A number of Sunnī traditions interpret the *ḥabl* to be the Qur'an itself, for example: *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no. 10707, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no. 2831 and *Sunan al-Dārimī*, no. 3197.

representatives. With the aid of the additional sub-components, a continuity (*tasalsul*) is established between the Prophet and his present day spiritual heir. All these relations are viewed through the lens of the binarism of the physical and intellectual, the overt and the covert, anticipating multiple layers of esoteric signification in the Ṭahmīd, especially in the Qur'ānic verses. Finally, a number of relations that become characteristic of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds are highlighted.

Relation with God: 'arelation' and the *Awliyā'*

The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition frequently establishes a relation with God that amounts to an 'arelation' – the impossibility of a relation in terms of His perception and recognition (*ma'rifah*). The descriptive dimension is often that He is indescribable. This is not to say that there are no instances of the God-individual relations and of descriptive dimensions established in the broader Ṭahmīd tradition, such as the power of God (*qudrah*), gratitude for His bounties, His eternal nature etc; these are abundant. But apart from these, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition offers a distinct approach to the individual's relation with God in the *ḥamd* and the *shahādah*: any relation with or perception of God is impossible; the only relation or approach that remains is through His *awliyā'* or *ḥudūd*, His Prophets and representatives²⁶⁷.

The impossibility of perceiving God (*'ajz al-idrāk*) is established by stating the inability to comprehend Him through either the physical or mental faculties, the only tools of perception available to humans. This approach is couched in, and at the same time reinforces, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī view of the binarism of the physical and intellectual, discussed further below. For this purpose authors often take advantage of the rhyming of *'uyūn* and *zunūn* (al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-133; Appendix-4:33), *nāẓir* and *khāṭir* (al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-158; Appendix-4:39), *abṣār* and *afkār* (al-Kirmānī, *Tanbih al-Hādī*, Appendix-4:13 and *Risālat Maḥajjat al-Rashād*, Appendix-4:125 in *Majmū'*, vol. II) and the assonance in *abṣār* and *baṣā'ir* (al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-194 and 3-216; Appendix-4:50 and 54), in order to establish and enhance the binarism.

A variety of images using secondary relata are also employed to illustrate God's unreachability. For example, images of the wings of thought being clipped (al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 3-204; Appendix-4:53), of the fire of inquiry being put out (al-Kirmānī, *al-*

²⁶⁷ The notion of an 'arelation' with God is anticipated in Sufism, however, the approach through the *ḥudūd* is to my knowledge unique to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition.

Risālah al-Waḍiyyah; Appendix-4:12), of the clouds of inability (*surādiq al-‘ajz*) and the army of perplexity (Mu’ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-188; Appendix-4:17), the veil (*ḥijāb*) in front of the understanding of His nature (*kayfiyyah*)(al-Mu’ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-13; Appendix-4:20), and the cloud of perplexity in face of His comprehension (*idrāk*)(al-Mu’ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-195; Appendix-4:51), the reining in of the horses of thought from travelling the barren and impassable plains of His *ma‘rifah* (al-Mu’ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-200; Appendix-4:52), the stormy sea waves being the course of travel and the harbour (*majrā* and *mursā*) for he who tries to imagine Him (al-Mu’ayyad, *Majālis*, 3-204; Appendix-4:53) and finally the image of the forerunners of thought, running in the arena of enquiry into the Truth of His perception, being attacked by the soldiers of incapacity, firing arrows of inadequacy, using the bow of severance and bafflement (‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, *Risālat al-Basmalah*, in *Majmū‘*, vol.II; Appendix-4:124). The following example, from al-Mu’ayyad’s *Majālis*, (2-194; Appendix-4:50), portrays both the binarism and the imagery:

الحمد لله الذي نور توحيدِهِ للأبصار والبصائر غَلَابَ، فإذا هَمَّ بالسَّفرِ إلى حَقِيقَةِ مَعْرِفَتِهِ تَقَطَّعَ بِهِ خَيْلٌ وَرَكَابٌ، وَحَجَزَ
بَيْنَهُ وَبَيْنَ الْوُصُولِ إِلَيْهِ رَتَاجٌ لَا يُخْرَقُ وَحِجَابٌ...

The image drawn, of the impossible journey towards God, also creates an interesting association with the *riḥlah* in the introduction of the *madīh qasīdah*.

The association with God is often couched in a paradoxical relation²⁶⁸: we are related to God in that we perceive His power through His creation but at the same time we are unable truly to comprehend Him. Our relation is with the creation; the creator is impossible to perceive. The following Ṭahmīd from al-Mu’ayyad’s *Majālis* (1-16, Appendix-4:21) brilliantly expresses the paradox:

الحمد لله

بِمَعْرِفَةِ الْقُدْرَةِ	الْإِلَهِيَّةِ
بِتَحْقِيقِ مَعْرِفَتِهِ	الْقَصْرِ

فَهُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ الدَّائِي الْقَصِي...

²⁶⁸ See also Ṭahmīd by ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (Appendix-2:21), discussed earlier in chapter-IV (p.136), in which this paradox is also established.

The semantic antithesis, that the paradox is based on, is highlighted by the grammatical parallelism. It is the former relation of awe with God's powers that is stressed in most Ṭahmīds, while Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds, especially in works on esoterics, stress the latter 'arelation'.

The incapacity to fathom the nature of God is also established through a statement of the inability to describe Him, since He is the creator of – therefore above or preceding – even the descriptions and terms we use to describe Him. In this too the binarism often, though not always, filters through. God is the creator of existence and extinction (*wujūd* and '*adam*'), and is therefore, literally, pure and untainted (*mumazzah*) by the words *wujūd* and '*adam*' (al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-144; Appendix-4:36)²⁶⁹. The approach is summed up in this Ṭahmīd by 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd's *Ithbāt al-Naṣṣ 'alā al-Musta'īf* (in *Majmū'*, vol. II; Appendix-4:128):

الحمد لله المتعالي عن الصفات والأسماء، الذي من مبدعاته من له أرفع الأسماء...

Thus the inability to comprehend physically or intellectually, and the inapplicability of any of the names or descriptions, leaves only one alternative: God is beyond imagination or comprehension.

This leads us to the essence of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *tawḥīd*: the realization that God cannot be comprehended is in itself comprehension. The realization that there can be no relation is in itself a relation. The idea is succinctly presented by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1359²⁷⁰:

والحمد لله الذي عباده المصطفون بنفي الصفات عنه تعالى يصفونه وبالعجز عن ذلك الإدراك يدركون...

In this light it is understandable that many Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds aim to show that a description or comprehension of God is impossible.

Since there is no direct relation, so to speak, between God and individuals, the only relation left is through His chosen representatives (*awliyā'*): the Prophet and the Imāms, for it is they who lead us to this conclusion (that there is no relation). As discussed earlier

²⁶⁹ Also see Kirmānī, *al-Maṣābīḥ* (Appendix-4:11—*wujūd*/*'adam*), al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-128 (Appendix-4:31—*ṣifāt*/*mawṣūfāt-mawṭḥayāt*), 2-130 (Appendix-4:32—*murakkab/basīt*), *Majālis*, 2-158 (Appendix-4:39—*awwal-ākhir*, compare with use of *awwal-ākhir* in *Tārikh al-Ṭabarī*, Appendix-2:91), and Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1349H (Appendix-4:185).

²⁷⁰ See also al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-75 (Appendix-4:24), and 2-106 (Appendix-4:27). Also *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1246H (Appendix-4:179).

in this chapter (p.163), the *awliyā'* are also seen in the esoteric dimension as God's true names (*asmā'*). It is through them, as al-Kirmānī asserts in *al-Maṣābīḥ* (Appendix-4:11), that we are able to truly recognize and worship God:

أَحْمَدُهُ بِمَا دَلَّنَا عَلَيْهِ مِنْ أَسْمَائِهِ الْعِظَامِ، وَأَعْبُدُهُ مِنْ تَلَقَّاءِ أَوْلِيَائِهِ مَصَابِيحِ الظَّلَامِ،

The complementary and grammatical parallelism of the two phrases serves to create a *fikrah*-relation between the words *asmā'* and *awliyā'*. Both words are in the same position in terms of their grammatical function in the sentence, and share the same conjugational pattern. The parallelism hints at the congruency of the esoteric signification of *asmā'* with the explicit signification of *awliyā'*.

‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. al-Wafīd combines both relations, the relation with God, with the proposition of unreachability, and the intercessory relation with His *awliyā'*, in this Ṭahmīd in his *Risālat al-Basmalah* (in *Majmū'*, vol. II; Appendix-4:124):

أَحْمَدُهُ حَمْدًا عَاجِزًا عَنْ نَعْتِهِ وَصِفَتِهِ، مُتَوَجِّهًا إِلَيْهِ بِبُيُوتِ أَنْوَارِهِ وَصِفْوَتِهِ . . .

Since knowing God is impossible, knowing and obeying His *ḥudūd* is presented as the formula for salvation, since it is they who guide the believer to the true *tawḥīd* conclusion that God is beyond comprehension²⁷¹.

Relations of the Prophet and his Progeny: *Tasalsul*, Binarism and Individual Stock Relations

Tasalsul

The relations between, and within, the levels of relata feature distinct Fatimid-Ṭayyibī motifs and embody prime ideological and philosophical concepts. The most prominent of these concepts is that of *tasalsul*: the necessity of the continuity of the line of Imāms from the Prophet to the present day. Based on the expanded structure of the Ṭahmīd, through a series of *nisbah*-relations, aided greatly by the use of pronouns and suitable relational propositions, Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds establish a strong physical and spiritual chain that connects God with the audience. This chain or rope, the *ḥabl-Allāh* referred to above, is in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition the most evident symbol of *tasalsul*. While the structure places the components of the chain in a hierarchical order, the pronouns and relational propositions define and explain the continuity between and through the levels.

²⁷¹ See also Al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis* 2-156, Appendix-4:38), which is another excellent example of how the two concepts (the unreachability of God and the intercession of the *ḥudūd*) are combined, and accentuated by the rhetorical pattern.

For this purpose the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmūd has developed a series of stock relations. At the peak of the hierarchy is the Prophet, inevitably related with God as *His* messenger. Next is 'Alī, related with Muhammad in the *ṣalawāt* as *his* successor, cousin, [spiritual] brother, confidante etc. Fātimah, related to Muhammad as his daughter, with 'Alī as his wife, and with the Imāms as their mother, is the vital middle link relating the Imāms to both Muhammad and 'Alī. The Imāms are in turn related with Muhammad as their grandfather and with 'Alī as their father. The present Imām is related to *his* forefathers. The Dā'īs in turn are related to the Imāms as *their* representatives and manifestations of *their nūr* in the time of seclusion. While the relation with the audience often infiltrates other parts of the Ṭahmūd, the most clear demonstration of the final link, in the Indian phase, is in the *khitāb*, in which the Dā'ī *al-ʿaṣr* introduces himself to the audience as *their* Dā'ī and as successor to Dā'īs preceding him. The pronoun-based chain, (*silisilah*), is thus created in such a way that if one 'link' is left out, the entire chain falls apart. The relations, and the manner in which they are represented, become a verbal manifestation of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī ideology, history and present day reality.

The physical lineage is coupled with a spiritual continuity based on the establishment of the principle of correspondence between the role of the Imāms and the Prophet, the Imāms and 'Alī and the Dā'īs and the Imāms. Simply put, the descriptive dimensions used for the Prophet are used in the same respect for the Imāms and for the Dā'īs during *ṣatr*. Ḥasan b. Tāj (11th/17th century), in *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161), for instance, uses derivations of the verb 'to guide' (*hadā*), to describe all levels of relata. The Almighty guides through His *awliyā'* (*al-hādī bihim ilā dār al-salām wa al-ma'ād*) and sends His Prophets to guide mankind (*li yahdū al-khalā'iq*); Muhammad is the one who also guided mankind with wisdom and sound advice (*hadā al-khalā'iq bi al-ḥikmah wa al-maw'izah al-ḥasanah*); the Imāms are those who guide with their curing knowledge the people of the lowlands and the highlands (*al-hādīna bi 'ulumihim al-shāfiyah ahl al-aghwār wa al-anjād*); and finally al-Ṭayyib is the one who guides through the Dā'īs he has appointed for the guidance of mankind (*al-hādī bi-man naṣabahu min al-du'āt ilayhi li-hidāyat al-khalā'iq*). Other similar descriptions that are closely associated with the Prophet or 'Alī, such as *raḥmah*, *nūr*, *'ilm* also convey spiritual continuity²⁷². The Imāms are also described as inheriting the Prophetic duties of

²⁷² See for the example the use of the description of *raḥmah* for the Imāms and al-Ṭayyib in 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, 108end (Appendix-4:141) and 111 respectively. There are

protecting religion and revelation²⁷³. They also inherit the authority that obligates obedience (*ṭā'ah*), which is connected with the obedience to God and His Prophet²⁷⁴.

The concept of the continuity of the Imāmate is also embedded in a number of frequently used Qur'ānic motifs which evoke the concept of *tasalsul*. One such motif is that of *ḥabl Allāh* mentioned above (3:103). The Imām is often described as the *ḥabl Allāh*, or the followers of the Imām are described as those clinging to it²⁷⁵. Through metonymic association, the present Imām is himself the *ḥabl* in that a relation with him, since he is himself one end of the *ḥabl*, connects an individual with the entire *ḥabl* and with God. Very similar to that is the Qur'ānic concept of *al-'urwah al-wuthqā*, literally firm handle or grip, but often used as a synonym to *ḥabl-Allāh* (2:256 and 31:22)²⁷⁶. The 'ark of salvation' (*safīnat al-najāh*) is another such image (29:15)²⁷⁷. The 'word' (*kalimah*) is also a frequently used Qur'ānic motif (43:28). One of the esoteric significations of *kalimah* is that it refers to Prophets and Imāms, for they are the true words of God. One of the arguments for this interpretation is the reference to Jesus as *kalimah* in Qur'ān 3:45²⁷⁸. In verse 43:28, the Imāmate is an enduring *kalimah* that God has ordained will continue in the progeny of Abraham. The Dā'īs are in turn the *kalimah* of the Imāms, as Syedna Taher Saifuddin expresses in his *qasīdah* in praise of the Imāms (*Diwān*):

innumerable examples of the use of this description with respect to Muhammad, especially with the Qur'ānic verse 21:107: al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-191 (Appendix-4:49), 2-122, 2-178; *Risālat al-Munīrah wa al-Diyā'* (Appendix-4:163); *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1216H, and Syedna Taher Saifuddin *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (Appendix-4:182). The persistence of *rahmah* is discussed more closely in chapter-VII (p.271).

²⁷³ See for example al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-38 (Appendix-4:22), 3-245 (Appendix-4:58) and 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, 101 (Appendix-4:132), 106 (Appendix-4:138) and 119, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1273H.

²⁷⁴ See for example al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 3-245 (Appendix-4:58); "*Risālat al-Na'y* (Appendix-4:162)" in Ḥasan b. Tāj, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah*, *Risālat al-Munīrah wa al-Diyā'* (Appendix-4:163), *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1216H.

²⁷⁵ Examples of *ḥabl Allāh* motif in al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-5 (Appendix-4:18), 1-75 (Appendix-4:24), 2-119end, "*Risālat Maḥajjat al-Rashād*" in *Majmū'*, vol. II (Appendix-4:125), and Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm, *Risālat al-Iḥsān* (Appendix-4:114). Also *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1224 (Appendix-4:176), 1246H (Appendix-4:179), 1256H.

²⁷⁶ Examples of *al-'urwah al-wuthqā* motif in al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-75 (Appendix-4:24), 2-103 (Appendix-4:26), and Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm, *Risālat al-Iḥsān* (Appendix-4:114), *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-11??H (Appendix-4:166), 1224H (Appendix-4:176).

²⁷⁷ Examples of *safīnah* motif in al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-123 (Appendix-4:29), 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Dāmigh al-Bāṭil* (Appendix-4:131), *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, Majlis-106 (Appendix-4:138), "*Risālat Maḥajjat al-Rashād*" in *Majmū'*, vol. II (Appendix-4:125) and Ḥasan b. Tāj, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161). Also *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244 (Appendix-4:178), 1248H (Appendix-4:180) and Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1349H (Appendix-4:185).

²⁷⁸ Also note the notion of Jesus as the word in the New Testament, John 1:1 and 1:14.

هُم كَلِمَاتُ اللَّهِ سَوَابِقُ * لَهُمْ فِي الْعُلَى وَالْمَجْدِ خَيْرُ السَّوَابِقِ
دُعَاؤُهُمْ فِي سَتَرِهِمْ كَلِمَاتُهُ * وَهُمْ لَهُمْ فِي الْفَضْلِ خَيْرُ الْوَاوِقِ

On the basis of this interpretation, in Ṭahmīds praise is offered to God for making the 'word' of the Imāmate endure and continue until the Day of Judgment²⁷⁹.

Another motif that encapsulates the spirit of continuity is the prayer for the continuity of the *ṣalawāt* itself. While this is a widespread motif²⁸⁰, it is highly significant in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition due to the primary esoteric meaning of *ṣalawāt* presented above: the continuity of the line of Imāmate in Muhammad's progeny. In many of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds (and in a great many *qasīdahs*), the Ṭahmīd ends by a prayer to God to multiply and continue the *ṣalawāt*, and by extension the signification of the *ṣalawāt*, till the Day of Judgment. Authors use various phrases and images to describe the continuity: 'until day comes after night'; '...continuous without severance, permanent without cessation, conjoined without any limit or constraint, boundary or end'; '...until the night darkens, the bright star rises, and the sky is adorned by the stars and the constellations, and the sun shines and spreads its light on the mountainous earth'; '...until the caller continues to call with *hayya 'alā khayr al-'amal* [in the *adhān*]' ²⁸¹. The prayer for the perpetuity of the *ṣalawāt*, especially by relating to secondary relata, associates it with natural phenomenon whose perpetuity is undoubted.

The use of these 'generic' motifs for the Prophet, the Imāms across time, and the continuity of Dā'īs during *satr*, creates a qualified principle of correspondence, wherein the stress is upon the spiritual presence represented by an unchanging motif, that is stable and eternal.

²⁷⁹ See al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-60 (Appendix-4:23), 3-245 (Appendix-4:58), 3-267 (Appendix-4:63), 3-299 (Appendix-4:66), 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, Majlis-101 (Appendix-4:132), 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, vol.I (Appendix-4:152), "*Risālat al-Na'y* (Appendix-4:162)" in Ḥasan b. Tāj, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah*, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1248H (Appendix-4:180). Miya Ṣāhib Walī bhāi, *Risālat al-Najm al-Thāqib* (Appendix-4:181), Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (Appendix-4:182).

²⁸⁰ See for example the end of al-Buṣṭī's *qasīdat al-burdah*. Qtd. in full with English translation in Sperl and Shackle (1996, p.388ff).

²⁸¹ Examples from: '*al-Risālah al-Lā'ihah*' in *Majmū'*, vol. II (Appendix-4:129), al-Kirmānī, *Tanbīh al-Hādī* (Appendix-4:13), *al-Maṣābil* (Appendix-4:11), al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-135end (Appendix-4:34), 2-162, 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, vol. I (Appendix-4:152), Ḥasan b. Tāj, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161), *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244H (Appendix-4:178), 1247H.

While the earlier motifs highlight an unbroken spiritual continuity, other motifs address the physical transition from one link in the chain to another, from an appointer (*nāṣṣ*), to appointee (*mansūs*), from predecessor to successor. The image of one lamp lighting another, and one star waning while another rises, is often used to visualize this transition, as is the case in this Ṭahmīd by al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* (3-245; Appendix-4:58).

الحمد لله الذي جعل كلمة الإمامة، باقية إلى يوم القيامة، في عقب رسوله المكي، ووصيه الطاهر الرضي، كلما انقضى
نجم فگار، طلع نجم واستار، الذي أقامنا ورثة للرسول، وحفظة للتزليل والتأويل، نحمده إذ أخرج الضوء من الضوء،
وجعل على مخالفي الحق دائرة السوء، وصلى الله على محمد الذي أيده بتصره، وقرن طاعته بطاعة من يليه من
ولاة أمره.

This Ṭahmīd skilfully combines a number of *tasalsul* motifs. It strikes a balance between the motifs of spiritual continuity, the *kalimah*, the guardians of *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl* and the interconnected authority and obedience (*tā'ah*) on the one hand and on the other hand the motifs of physical transition or succession, the cycle of stars and the light from a light, one Imām after another. In the Yemeni and Indian phases the image of 'light from light' becomes emblematic as it is used to describe the appointment of al-Ṭayyib in the *Sijill al-Bishārah* quoted in Dā'ī 'Imād al-Dīn's *Uyūn* (vol.VII, pp. 254-255), discussed further in the next chapter. This image is likely to have been inspired by a saying attributed to 'Alī in which he declares: 'I am from Ahmad, as light is from light (*ka al-daw' min al-daw'*)'²⁸².

The most iconic motif of succession, however, is the word and image of *al-Ghadīr*, the site of the momentous *khutbah* in which, according to Shiite tradition, Muhammad appointed 'Alī as his successor with the words: '*man kuntu mawlāhu fa hādihā 'Alī mawlāh*'²⁸³. The succession of 'Alī is the essential link that initiates and holds

²⁸² Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *wa'z* sermon.

²⁸³ Al-Ghadīr, refers to the site between Mecca and Medina known as Ghadīr-i-Khumm, where the Prophet is said to have arrived on the 18th of Dhū al-Hijjah on his way back to Medina from the *Hijjat al-Wadā'*, the last pilgrimage. In the Sunnī *Ḥadīth* tradition, the sermon delivered there is cited in *Musnad-Aḥmad* no's. 606, 633, 906, 915, 918, 1242, 18476, 18497, 22461. The tradition however, is interpreted differently. See also Madelung (1997, pp.14 and 253) for a survey and analysis of historical accounts of al-Ghadīr and a broader discussion of the succession to Muhammad.

The following are examples of the usage of the *Ghadīr* motif in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds: al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-6 (Appendix-4:19), 2-123 (Appendix-4:29), 2-147, 2-153 and 2-179 (Appendix-4:42); Ṭahmīd-I, (Appendix-4:122) *Majmū'*, vol.I, "*ithbāt al-Naṣṣ 'alā al-Imām al-Musta'īl*" (Appendix-4:128) and "*Mahajjat al-Rashād*" (Appendix-4:125) both in *Majmu'*, vol.II, 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Majālis al-*

together the entire chain that follows. Even a fleeting reference to it, therefore, epitomizes the concept of the continuity of the chain of Imāmate until the very end of time. Although primarily used with reference to Muhammad and ‘Alī, the *fikrah*-relations that emanate from it make the motif relevant to the succession of all Imāms and, in their seclusion, all Dā‘īs. Consider the following example, an excerpt from a *risālah*, by ‘Alī b. Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd in *Majmū‘*, vol. II (Appendix-4:128), arguing for the righteousness of the succession of the Fatimid Imām al-Musta‘lī (d. 494/1101):

وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مَنْ حَازَ مِنَ النَّبُوَّةِ وَالرِّسَالَةِ اجْزَالَهَا نَصِيباً وَأَفْضَلَهَا قِسْماً، مُحَمَّدٍ النَّاطِقِ يَوْمَ الْغَدِيرِ بِمَا كَانَ لِلدِّينِ
مُكْمَلًا (5:3) مَسْتَأْذِناً...

The *risālah* asserts al-Musta‘lī’s Imāmate by evoking the archetypal act of *naṣṣ*, the divinely inspired appointment of the successor by his predecessor. In this context the *naṣṣ* on ‘Alī in *al-Ghadīr* acts as the prime precedent for this succession, and indeed for all successions. A *fikrah*-relation with the *Ghadīr* motif is therefore quite powerful. In this example, the relation of the motif with the Qur’ānic verse 5:3 further strengthens the case for al-Musta‘lī’s Imāmate. Through the esoteric *fikrah*-relation with the verse, the ‘completion of the religion’ is here defined as being achieved in *al-Ghadīr* by the execution of the *naṣṣ* on ‘Alī. By a subsequent principle of correspondence created with al-Musta‘lī, his Imāmate is similarly deemed necessary for the ‘completion’ of God’s religion. This verse becomes so closely associated with the *Ghadīr* motif that quoting it, even independently, evokes the same strong *fikrah*-relations. The *Ghadīr* motif, though couched in history, through the *nisbah* and *fikrah*-relations of the Ṭahmīd becomes timeless.

A corollary to the *Ghadīr* motif is the Mūsā-Hārūn motif: comparing the relation of Muhammad and ‘Alī with Mūsā and Hārūn on the basis of the *Ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet²⁸⁴:

أَمَا تَرْضَى أَنْ تُكَوِّنَ مِنِّي بِمَنْزِلَةِ هَارُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى إِلَّا أَنَّهُ لَا نَبِيَّ بَعْدِي،

Nuṣṣ, Majlis-108(Appendix-4:140). *Risālat al-Munīrah wa al-Diyā’* (Appendix-4:163), *Rasā’il-Ramādāniyyah*-1213H (Appendix-4:172) and 1216H.

²⁸⁴ The *Ḥadīth* is also attested by all major authorities of Sunni *Ḥadīth*; however, it is interpreted in the restricted context of the battle of *Tabūk*. See for example *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no. 3663, 3664 and 3658; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, no. 112 and 118; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, no. 3430 and 4064; *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no. 1514, 1384, 10842, 14111 and 26195; *Ṣaḥīḥ-Muslim*, no. 4418, 4419, 4420 and 4421.

On the basis of this *Ḥadīth*, the relationship of Mūsā and Hārūn, as defined in the Qur'ān in verses 7:142, 20:29-35, and 25:35, is qualified for Muhammad and 'Alī. In these verses Hārūn is related to Mūsā as his brother, *wazīr* and successor. This relationship is evoked in many Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds, as in this example from Miyā-Ṣāhib Walī bhāi's *Risālat al-Najma al-Thāqib* (Appendix-4:181) in the context of *ṣalawāt* on the Dā'īs, in which they are described as the custodians of the '*baqiyyah*', referred to in verse 2:248, which is left by the progeny of the Mūsā and Hārūn of this *ummah*; that is Muhammad and 'Alī²⁸⁵:

دعاة آل محمد الداعين إليهم بصالحات أعمالهم وهم صموت، . . . وفيهم سكة من ربه وعندهم بقية مما ترك آل

موسى هذه الأمة وآل هارون في التابوت^(2:248) . . .

The appreciation of these motifs is tangent upon an understanding of their signification in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. When the background necessary for this understanding is present, as is expected from the target audience, the Ṭahmīd can achieve a great economy of words (words/value ratio) thanks to the esoteric *fikrah*-relations that are created. The motifs become symbols that encompass and manifest fundamental concepts such as *tasalsul*. By using these Qur'ānic motifs in this context, the Ṭahmīds attach, and also impart to the audience, their esoteric interpretation, simultaneously fulfilling the goals of praise and religious enlightenment. These are, of course, only demonstrative samples of the most widely used motifs.

Complementary Binarisms: The Physical and Intellectual

The special relation of Muhammad and 'Alī, as expressed by the Mūsā-Hārūn motif, reflects a more deeply entrenched sense of binarism in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition and worldview: a complementary binarism. There is no shortage of the familiar antithetical binarisms in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds, for example the binarism of *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*, heaven and hell, and so on²⁸⁶. Complementary binarisms, however, not only coexist but, as the name suggests, each of its constituents completes the other; they are two

²⁸⁵ For other examples of the Mūsā-Hārūn motif see: al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-106 (Appendix-4:27), 3-227 (Appendix-4:57), 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, vol.I (Appendix-4:152), Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramādāniyyah*-1335H (Appendix-4:182).

²⁸⁶ See for examples of *ḥaqq-bāṭil* antithetical-binarism: al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Ifitāḥ al-Da'wah* (Appendix-4:10), al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 3-256 (Appendix-4:60), 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Dāmigh al-Bāṭil* (Appendix-4:131) and *Risālat al-izhār wa al-tabyīn* (Appendix-4:160). For examples of heaven-hell antithetical binarism see al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-6 (Appendix-4:19), 1-38 (Appendix-4:22), 2-123 (Appendix-4:29), 3-204 (Appendix-4:53), *Risālat al-Munīrah wa al-Diyā'* (Appendix-4:163).

complementary faces of one single reality. The binarism of the role of Muhammad and 'Alī manifests the binarism of revelation (*tanzīl*)- both Qur'ān and *Sharī'ah*, on the one hand, and its inner or hidden esoteric meaning (*ta'wīl*) on the other. It also reflects the more existential binarism of physical or tangible (*jismānī* or *maḥsūs*), on the one hand, and spiritual or intellectual (*rūḥānī*/*nafsānī* or *ma'qūl*), on the other. These binarisms frame the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī outlook of their physical and spiritual universe.

Muhammad and 'Alī, described customarily in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds as *nabiyy* (Prophet) and *waṣiyy* (lit. legatee, understood in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition as heir and successor), are both assigned clear roles through the complementary binarism of *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl*. Muhammad is described as *ṣāḥib al-tanzīl* and 'Alī as *ṣāḥib al-ta'wīl*²⁸⁷. While Muhammad's precedence is established and unquestioned, his role is defined as that of mediating the revelation, whereas 'Alī is responsible for the elucidation of the meaning embedded within it²⁸⁸. According to Fatimid-Ṭayyibī sources, Muhammad is said to have declared: 'Alī is to me, as my soul is to my body'²⁸⁹. The *Ḥadīth* is interpreted as referring to 'Alī as the one who gives the soul of meaning to the body of the *Sharī'ah*. In essence, however, the binarism is two parts of a unity, since, to start with, meaning is embedded in revelation and is part of it. In another *Ḥadīth* attested by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī sources, Muhammad is said to have stated: you and I, O 'Alī, were created from one light (*nūr*)²⁹⁰. Both concepts, and by inference both roles and the individuals that play them, are thus inextricably related. The following Ṭahmīd by al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 2-128end) is an example of this binarism in action:

والحمد لله الذي نشر بنبیه رأیه التّزلی، وأظهر بوصیه آیه التّأویل، وهدی بتالیف الائمه ینهما الى سواء السبیل . . .

Since the Imāms are descendants of both Muhammad and 'Alī, they inherit and combine, (*ta'ālf*), as the Ṭahmīd suggests, both roles, as guardians of *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl*. As another Ṭahmīd by al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-38, Appendix-4:22) explicates, the Imāms are

²⁸⁷ See for example al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-137 (Appendix-4:35), 2-179 (Appendix-4:42), 3-251.

²⁸⁸ Muhammad's precedence is unquestioned. In one Ṭahmīd, *Majālis*, 2-169end (Appendix-4:41), al-Mu'ayyad markedly emphasizes this point by describing 'Alī as *khayr al-ummah ba'd nabiyyihā*. The terms used for describing these roles vary, but *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl* are perhaps the most popular. The words *waḥy*, *kitāb*, *shar'* are commonly used in lieu of *tanzīl* and the words *bayān*, *sharḥ*, *tarjuman* are commonly used in lieu of *ta'wīl*.

²⁸⁹ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *wa'z* sermon.

²⁹⁰ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *wa'z* sermon.

ḥafāẓat al-tanzīl and *khazanat al-ta'wīl*. That they are in one sense combined is itself evidence that they are in essence two parts of a single reality. From another perspective, each Imām assumes the role of Muhammad as the guardian of *tanzīl* while his successor, the *ḥujjat-‘uzmā*, assumes the role of ‘Alī, continuing the binarism. The binarism of *ẓāhir-bāṭin* and the concept of *tasalsul* are intertwined: for the persistence of the binarism, the succession of ‘Alī and the continuity of Imāmate in his progeny is necessary. Stated explicitly here, the inheritance of these roles is mostly implied by using words associated with the *tanzīl-ta'wīl* binarism for the Imāms, which were meant originally for Muhammad and ‘Alī²⁹¹.

This relationship between Muhammad and ‘Alī, and the binarism of *tanzīl-ta'wīl* not only defines their respective roles but also simultaneously necessitates the consciousness of overt and covert meaning (*ma'nā ẓāhirī wa bāṭinī*). This binarism is frequently presented in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds by relating the symbol (*mathal*), with the symbolized (*mamthūl*), as in this Ṭahmīd by al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-89, Appendix-4:25)²⁹²:

وَصَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى نَبِيِّهِ الْمُبْعُوثِ بِالصَّلَاحِ وَالْإِصْلَاحِ، الْمُمَثِّلِ صَدْرُهُ بِالزُّجَاجَةِ وَقَلْبُهُ بِالْمِصْبَاحِ . . .

The *ṣalawāt* builds on the audience's familiarity with the Qur'ānic image of the lamp in a glass vessel from the light-verse (*āyat al-nūr*), 24:35. The *mathal*, the lamp and its vessel are literal, covert and inanimate, while their counterpart, the *mamthūl*, Muhammad's chest and heart, are esoteric, overt and animate. It is only by uniting the two: *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl*, *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin*, and *mathal* and *mamthūl*, that harmony is achieved.

Another representation of these binarisms is the idea of the Silent and Speaking Qur'āns (Qur'ān-*sāmīt* and Qur'ān-*nāṭiq*)²⁹³. Closely related, both are deemed necessary, mirroring the complementary binarism of *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl*. A reference to these terms in Ṭahmīds evokes *fikrah*-relations with the binarism and also with the Qur'ānic verses and

²⁹¹ See for example al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-38 (Appendix-4:22), 3-245 (Appendix-4:58), '*Risālah li ba'd al-du'āt*' (Appendix-4:127) in *Majmū'*, vol.II, 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, Majlis-106 (Appendix-4:138).

²⁹² Other examples of the *mathal-mamthūl* binarism: al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-6 (Appendix-4:19), 1-81, 1-89 (Appendix-4:25), 2-172end, 3-227 *matn*, *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1214H (Appendix-4:173—the season of worship and its *mamthūl*), 1216H (*zamzamy al-ḥikmah*), and 1244H (Appendix-4:178—'Alī as the one who defines the *mathal* and the *mamthūl* and is '*mamthūl mathal al-safinah*'). An excellent example of this binarism is in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1356H (Appendix-4:189).

²⁹³ Silent and Speaking refers not simply to written vs. oral. Silent implies that it is inanimate, whether written or oral, while Speaking, because of the signification of *nuṭq* in Arabic as mentioned above, implies animation, thought and agency.

historical anecdotes upon which it is based²⁹⁴. The verses 23:62 and 45:29 describe the Qur'ān as speaking the Truth or with Righteousness (*yanṭiqu bi al-ḥaqq*). Al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 2-137) asserts that the *kitāb* as 'speaking' is not simply metaphorical. The veracity of the Qur'ānic statement relies, he argues, on the realization of the *mamthūl* of the *kitāb*: the Imām. He contends that, according to tradition, 'Alī went out one day with the Qur'ān on his head, addressed the text of the Qur'ān and said, 'O Book of Allāh, speak!'. After repeating this thrice, 'Alī declared that the text is the 'Silent' Book of Allāh, and indeed he himself is the 'Speaking' Book of Allāh (*kitāb Allāh al-nāṭiq*). Another word used to present this idea is *qarīn al-Qur'ān* (companion of the Qur'ān). This is based on an assertion, presented by al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 2-278), that the very word Qur'ān is 'extracted from' *qarana*, to join. On the surface it was called Qur'ān because it combined the parables of distant communities. The true meaning, however, is that the inanimate Silent Qur'ān has an animate Speaking counterpart. Initially referring to 'Alī, the words *qarīn* and *kitāb Allāh al-nāṭiq* are also used for the Imāms, underscoring the concept of *tasalsul*²⁹⁵. At another occasion al-Mu'ayyad (3-265) presents a *Ḥadīth*, that is also widely cited by Sunnī sources, in which Muhammad connects the Qur'ān and his progeny. Muhammad states, 'I leave amongst you two weighty objects (*al-thaqalayn*): the Book of Allāh and my progeny'²⁹⁶. Being the counterpart to the Qur'ān, according to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the Imām carries the copyright to the text's interpretation.

With these binarisms in mind, it is not surprising that many Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds cite Qur'ānic or even non-Qur'ānic phrases, conscious of their esoteric signification. The author either explicitly relates the literary signification of the phrase with its *mamthūl*, that which it signifies or specifically refers to in the esoteric tradition, or alternatively assumes that the audience, based on their background, will create an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with the *mamthūl*.

The following concise Ṭahmīd in the beginning of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im*, vol.I, Part-1, Majlis-1 (Appendix-4:4), is a good illustration of an esoteric *fikrah*-relation:

²⁹⁴ See for example al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-182end (Appendix-4:43), Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm, *Risālat al-Iḥsān* (Appendix-4:114) and 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Wafīd, *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, Majlis-111 (Appendix-4:144), *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah*, 1244H (Appendix-4:178).

²⁹⁵ See for example al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-121end (Appendix-4:28—'Alī) and 2-123 (Appendix-4:29—Imāms).

²⁹⁶ *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no.10707, 10779, 20596; *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no. 3720, *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, no. 4425.

الحمد لله مخرج الودق ومقدر الرزق، وخالق العباد في بطون أمهاتهم خلقاً من بعد خلق^(39:6)، وصلى الله على أفضل البرية محمد نبيه والائمة من ذريته العترة الهادية الزكية . . .

In the context of a work on the *ta'wīl* of the *Sharī'ah*, the modified Qur'ānic quotation of verse 39:6: 'He creates you in the wombs of your mother, creation after creation', immediately evokes an esoteric *fikrah*-relation. Following the Ṭahmīd, al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān expounds on the meaning which he assumes that his target audience would have appreciated based on their background. He explains that the 'creation after creation' in a mother's womb signifies the movement from one level of knowledge to another. The mothers, he maintains, are simultaneously *mustafīdūn* and *mufīdūn*, they receive knowledge from those above them and pass it on to those below them. Their wombs, (*butūn*) represent the inner esoteric meaning (*bātin al-ilm*), in which they shift those who receive knowledge, from one creation to the next, from one level to the next.

An illustration of an esoteric *fikrah*-relation being created by a non-Qur'ānic phrase is in the following Ṭahmīd by Ḥasan b. Tāj in *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161):

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله الذي ارسل رُسُلَهُ لِيَهْدُوا الْخَالِقِ إِلَى سَبِيلِ الرَّشَادِ، . . . وَاَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ خَيْرُ نَبِيٍّ شَهِدَتْ لِنُبُوَّتِهِ الْأَشْجَارُ وَالْأَحْجَارُ الْجَمَادُ . . .

In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context, the testimony of the trees and stones to Muhammad's Prophethood evokes an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with its meaning explicated elsewhere: each inanimate tree and stone, by virtue of having six sides (up, down, right, left, front, back), acknowledges the Prophethood of Muhammad, the sixth in line of Prophets who brought forth a new religion (*nātiqs*)²⁹⁷.

In other instances, the esoteric signification is clearly and explicitly stated, making the relation an esoteric *nisbah*-relation. The following passage from the introduction of the Yemeni Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's momentous seven volume historical work, *'Uyūn al-Akhbār*, vol.I (Appendix-4:152), combines both *nisbah* and *fikrah* esoteric relations that highlight the inner meaning of Qur'ānic verses.

²⁹⁷ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *wa'z* sermon.

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ نَبِيِّ دَمَرَ اللَّهُ بِهِ الْكُفَّارَ تَدْمِيرًا، وَأَتَاهُ عَلَى جَمِيعِ أَنْبِيَائِهِ فَضْلًا كَبِيرًا^(33:47)، وَأَوْرَثَ مُتَّبِعِيهِ جَنَّاتٍ وَحَرِيرًا^(22:23)، فَجَعَلُوا فِيهَا أَنْهَارَ النَّعِيمِ تَجْعِيرًا^(17:91)، وَأَصْلَى مُعَانِدِيهِ وَجَاحِدِيهِ سَعِيرًا، وَجَعَلَ ذُرِّيَّتَهُ عَلِيُّ بْنُ أَبِي طَالِبٍ لَهُ مُعِينًا وَنَصِيرًا، وَشَرِيكًا إِلَّا فِي التَّوْبَةِ وَوَزِيرًا، وَأَخَا كَاهِنُونَ مِنْ مُوسَى وَظَهْرًا^(7:142)، وَأَنْزَلَ فِيهِ مَعَ الرَّسُولِ وَفِي بَيْتِهِ وَابْنَيْهِمَا ﴿إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ تَطْهِيرًا﴾^(33:33)، وَأَوْضَحَ اللَّهُ فَضْلَهُ عَلَى لِسَانِ رَسُولِهِ وَجَعَلَهُ شَهِيدًا، وَأَنْزَلَ فِيهِ ﴿وَيُطْعِمُونَ الطَّعَامَ عَلَى حُبِّهِ مِسْكِينًا وَيَتِيمًا وَأَسِيرًا﴾^(76:8)، صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ مِنْ وَصِيِّ جَاهِدِ الْكُفَّارَ وَالْمُنَافِقِينَ، وَأَتَمَّ اللَّهُ بَوْلَانِهِ النِّعْمَةَ وَأَكْمَلَ الدِّينَ^(5:3)، وَجَعَلَ ذُرِّيَّتَهُ الَّذِينَ فِيهِمُ الْإِمَامَةُ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ هُمُ الْبَاقِينَ^(37:77)، وَاخْتَارَهُمْ عَلَى عِلْمٍ عَلَى الْعَالَمِينَ^(44:32)،

The *ahl al-bayt* in verse 33:33 are clearly specified through an esoteric *nisbah*-relation as Muhammad, ‘Alī, Fāṭimah and their two sons, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. The other verse in this passage, 76:8, specifies the subject of the verb ‘feeds’ (*yut‘imūn*) as ‘Alī. Both verses also create a *fikrah*-relation with the historic anecdotes relating to the verses²⁹⁸. The reference to Mūsā and Hārūn (7:142) and the completion of the religion (5:3) create the esoteric *fikrah*-relations referred to earlier.

Another example of esoteric *nisbah*-relations in Ṭahmīds is from the *salawāt* on the Imāms in ‘Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Wafīd’s, *Majālis al-Nuṣḥ*, Majlis-108(Appendix-4:140):

وَعَلَى الْأَئِمَّةِ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِهِ أَهْلُ الذِّكْرِ الَّذِينَ افْتَرَضَ اللَّهُ سُؤَالَهُمْ
وَسَمَى جَدَّهُمُ الْمُصْطَفَى فِي كِتَابِهِ الْكَرِيمِ^(16:43 and 21:7)
ذِكْرًا^(65:10-11)...

In verses 16:43 and 21:7 God commands listeners to ask, literally, the people or family of Remembrance (*ahl al-dhikr*), if they do not know. In the Ṭahmīd, based on the reference in the following phrase that states that Muhammad is referred to as *dhikr* in the Qur’ān (65:10-11), an esoteric *nisbah*-relation is created between *ahl al-dhikr* and the Imāms, for the Imāms are the family of *dhikr*, that is Muhammad²⁹⁹.

²⁹⁸ Historical account of ‘*tathīr* verse’ (33:33) in al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān, *Sharḥ*, vol. 10, pp. 489-492. Brief reference to verse 76:8 in *Sharḥ*, vol. 9, p. 353.

²⁹⁹ Also see the *salawāt* on the Dā’īs in Miyaḥ Ṣāḥib Wafī bhāi’s *Risālat al-Najm al-Thāqib* (Appendix-4:181), for additional examples of esoteric *nisbah*-relations.

An existential complementary binarism, that anchors the ones mentioned above, is that of the physical, tangible or dense (*jismānī*, *maḥsūs* or *kathīf*) on the one hand and the spiritual, intellectual or intangible (*nafsānī*, *ma'qūl* or *laṭīf*). This binarism forms the larger frame of reference in which the *tanzīl-ta'wīl*, the *mathal-mamthūl* and *ṣāmit-nātiq* binarisms are couched. With its foundation in the Qur'ānic verse 51:49: 'And all things We created in pairs; haply you will remember', not only does this binarism contextualize the interpretation of revelation, it offers a unique outlook of existence at large. Commonly interpreted as the binarism of the sexes, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī interpretation of the verse sees the pair even within each individual entity, serving as a testament to the Unity of God³⁰⁰. Each human is constituted of a body and soul³⁰¹; we have the *qalam* and *lawḥ*; the universe is this world (*dunyā*) and the Hereafter (*ākhirah*), worship (*'ibādah*) is *'ilmiyyah* and *'amaliyyah*, religion is *islām* and *īmān*, communication is *lafẓ* and *ma'nā*, perception is *maḥsūs* and *ma'qūl*, perception is through *baṣar* and *baṣīrah*, and indeed meaning is *ẓāhir* and *bātin*. The following Ṭahmīd by al-Mu'ayyad is an excellent representation of this binarism³⁰²:

- (1) الحمد لله الذي خلق العالم الجسماني جامعاً لمحاسن التقدير، وشاهداً بحسن التدبير، للحكيم الخبير، الذي ﴿هو﴾
على كل شيء قدير ﴿...﴾ (5:120)، بسماءات ﴿رفَعَ سَمَكُهَا فَسَوَّاهَا، وَاغْطَشَ لَبَلَهَا وَأَخْرَجَ ضَحَاهَا، وَالْأَرْضَ بَعْدَ
ذَلِكَ دَحَاهَا، أَخْرَجَ مِنْهَا مَاءَهَا وَمَرْعَاهَا﴾، وجبالاً شوامخاً أرساها (79:28-32)،
- (2) إكمالاً للخلق الطبيعي وإدراكاً للرزق الجسداني، وقابل ما خلقه من العالم الجسماني بالعالم الروحاني،
- (3) الذي هو المعاد، وإليه يصير العباد، فزنته بسماءات نفسانية، ذات شهب نورانية، وأرض مقدسة روحانية،
يخرج بإذن ربها نباتها (7:58) قوتاً للأرواح القدسية اللطيفة، وشأاً للصور الروحانية الشريفة، حكمة لمن تدبرها بالغفة
(54:5)، ونعمة على من عرفها سابعة...،

³⁰⁰ The binarism of all else as a testament to God's unity is referred in the Ṭahmīd of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1215H (Appendix-4:174).

³⁰¹ According to the *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*, 1215H, it is for this reason, that a human is called *insān*. The *ān* is of the dual, referring to the body and soul. The binarism of the body and soul is also quite widely accepted in Christian theology and Greek mythology.

³⁰² The beginning portion of this Ṭahmīd first appears in al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-36. A slightly modified version appears again twice: in 2-111 and 2-191 (Appendix-4:49). The repetition of this *ḥamd* demonstrates the importance of this complementary binarism as the one that sustains all other binarisms. See also, 1- 60 (Appendix-4:23), 3-207, 3-255 *matn* (Appendix-4:59).

The Ṭahmīd clearly sets out two parallel worlds: the *jismānī* and the *rūḥānī*. The complementary binarism is created and enhanced by the structure and rhetorical elements of the Ṭahmīd. The first segment beginning with *alladhī* focuses attention on the *jismānī* with introductory phrases with the rhyme *īr*, stressing God's *ḥikmah* and *tadbīr*. The change of rhyme begins the description of the *jismānī* world with the aid of Qur'ānic verses. Another change of rhyme and the use of the verbal noun, *ikmālan*, marks the transition phase in which both the *jismānī* and *rūḥānī* are mentioned. The third segment, separated again with the parallel appearance of *alladhī* and another change in rhyme, introduces the *rūḥānī* world with a couplet. The subsequent change in rhyme follows the lead from segment-1 in describing the *rūḥānī* world, except that it is described using parallel abstract entities to the physical entities enumerated in the Qur'ānic verse in relation to the *jismānī* world. The sky is a *nafsānī* sky; the stars are of *nūr*; the earth is holy and *rūḥānī*. And just as the *jismānī* provides sustenance for the body, the *rūḥānī* provides nourishment for the soul. Based on *fikrah*-relations with other Ṭahmīds, the *nafsānī* sky is the Prophet, raining with the revealed words that cultivate the land, the *waṣīyy*, from whom the fruits of knowledge grow³⁰³.

The Ṭahmīd of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1356H(Appendix-4:189), written by Syedna Taher Saifuddin, is unique in that it establishes the *mathal* and *mamthūl* binarism at the onset, and finally links it with the duality of *laṭīf-kathīf* (or *nafsānī-rūḥānī*). The following excerpt is a sample of the binarism that is consciously maintained throughout the rather extended Ṭahmīd (over forty A5 pages) focusing on the rites of *hajj*:

الحمد لله الذي جعل الكعبة البيت الحرام قياماً للناس^(5:95)، وجعله مثلاً كريماً على كل قائم له بحجة جعله إماماً للناس،
وطهره للطائفين والقائمين والركع السجود^(2:125 and 22:26) من جميع الأوضار والأدناس، وجعل كلاً بيته المطهرين رفيع
القواعد ثابت الأساس، وأسدل على كليهما سترًا شريفًا هو من أفخر اللباس، وجعله مثابة للناس وأمناً^(2:125)، ملأه
بركةً ويمنًا، وضمن لمن حج إليه عظيم ثوابه ضمناً، وجعل فيه الحجر الأسود مكاناً يمينه، إشارة إلى يد ولي الله في
أرضه وأمينه، وجعل أسلامه مثل البيعة والميثاق ليشهد لمن أدى أمانته وتعاهد ميثاقه بالبلاغ، وأعد اليم عذابه لمن

³⁰³ This is based on a reading of other Ṭahmīds from the *Majālis*, 2-160 (Appendix-4:40) and 3-247 *matn*. This binarism is also alluded to in this verse praising the Imām in al-Mu'ayyad's *Diwān*:

مَجْدٌ سَمَا فَهُوَ لِلْسَّمَاءِ سَمًا * أَبُو تَعِيمٍ بِمَجْدِهِ وَسَمًا

عَدَلَ عَنْ هَذِهِ الطَّرِيقَةِ الْمَثَلِيَّ وَزَاعَ، . . . وَجَعَلَ بَيْنَهُ الْحَيَّ النَّاطِقَ أَفْضَلَ مِنَ الْبَيْتِ الْجَمَادِ، وَارْفَعَ فِي الْمَجْدِ عِمَادًا وَإِنْ
كَانَ الْبَيْتُ الْجَمَادُ رَفِيعَ الْعِمَادِ، وَجَعَلَ الْكَثِيفَ قِبْلَةَ الْكَثِيفِ، وَاللَّطِيفَ قِبْلَةَ اللَّطِيفِ، وَشَرَّفَهُمَا جَمِيعًا مِنْ مَثَلِ كَرِيمٍ
وَمَثُولِ شَرِيفٍ—

The parallel rhyme and rhythm of the respective phrases establishing the *mathal* and the *mamthūl* enhance the impact of the binarism. While the superiority of the *mamthūl* is clearly stated, both are deemed necessary, not the least as a result of their being stated in parallel phrases. The relation and binarism here too is a complementary one. The end of the first segment sees the binarism of *mathal-mamthūl* being linked to the binarism of *laṭīf-kathīf*. The *Ka'bah*, the *mathal*, which is physical, is the *qiblah* for the *kathīf*, the body, as in the practice of ritual prayer. The *mamthūl*, which is in its essence *rūḥānī*, is the *qiblah* for the *laṭīf*, the soul. The mention of the *sitr*, the drapes that adorn both *Ka'bahs* (*kilayhimā*), in the first segment, creates firstly a *fikrah*-relation with the physical drapes that adorn the *Ka'bah*, and secondly an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with the Dā'īs, the veils (*hujub*) who 'cover' the Imām in the time of seclusion. While the relation is not explicitly stated here, near to the end of this Ṭahmīd, in the *ṣalawāt* on the Dā'īs, the following phrase explicates the relation:

الْحَالِثِينَ مِنَ الْكَعْبَةِ الْحَيَّةِ النَّاطِقَةِ الْحَرَامِ مَحَلَّ الْكِسْوَةِ . . .

In the context of *hajj*, an awareness of what the symbols signify is achieved through these relations. The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd thus demands from its audience the recognition of this binarism and expects to enlighten them through it.

This leads us to another special relation, that also fits into the mould of complementary binarisms: the *zuhūr* period, in which the Imām and his whereabouts are known, and the *satr* period, in which the Imām is in seclusion and is represented by the Dā'ī. The following excerpt from the Ṭahmīd in the Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd's *Majālis al-Nuṣḥ*, Majlis-109 (Appendix-4:142) is an illustration of this binarism:

الحمدُ لله المتعالي عن مسمى الاوهام والافكار، الذي له ما سَكَنَ في الليل والنهار، وكلُّ شيءٍ عنده بمقدار^(13:8)،
مؤسس دينه على مثال خلقه في التعقُبِ بين الإعلان والإسرار، والظهورِ تارةً والإستِارِ، لَمَّا اقْتَضَتْهُ حِكْمَةُ وَأَوْجَبَتْهُ
عَدْلُهُ مِنْ خَفِيِّ الأسرارِ . . .

The binarism is presented through a relation with a frequently used secondary relata: the succession of day and night mirroring *zuhūr* and *satr* respectively. Through this relation with secondary relata, not only is the binarism easier to perceive but is shown to be as natural as the cycle of nature. This relation also evokes a number of *fikrah*-relations: as the two periods represent day and night, the Imām and the Dā'ī are the *nafsānī* sun and moon respectively. Following the statement in the Ṭahmīd that 'God has established His religion on the model of His creation', the relationship of the sun and moon in nature is also applied to its *nafsānī* counterparts. Just as the moon accepts and reflects the sun's light, the Dā'ī receives the rays of enlightenment (*fayḍ*), from the Imām during the night of *satr*. The Dā'īs are often related to the Imām as mirrors of the Imām's divine light (*nūr*), and as drawing support (*ta'īd*), from him³⁰⁴. This relation contextualizes the Imām's seclusion and establishes the legitimacy of the Dā'īs authority.

The complementary binarisms, which are illustrated above, play a major role in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds and infiltrate many levels. An understanding of these binarisms is essential to appreciate fully the depth of relations and the outlook that is presented in these Ṭahmīds. The roles of key relata, Muhammad and 'Alī, the Imām and his successor (*ḥujjah*), and the Imām and Dā'ī in time of seclusion (*satr*), are defined through this binarism. The binarism of the *nafsānī* and *jismānī* sustains the fundamental binarism of this world and the Hereafter, of the revealed word and its inner meaning. The Ṭahmīd is the bridge where these two worlds intersect, allowing a seamless transition from one to the other.

Individual Stock Relations

Having dealt with the relation with God, and a series of special relations, it is worth noting briefly some of the other stock relations of relata in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds.

³⁰⁴ For example, Miya Ṣaḥib Walī bhāi in *Risālat al-Najm al-Thāqib* (Appendix-4:181) states in the *ṣalawāt* on the Dā'īs: 'fā lama 'at minhum ashi' 'atu anwārihim'.

The range of relations is almost infinite, and only a selection of relations that are repeated regularly is presented.

Muhammad is routinely positioned with relation to God as His chosen one, (*muṣṭafā*)³⁰⁵, with the Prophets as their leader (*sayyid*)³⁰⁶, and with mankind in general as the best (*khayr*)³⁰⁷. His role is defined with relation to revelation, the Qur'ān and the *Sharī'ah* as mentioned earlier³⁰⁸, the personification of God's mercy (*raḥmah*) and guidance (*hidāyah*)³⁰⁹, especially the arduous task of guiding from paganism to Islam³¹⁰, and intercession (*shafā'ah*)³¹¹. The complementary binarism of *bashīr* and *nadhīr*, based on Qur'ān 48:8..., is also often used to describe the Prophet³¹². The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition also stresses the *nisbah*-relation between Muhammad and 'Alī identifying him as his successor (*waṣiyy*), brother, cousin and son in law³¹³. Similarly, the *nisbah*-relation with the Imāms, as their grandfather (*jadd*) is also emphasized³¹⁴. All in all, the relations concerned with Muhammad establish him as the supreme Prophet and saviour.

'Alī's position with relation to God is as His elect (*waliyy*) and namesake (*samiyy*)³¹⁵. The relation with Muhammad is as mentioned above, as his successor (*waṣiyy*), brother, *wazīr*, cousin and son in law. The succession is often highlighted with reference to verse 5:3³¹⁶. There is another complementary binarism that relates with 'Alī, manifested in his description as knight of the pulpit and the battlefield (*fāris al-minbar wa al-maydān*), or in the words *sayf-qalam*³¹⁷. The pulpit relates to 'Alī as the source of *ta'wīl*, for which he is often described as *qarīn al-Qur'ān* or *Qur'ān nātiq*, as mentioned earlier, while the battlefield stresses, with reference to various battles, his role in the

³⁰⁵ For example, al-Mu'ayyad, *Sīrah* (Appendix-4:14—*muṣṭafā*).

³⁰⁶ For example, Qamruddin b. Hibat-Allāh, *Dāfi'at al-Aḥzān* (Appendix-4:165—*sayyid al-mursalin*).

³⁰⁷ For example, al-Majālis al-Ṭayyibiyyah (Appendix-4:169).

³⁰⁸ For example, al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-75 (Appendix-4:24—*waḥy/tanzīl*), 3-204 (Appendix-4:53—Qur'ān). Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *al-Maṣābīḥ* (Appendix-4:11—*shar'*).

³⁰⁹ For example, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1177H (Appendix-4:166—*raḥmah/hidāyah*).

³¹⁰ For example, Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1349H (Appendix-4:185—*nāhiyan 'an 'ibādat al-aṣnām*).

³¹¹ For example, Qamruddin b. Hibat-Allāh, *Dāfi'at al-Aḥzān* (Appendix-4:165).

³¹² For example, al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-144 (Appendix-4:36—*al-mab'ūthi bashīran wa nadhīra*).

³¹³ For example, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *Tanbīh al-Hādī* (Appendix-4:13—*ahīhi wa waṣiyyih*), al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-1 (Appendix-4:163—*waṣiyy*), 2-123 (Appendix-4:29—*wazīr*), 2-137 (Appendix-4:35—*zawj ibnatih*), 2-144 (Appendix-4:36—*akhīhi/ibn 'ammih*).

³¹⁴ For example, Husayn b. al-Walīd, *al-Risālah al-Kāmilah* (Appendix-4:150—*sharī'at jaddihim*).

³¹⁵ For example, Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī, *al-Risālah al-Waḍiyyah* (Appendix-4:12—*waliyy-Allāh*), *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1246H (Appendix-4:179—*asamiyyah kān li-Allāh al-'Alī*).

³¹⁶ For example, al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-16 (Appendix-4:21).

³¹⁷ For example, al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-121end (Appendix-4:28—*fāris al-minbar wa al-maydān*).

establishment of Islam alongside Muhammad. 'Alī's *nisbah*-relation with the Imāms as their father (abb) is also frequently created³¹⁸.

Fāṭimah is often identified through three prime *nisbah*-relations: with her father Muhammad, her husband 'Alī and her sons the Imāms. Her role as the vital link between Muhammad, 'Alī and the Imāms, mentioned earlier, is often highlighted. The descriptive dimension of *sayyidat nisā' al-'ālamīn* is often repeated, creating a *fikrah*-relation with the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet³¹⁹. Her suffering after the death of the Prophet is also commonly mentioned³²⁰. She is also described by creating a relation with Mary³²¹.

Ḥasan and Ḥusayn are generally related with Fāṭimah, with the proposition that they have attained physical and intellectual nourishment from her. Their suffering and martyrdom, especially that of Ḥusayn, frequently forms part of their descriptions³²². They are also commonly described as *sayyidā shabāb ahl al-jannah*, again, creating a *fikrah*-relation with the *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet³²³. Another prime relation with regard to Ḥusayn is as father of the Imāms in his progeny³²⁴.

The Imāms, apart from the obvious *nisbah*-relation with Muhammad, 'Alī, Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, are often related to God as the intermediaries through whom He guides³²⁵. The roles and descriptive dimensions of the Imāms are all inherited from Muhammad and 'Alī. All that is mentioned above, including *rahmah*, *hidāyah*, and *qarīn al-Qur'ān*, is readily related to the Imāms. The Imāms are related to the Dā'īs as their source of intellectual sustenance and enlightenment. The Dā'īs in turn are described mainly as their representatives (*nuwwāb*)³²⁶, those who keep alive the *Da'wah* of the

³¹⁸ For example, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1177H (Appendix-4:166—*abūhum*).

³¹⁹ *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no.3714, 3808, 3828; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, no.1610; *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no.11332, 11192, 22240, 25209; *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, no.3353, 5812; *Ṣaḥīḥ-Muslim*, no.4487, 4488.

³²⁰ For example, Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, *al-Risālah al-Kāmilah (zawjatih, sayyidat al-nisā', lābisati ba'd abihā jilbāb al-ḥuzn, al-nujabā' min najlihā)*.

³²¹ For example, Miya Ṣāhib Walī bhāi, *Risālat al-Najm al-Thāqib* (Appendix-4:181—*shabīhat Maryam*).

³²² For example, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1246H (Appendix-4:179—*sayyidā shabāb ahl al-jannah*), Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (Appendix-4:182—*raḍī'ay darrihā, masmūnan shahīda, arāda al-zalamatu bi qatlih*).

³²³ *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no.3714, 3701; *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, no.115; *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no.10576, 11351, 11166, 11192.

³²⁴ *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1246H (Appendix-4:179—*a'immat min dhurriyyatih*).

³²⁵ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1337H (Appendix-4:184—*hadāna bi Muḥammadin wa āl Muḥammad*).

³²⁶ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1349H (Appendix-4:185—*aqāma bayna zahrānay al-nās nuwwāba du'ātan muṭlaqīna*).

Imām, through whom the Imām's *nūr* is visible³²⁷. Different images and secondary relations are used, including being the instruments used by the Imām³²⁸.

Conclusion

The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd, like the broader tradition, encapsulates and symbolizes the tenets of its belief. The components, the added sub-components and the structure and nature of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd relations, all combine to include the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī community as part of the larger Muslim *ummah*. At the same time, they highlight the relations and beliefs that distinguish it. Its uniqueness lies in its ability to embed theological wisdom (*ma'rifah*) within the Ṭahmīd on the basis of the binary view of existence, the physical and intellectual (see Fig.1 below).

The binarisms highlighted might also be viewed as creating an esoteric 'system of language', to use Saussure's terminology. The complementary binaries are anticipated at the most basic level: literal and extra-literal. Familiarity with this 'esoteric' language, which exists as a substratum of the Arabic language system, ensures access to a complete different dimension of meaning. The system also ensures that the 'extraction' of the inner-meaning has its own rules. Each 'signifier', rather than being synchronic and static, has an infinite number of diachronic and dynamic 'signifieds' which make the Ṭahmīd relevant to an equally infinite number of experiences and contexts. Only those with the authority to extrapolate meaning, the Imām, and the Dā'ī in his seclusion, are able to define previously unknown significations. This proposition makes even age-old texts relevant to contemporary issues and contexts. This is demonstrated further in the analysis of Ṭahmīds in different phases of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition in the following chapter.

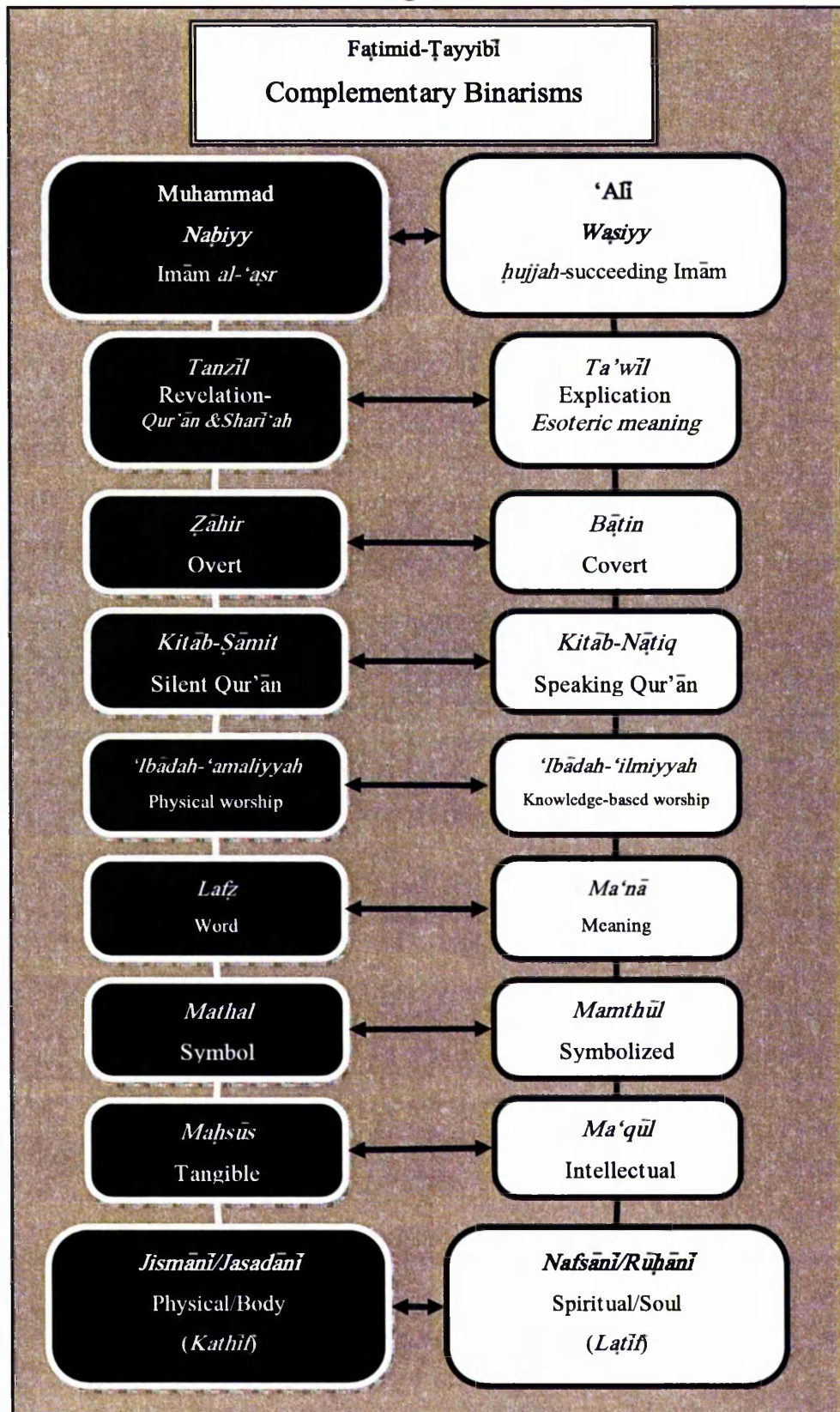
والحمد لله الذي يُقَوِّي المَعَارِفَ تَحْمِيدُهُ، وَيَشْحَذُ البَصَائِرَ تَجْدِيدُهُ، وَيَنْبُو عَنِ الشَّرِكِ تَوْحِيدُهُ³²⁹،

³²⁷ *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1214H (Appendix-4:173—*al-muqīm Da'watuhu bi du'ātihi al-mahdiyyīn, al-mumiddīn du'ātaḥum*), Ḥasan b. Tāj, *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161—*zāhara nūruh bi ḥujajihī wa du'ātihi*).

³²⁸ *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244H (Appendix-4:178—*hum ālātu ṣan'ātihi*).

³²⁹ Al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-188end (Appendix-4:48).

Figure-I



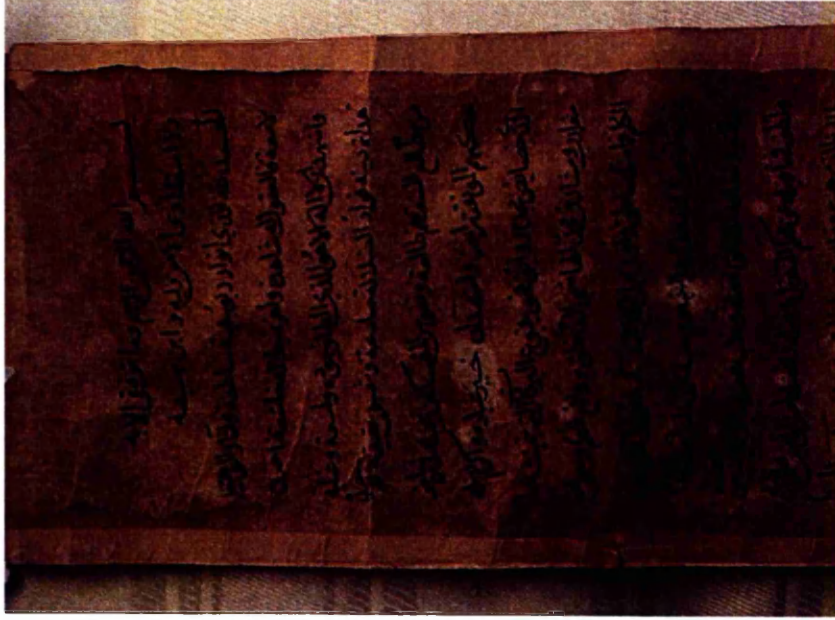


Plate-VIIa

The Tahmīd in an original manuscript of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1224H (Appendix-4:176) written in the time of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn. The *basamalalah* is believed to have been written by the Dā'ī himself.

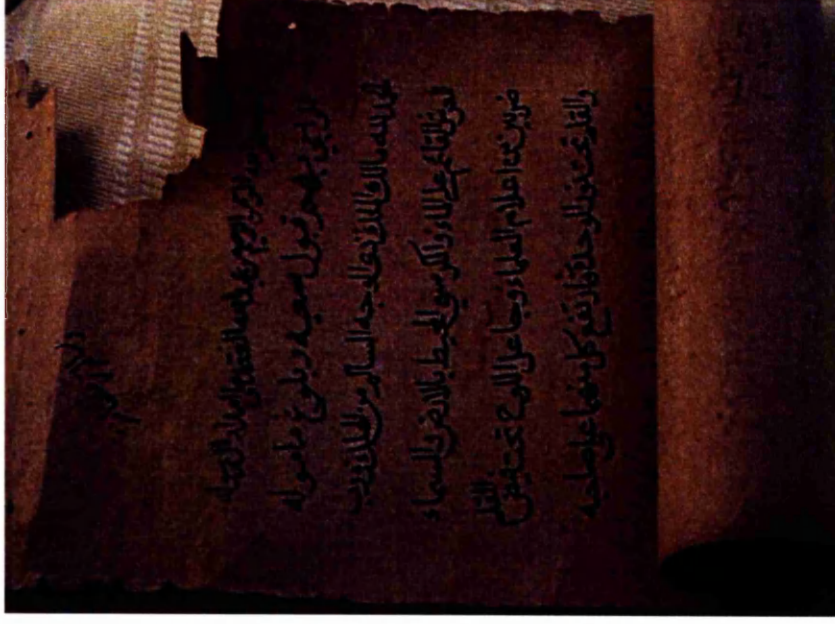


Plate-VIIb

The Tahmīd in an original manuscript of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244H (Appendix-4:178) written in the time of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn. The *basamalalah* is believed to have been written by the Dā'ī himself.

CHAPTER-VI

THE FATIMID-ṬAYYIBĪ TAḤMĪD TRADITION:

THE THREE PHASES

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ حَمْدًا مَن عَرَفَ الْحَمْدَ حَقَّ مَعْرِفَتِهِ، وَأَخْلَصَهُ وَوَقَفَ عَلَى حَقِّقَتِهِ³³⁰،

وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ شَمْسَ الْأَنْبِيَاءِ وَتَاجَهُمْ، وَمَنْخَرُ الْأَئِمَّةِ
الْأَبْرَارِ وَسِرَاجَهُمْ، مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدَهُ وَرَسُولَهُ الَّذِي اخْتَصَهُ بِالرَّسَالَةِ مَنَّةً مِنْهُ وَفَضْلًا، وَجَعَلَ فِي ذُرِّيَّتِهِ
الْإِمَامَةَ إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ تَشْرِيفًا مِنْهُ وَطَوْلًا³³¹،

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَعَلَى وَصِيهِ الْحَامِلِ لِأَعْيَاءِ الْخِلَافَةِ بَعْدَهُ، الْمُوَكَّلِ بِتَاوِيلِ الْكِتَابِ الصَّامِتِ مِنَ الْكِتَابِ
النَّاطِقِ مِنْ عِنْدِهِ، وَعَلَى الْأَئِمَّةِ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِهِمَا حُجُبِ الْأَنْوَارِ الْقُدْسِيَةِ الْإِلَهِيَّةِ، الظَّاهِرِينَ لِرَايِ الْعَيْنِ فِي
الْأَجْسَامِ الطَّاهِرَةِ الزَّكِيَّةِ النَّاسُوتِيَّةِ، حَبْلِ اللَّهِ الْمُتَيْنِ^(3:103)، وَالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى لِلْمُتَسَكِّينِ^(2:256)،³³²

صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِمْ وَعَلَى وَارِثِ مَقَامِهِمْ، وَحَافِظِ عَقْدِ نِظَامِهِمْ، شَمْسِ عَالَمِ الدِّينِ مَرْكَزِ حَيَاةِ قَلْبِهِ،
مُصَدِّقِ قَوْلِهِ الْوَاقِعِ الْمُبْعَادِ لِنَبِيِّهِ ﷺ، ﴿إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ مُنْذِرٌ وَلِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ﴾^(13:7) مِنْ هُدَايَتِهِ،
وَحَمَلَةِ سِرِّهِ وَخَزَائِنِهِ، الْمُخْتَجِبِ عَنْ ظَوَاهِرِ الْعُيُونِ احْتِجَابِ الشَّمْسِ الطَّبِيعِيَّةِ بِاللَّيْلِ لِيُزْدَوِّجَ الدِّينَ
بِالْخَلْقِ وَيَصْبَحَ الْوَحْدَانِيَّةُ لِرَبِّ الْأَرْبَابِ بِعَظِيمِ قُدْرَتِهِ، الْحَاضِرِ بِحُدُودِهِ الْمُخْتَارِينَ الْمُصْطَفِينَ بِالْأَمْرِ
وَالِإِذْنِ فِي الدَّعْوَةِ الْبَيِّنَةِ^٢، وَعَلَى رُتَبَتِهِ، لِيَتَّصِلَ حَبْلُ الْهُدَايَةِ فِي خَتْمِهِ كَاتِبًا لَهُ فِي جَهَنَّمَ³³³،

Introduction

On the basis of an analysis of a representative Ṭahmīd from each of the three phases: Egypt (4th–6th/10th–12th century), Yemen (6th–10th/12th–16th century) and India (10th–14th/16th–20th century), this chapter analyzes the adaptation and expansion of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition to meet changing religious and geopolitical circumstances on the one hand and to ensure the continuity of the fundamental values and motifs of the tradition on the other. The demarcation between these three periods is primarily based on geographical changes in the headquarters of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*, each

³³⁰ Excerpt-Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Ta'wīl al-Da'aim*, vol.I, Part-1, Majlis-7; from the Fatimid phase.

³³¹ Excerpt-Al-Kirmānī, *al-Maṣābīḥ* (Appendix-4:11); from the Fatimid phase.

³³² Excerpt-Dā' Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm, *Risālat al-Iḥsān* (Appendix-4:114); from the Yemeni phase.

³³³ Excerpt-*Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-117H (Appendix-4:166); from the Indian phase

accompanied by a fundamental shift in its religious and political dynamics: (i) overt religious and political authority of the Imām in Fatimid Egypt which constituted the period of *zuhūr*, (ii) the transition to the *satr* period following the seclusion of al-Ṭayyib with the leadership of the community entrusted to the Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq (or Dā'ī *al-satr*), the Imām's representative in Yemen, a period with only partial political authority, and (iii) the continued religious but 'apolitical' authority of the Dā'ī following the transfer of headquarters from Yemen to India. The demarcation is helpful because it corresponds to changes in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd, in particular the increase in length³³⁴. An overview of the religious and geopolitical dynamics of the three phases, alongside a survey of the most influential authors in each period, will provide a foundation for the analysis of one sample Ṭahmīd from each phase.

The Fatimid Phase

The Ṭahmīd in the Fatimid stage is distinguished by its binary outlook, the persistent *ṣalawāt* on 'Alī and the progeny of Muhammad, and by the relative increase in length compared to earlier dynasties. The establishment of a Fatimid state in North-Africa³³⁵, the subsequent spread of its political influence and eventually the conquest of Egypt and the founding of the capital, Cairo, allowed for the first time the overt declaration of Fatimid ideology without fear of persecution³³⁶. The physical and spiritual affiliation with the Prophet, which was the basis for Fatimid authority, is clearly represented in Ṭahmīds in chancery and non-chancery documents. Examples of chancery documents, referred to and analyzed in previous chapters, also show a consciousness of the concepts

³³⁴ Although there is a wider trend of prolixity in Arabic compositions in India in this period, it is certain that no other tradition extended the Ṭahmīd as much as the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*. A more detailed survey of Indian Ṭahmīds outside the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition is perhaps a project for the future.

³³⁵ Note that, from an ideological perspective, the line of Imāms, the *tasalsul*, that is referred over and again begins with Muhammad and then 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn, 'Alī b. Ḥusayn and so on. 'Alī himself, who is considered the rightful successor to Muhammad, did not command political authority except for the last four years of his life. His son Ḥasan made a truce with Mu'awiyah and conceded the political authority. According to Fatimid-Ṭayyibī belief, however, Imāms are Imāms with or without political authority. The spiritual authority was inherited through a continued chain of Imāms from Muhammad and 'Alī through to al-Mahdī, founder of the Fatimid caliphate.

³³⁶ The only earlier example of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds (Ismā'īlī Ṭahmīds) would be those in the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, if it is accepted that they were indeed authored by Ismā'īlī Dā'īs. All 52 *risālahs* begin with a very standard (Appendix-2:80):

الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى الله خير اما يشركون،

In a few instances there is also a brief *ṣalawāt*, the ending Ṭahmīd of *risālah* no. 20 for instance; significantly, the *ṣalawāt* is on Muhammad and his 'good and pure progeny'. There are several Ṭahmīds (Appendix-2:81-86) in the context of the case of the animals referred to earlier.

of *tasalsul* and the binarisms discussed above³³⁷. There are indications of a connection and transference in terms of style, structure and spirit between Ṭahmīds in Fatimid chancery and non-chancery documents.

The earliest Ṭahmīds of non-chancery documents that survive are from the 4th/10th century. Among these, the works of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974) are the most prominent. His famous work *Da'ā'im al-Islām* (Appendix-4:3), on principles and practice of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī jurisprudence, begins with a very brief Ṭahmīd, with an explicit *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad and the Imāms in his progeny. The *Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im* (Appendix-4:4-8), the esoteric interpretation of the principles and practices outlined in the earlier text, is possibly a later compilation of his *Majālis al-Hikmah*: special sessions convened for the religious education of the faithful elite in terms of knowledge. Probably one *Majlis* was recited at each of these sessions, which were a regular feature in Fatimid North-Africa and Cairo and beyond in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* in Yemen and India, until the present day. The continuity of the format allows us to trace the change in style from one time to another and from one author to another. Each of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Majālis* in *Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im* starts with a very brief Ṭahmīd, with a *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad, occasionally also on 'Alī and on the Imāms always. The Ṭahmīd of the very first *Majlis* (Appendix-4:4), quoted in chapter-V (p.195), clearly expresses the *ẓāhir-bāṭin* binarism despite its conciseness. The Ṭahmīd is reiterated at the beginning of every *Majlis*, but the repetition is a cause not for monotony but for creativity and variety. Compared to the Ṭahmīds in *Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im*, al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's most likely later work on jurisprudence, entitled *Mukhtaṣar al-Athār* (Appendix-4:9), boasts a relatively longer Ṭahmīd. One of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's works on history, *Iftitāḥ al-Da'wah* (Appendix-4:10), also has a fairly long Ṭahmīd. This Ṭahmīd is an example of the usage of the *ḥaqq-bāṭil* binarism which is a trademark of the broader Ṭahmīd tradition. Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's Ṭahmīds, even the brief ones, visibly stand out in terms of the sight and sound patterns created by rhetorical devices, especially since the rest of the text, except for the *ṣalawāt* at the end, is not rhymed. The variance in the length of Ṭahmīds in al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's works demonstrates how it is different from context to context. With a few exceptions, many *fiqh* works in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature have rather short

³³⁷ For example the chancery document explaining al-Hākim's execution of Barjawān discussed in chapter-II (p.63; Appendix-2:57) and the '*Hidāyah Amirīyah*' qtd. in Shayyāl.

Ṭahmīds, possibly because of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's influence on jurisprudential writing within the tradition.

In contrast, two works by a contemporary of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, Dā'ī Ja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *al-'Alim wa al-Ghulām* (Appendix-4:1) and *al-Shawāhid wa al-Bayān* (Appendix-4:2), begin simply with the *basmalah* and 'I seek His aid' (*wa-bihi asta'īn*). This contrast shows that while the *basmalah* was mandatory, it was largely up to the author to utilize the Ṭahmīd formula, making the definition of precise trends viz. sub-genres or authors rather difficult.

About a century later, the Ṭahmīds in the influential works of the Dā'ī Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 411/1021) are worth considering. The Ṭahmīds in three of his works, *al-Maṣābiḥ fī ithbāt al-Imāmah* (Appendix-4:11), *al-Risālah al-Waḍiyyah* (Appendix-4:12) and *Tanbīh al-Hādī wa al-Mustahdī* (Appendix-4:13), all display the characteristic features of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds discussed above. Notably, in the first two of these, there is also an explicit *ṣalawāt* on the Imām al-'aṣr (the author's contemporary Imām) al-Ḥākim. All three contain the four components of Ṭahmīd. In the first two, the *ḥamdalah*, initially in the absolute noun form, *al-ḥamd li Allāh*, is repeated again in the first person verbal form, *aḥmaduhu*, a familiar feature of Fatimid chancery documents. This can perhaps be taken as an indication of how the development of styles and patterns in the chancery influenced the style and pattern of non-chancery writing as well. The congruity in terms of the use of rhetorical devices in al-Kirmānī's Ṭahmīds and Fatimid chancery documents further confirms this transference of style. The author also follows the Ṭahmīd with a short *du'ā* in some of his works, yet another feature of chancery documents. All these features become the norm in the Ṭahmīds of al-Mu'ayyad.

Al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078), the chief Dā'ī in the time of the Fatimid Imām al-Mustaṣṣir, is one of the most illustrious Fatimid authors in terms of the sophistication of Ṭahmīd relations, both conceptually and rhetorically, and in terms of his legacy. He wrote extensively on Fatimid esoterics; he was also the head of the state chancery in Cairo for a short period, which is likely to have impacted his writings, including the Ṭahmīd. Near the end of the Fatimid phase, al-Mu'ayyad's praise-preambles are the pinnacle of Fatimid Ṭahmīds, especially in his *Majālis* (Appendix-4:15-105). Every one of his eight hundred *Majālis* begins with an eloquent and meaningful Ṭahmīd, followed by a short address and *du'ā*, followed by a brief wise council (*maw'izah*), followed by the main body of the *Majlis* (*matn*), and ending with another

duʿā and end-Taḥmīd. Each *Majlis* was presented orally by al-Muʿayyad to a specially authorized audience every Thursday in the *Dār al-Ḥikmah* in Cairo. The hybridity (being simultaneously oral and textual) of these written *Majālis* accounts for the similarity of their structure and rhetorical patterns to those of a *khutbah*. These *Majālis* became the archetype for a number of written works and also for the orally-delivered *waʿz* sermons later in the Indian period. The Taḥmīds in al-Muʿayyad's *Majālis* also became the paradigm for the praise-preambles of these works and sermons in spirit, structure and style³³⁸.

Al-Muʿayyad's Taḥmīds were referred to extensively in the previous chapter, because they illustrate the wide variety and distinctive aspects of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīds and simply because of the sheer number (1600 Taḥmīds!). In most cases the Taḥmīds concentrate on the core binarisms of *tanzīl-taʿwīl*, *ẓāhir-bāṭin* and *jismānī-nafsānī* that contextualize the fundamental assertion of al-Muʿayyad's *Majālis*: the existence of a hidden layer of meaning in revelation that is based on rational premise, accessible only through the Imām. In other words, the Taḥmīds link the microcosm of the Qurʾānic verse, interpreted in each *Majlis*, with the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī view of the macrocosm (a binary view of the Qurʾān and existence). This binarism also necessitates *tasalsul*, so the Qurʾānic quotations and motifs of continuity of the Imāmate also feature consistently. In some Taḥmīds, however, the specific theme of the *Majlis*, or the time period in which it was delivered, is also contextualized³³⁹. The following Taḥmīd is one such example.

Al-Muʿayyad's *Majālis* 3-272 Taḥmīd: The Holy Months

The Taḥmīd of *Majālis* 3-272 (Appendix-4:65) contextualizes the holy months of Rajab and Ramaḍān on the basis of al-Muʿayyad's primary thesis: the binarism of the *maḥsūs-maʿqūl*. The contextualization is achieved through a range of regular and esoteric *nisbah* and *fikrah*-relations, enhanced dramatically by the rhetorical devices employed. The context of Ramaḍān also sets the scene for comparison with Taḥmīds from the same context in the Indian phase. For ease of reference, the Taḥmīd can be divided into 5 segments: (after the standard *basmalah* whose *taʿwīl* dimension must not be ignored) i-

³³⁸ The *Majālis-Mustanṣiriyyah* (Appendix-4:106-110), referred to in the previous chapter (p.160) ostensibly written by Badr al-Jamālī, also follow the same format.

³³⁹ For example, the exposition on *ʿaql*, *Majālis*, 1-1 (Appendix-4:15), 1-2 (Appendix-4:16), and *iʿjāz*, 1-3 (Appendix-4:17), 'ten nights', 1-4; the contextualization of event such as the festival of *al-Ghadīr* 1-6 (Appendix-4:19), 2-147, *ʿAshūrāʾ* 2-150 (Appendix-4:37), Rajab/Ramaḍān, 2-272 (Appendix-4:65).

ḥamd 1, ii-*ḥamd*-2, iii-*shahādah* of God, iv-*shahādah* of Muhammad and finally v-*ṣalawāt*.

The first segment, beginning with the absolute noun *al-ḥamd li Allāh*, immediately relates God with specific days and nights, with the relational proposition that He has selected some of them and made them special. This further creates a *fikrah*-relation with the belief that is consistently propounded by al-Mu'ayyad, that no action of God is without reason, encouraging the audience to think of the reason here. The second relation is created between the months, establishing a clear hierarchy, with Ramaḍān as the most eminent. The well designed 'exception clause' that follows starts with a negation, denying and questioning the favouring of months that are deliberately described as unable to perceive their own existence, lifeless and lacking the faculty of speech and thought (*nuṭq*); it goes on to say that the preference of these days and months would not be meaningful if they were not veils and covers for a hidden meaning. This second part begins with the powerful *lawlā*, (*ḥarf imtinā' al-imtinā'*—the most powerful of the particles of exception because it negates the possibility of the two parts coexisting—for example 'he would not be alive IF you had Not saved him' (*mā kān la yanjū lawlā anqadhtah*). While all seven phrases share the end-rhyme *ab*, the last words of the second, third and final phrase, *Rajab*, *rutab* and *ḥujub*, resonate due to their assonance and shared conjugation. The words *rutab*, sing. *rutbah* and *ḥujub*, sing. *ḥijāb* are closely associated with the hierarchy of *ḥudūd*. The linguistic relation between the three words echoes and anticipates from the onset the relation between the *mathal*: *Rajab*, and the *mamthūl*: the *rutab* and *ḥujub*.

Following on the first relation, the favouring of certain months by God Himself, al-Mu'ayyad makes a case for the necessity of the binarism of the *mathal-mamthūl*, the inanimate and the animate, by appealing to logic. The word choice for the description of the months, *muntajab*, selected, already creates an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with their *mamthūl* for those familiar with Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature. The word is usually associated with the selection of Prophets by God, and therefore a relation is created between the inanimate months and the animate Prophets³⁴⁰. What these months specifically signify in terms of hierarchy is left for the audience to contemplate; those who do have a background in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *ta'wīl* – probably including all regular

³⁴⁰ See for example description of Muhammad as *muntajab* in Ḥamīd al-Dīn, *al-Maṣābīḥ* (Appendix-4:11), 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, vol.I (Appendix-4:152), also describing 'Alī in 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ*, Majlis-101 (Appendix-4:132), *Risālat al-Munīrah* (Appendix-4:163).

attendees of the *Majālis* – can readily create a *fikrah*-relation with the *mamthūl*. One of the significations, according to a *Ḥadīth* cited by Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn in *Risālat al-Bayān* (Appendix-4:151), is that Rajab is the month of 'Alī, Sha'bān that of Muhammad and Ramaḍān is the month of God. Another signification in the same *risālah* considers Rajab as the month of the Imāms. The rationale in relating particular inanimate months with specific animate *ḥudūd* is also discussed in this *risālah*.

If this were a Taḥmīd in a *khutbah* addressed to a general audience, who do not have a background in *ta'wīl*, the justification of the binarism is an invitation to come and learn; and there are several reasons why I contend that this is originally a Taḥmīd of a *khutbah* delivered by the Imām. Firstly, in the regular format of the *Majālis* Taḥmīd, there is seldom a separate segment for the *shahādah*. The same applies to the repetition of *ḥamd* as a noun and as a verb. Secondly, the Taḥmīd is in the first person as being spoken by the Imām himself, as substantiated in segment-2 with the statement *āmana binā*. In other *Majālis* Taḥmīds, 3-268 (Appendix-4:64) for instance, the explicit subject of the verb *ḥamd* and *shukr* is *āl-Muḥammad*, the Imām. Thirdly, the Imāms used to deliver *khutbahs* in the main Masjids in Cairo on Fridays, and this Taḥmīd could have been borrowed from one such *khutbah* in Ramaḍān. This is not unlikely since the *Majālis* were formally attributed to the Imām: the custom was that the chief Dā'ī would send the written Majlis to the Imām and on the Thursday would receive it from the palace with the Imām's seal, a custom which endorsed the authority of the *Majālis*³⁴¹.

The first segment thus introduces the Ramaḍān context by raising and answering a question: what is the reason behind the preference of certain months? By presenting the *mathal-mamthūl* binarism as an answer, and accompanying that with a brief argument for its validity, the *ḥamd* contextualizes through educating or enlightening its audience. That the *ḥamd* in this segment is a noun, and recognizing that nouns are not time bound and may be called absolute, a *fikrah*-relation is created between the absoluteness of the noun and the perceived absoluteness and timelessness of this binarism.

The second segment of the Taḥmīd changes the tone from the absolute noun to a more personal first person verbal *aḥmaduhu*. The first of four instances of Qur'ānic quotations occurs here. The modified quotation of verse 29:43, which in the Qur'ānic context refers to the *mathal* of the frailty of the spider's web, is adapted here to refer to

³⁴¹ This is according to T.Qutbuddin (2005, p.85) who quotes al-Maqrīzī's *Khīṭat* and Ibn Ṭuwayr's *Nuzhat*.

mathal, referring to the holy months, as a symbol necessitating a *mamthūl*, a symbolized. Relating the Qur'ānic reference to *amthāl* with the esoteric interpretation of the holy months adds credibility to the binarism. The latter part of the verse: 'and none understands them save those who know', with the aid of the first person subject of the verb beginning the segment, forms an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with the Imāms, specifying them as the ones who know (*'ālimūn*). The first person verb and the first person pronouns referring to the Imāms in the subsequent phrases strengthen this esoteric *fikrah*-relation.

Based on the attribution of the *Majālis* to the Imāms, the second phrase of segment-2 creates *nisbah*-relations between the Imām and God and the Imām and the audience respectively. With the same relational proposition, that of giving protection (*amān*) from God's wrath, the skilful use of pronouns, *āmananā* and *āmāna binā*, focuses attention on the Imāms, first as those protected by God, and second as those through whom God protects mankind (from punishment). With the relations created by these additional pronouns there is no doubt about the identity of *'ālimūn* earlier.

The last two phrases of the second segment, marked by a change in end-rhyme and a shift from the verb to the verbal-noun, *shukr*, reinforce the complementary nature of the binarism. The *du'ā* that beseeches God to accept the devotee's piety in these holy months, given that he has clung to both the *lafz* and the *ma'nā*, implies that recognition of *both* is necessary for the devotion to be accepted. The reference to the terms *lafz* and *ma'nā*, which are extensively used in the study of *balāghah* and philosophy to mirror the relation between symbol and symbolized, banks on the audiences' awareness and understanding of these terms and also draws on the wide acceptance of their complementary relationship. The two terms reflect the Fātimid-Ṭayyibī binarism of *'ibādah 'ilmiyyah* and *'ibādah 'amaliyyah*, both of which are deemed necessary in this Ṭahmīd (see Fig.1, chapter-V, p.203). The focus on the balance between the two also serves to disprove the stereotyping of the Fatimids as *'bāṭiniyyah*, who shun the practice of the prescriptions of the *Sharī'ah* in favour of its purely intellectual hidden significations. The mirroring of the relationship in the *lafz* and *ma'nā*, while establishing the supremacy of the latter, conveys unequivocally that, although the signified is important, the signifier cannot be forsaken.

The reference to the binarism continues in the third segment of the Ṭahmīd, marked by the proclamation of the *shahādah* of the Oneness of God, and another change in end-rhyme. A *nisbah*-relation between the Imām and God is established with the

relational proposition of God having settled them in His sanctuary (*ḥaram*). This evokes a number of *fikrah*-relations. The first relation is with the Qur'ānic verse 14:37 in which the Prophet Abraham addresses God and requests aid for his progeny, whom he has settled in 'a valley where there is no sown land by [God's] sacred house (lit. Mecca). This creates a *fikrah*-relation between the Imām and Abraham's descendants, recognized as Imāms by the Fatimids, and establishes continuity between the progeny of Abraham and the progeny of Muhammad. The word *ḥaram* also creates an association with *amān*, based on the description of *ḥaram* in another Qur'ānic verse, 29:67, as *ḥaraman āminan*. This creates an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with the previous segment, in which the Imām, like the physical *ḥaram*, is described as a source and guarantor of *amān*, linking the *mathal* and *mamthūl*. The followers of the Imām are settled in both the physical *ḥaram* and its intellectual counterpart, the *ḥaram* of the Imām, i.e. his *Da'wah*. In the following phrase another *nisbah*-relation between the Imāms and God is created with the relational proposition that He honoured them by the four sacred months referred to in the Qur'ān in verse 9:5 and 9:36 (*ashhur al-ḥurum*). In the context of the binarism of *mathal-mamthūl* established in the beginning of the Ṭahmīd with specific reference to 'selected months', it is only natural to expect a spiritual counterpart to the four sacred months with whom an esoteric *fikrah*-relation can be formed³⁴². The case for such an expectation is strengthened if we consider the verb that is used for the relational proposition *sharrafā*, to honour. Based on the premise presented in the first segment, it is difficult to explain the honorific status of the four months unless there is an animate *mamthūl* that they signify.

The fourth segment begins with the proclamation of the Prophethood of Muhammad, emphasizing the complementary binarism between Muhammad and 'Alī. Muhammad is related to a Qur'ānic verse 19:57 referring literally to the Prophet Idrīs, described as a *nabiyy* raised by God to an elevated position (*makānan 'aliyya*). While the word 'Prophethood' is not mentioned in the proclamation explicitly, the principle of correspondence with Idrīs allows us to surmise that Muhammad was raised to the same high position of Prophethood. That the use of this verse is not incidental becomes abundantly clear when another verse from the same *sūrah* with the word '*aliyyā*' is quoted in the subsequent phrase. In the original Qur'ānic context of verse 19:50, the progeny of Abraham are given by God a *lisāna ṣidqin 'aliyyā*, a tongue of truthfulness that is sublime ('*aliyy*). In the context of the Ṭahmīd, Muhammad, also in the progeny of Abraham, is

³⁴² The four sacred months are widely accepted as Rajab, Dhu al-Qa'dah, Dhu al-Hijjah and Muḥarram.

given a tongue of truthfulness *named* 'Alī, as his successor (*waṣiyy*). The *nisbah*-relation between Muhammad and 'Alī is on the one hand that of a *nabiyy* and his *waṣiyy*, and on the other it is a Qur'ānic relation between Muhammad, as the messenger of revelation, and 'Alī, as the truthful tongue that expresses the inner meaning of revelation. From another perspective, 'Alī, through the elucidation of the meanings within revelation, establishes Muhammad's veracity (*sidq*). The modified Qur'ānic quote assigns esoteric meaning and establishes a *fikrah*-relation with the progeny of Abraham, once again suggesting continuity between Abraham and Muhammad's progeny. At the same time, it establishes a very specific *nisbah*-relation between Muhammad and 'Alī. The congruity in the binarism of Muhammad and 'Alī is epitomized by the skilful use of two separate occurrences of the word '*aliyyā*' in the Qur'ān, the first in relation to Muhammad and the second in relation to 'Alī.

While the repetition of '*aliyyā*' creates a complementary binarism, the repetition of the sound *aṣāh* in the last two phrases of segment-4 creates an antithetical binarism. The identical sound of the two occurrences of *aṣāh* is juxtaposed against the contrasting meaning. With the aid of pronouns, a rather complex but strong tripartite relation between God, Muhammad and 'Alī unravels through the two lines. In the first of the two phrases, God quashes through him (*biḥi*) i.e. through 'Alī, those who disobey him (*man 'aṣāh*), i.e. disobey God or Muhammad; in the second phrase, God (hidden subject pronoun), has placed his, i.e. Muhammad's testament (*burhān*) in him (*fīhi*), i.e. in 'Alī, just as Mūsā's *burhān* was in his staff (*'aṣāh*). Muhammad's relation with the '*aṣā*' in the second phrase relies on a *fikrah*-relation with the Qur'ānic image of Mūsā and his '*aṣā*'. The relation works effectively because Mūsā's staff, in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoteric tradition, is the symbol of his *waṣiyy* and successor Hārūn³⁴³. The evidence or testament (*burhān*) of Muhammad is in 'Alī, as the *burhān* of Mūsā was in his staff or Hārūn. This implies that the *burhān* of *tanzīl* is in *ta'wīl*. Resorting to relations with a well established Qur'ānic narrative, and assigning to it specific esoteric interpretations through relations enhanced greatly or even created by rhetorical devices, proves to be a powerful mix of ingredients that conveys an equally powerful binarism.

The final segment of the Ṭahmīd begins with *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad and his progeny, focusing on the concept of *tasalsul* that is the prime esoteric signification of

³⁴³ Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, *Asās al-Ta'wīl*.

*ṣalawāt*³⁴⁴. The survival of the *mathal-mamthūl* binarism is dependent on *tasalsul*. In the final phrase, by resorting to the powerful Qur'ānic *kalimah* motif discussed in the previous chapter, it is stated in a matter-of-fact way that the Imāmate will continue in the progeny of Muhammad (*fihim*), who are described as being crowned with the Imāmate until the Day of Judgment. The *fikrah*-relations with Abraham and his progeny continue here as well: the pronoun in 'his progeny' in the Qur'ānic context of the *kalimah* verse 43:28, 'and He made it a word (*kalimah*), enduring in his progeny', refers to Abraham. Thus the continuity of the enduring word of Imāmate from Abraham, through Muhammad, through 'Alī, through the Imāms is established in this segment and throughout the Ṭahmīd.

While specific rhetorical devices have been referred to so far, it is worth noting that the sight and sound patterns of this Ṭahmīd also act collectively to establish the relations of binarism and continuity both visually and phonetically. The *luzūm-mā-lā-yalzam*³⁴⁵, the complete and partial paronomasia (*jīnās*) and conjugational parallelism in the words ending each of the rhyming couplets in the Ṭahmīd, except in segment-1, tacitly create a harmonious binarism and continuity: *'ālīmūn, nā'imūn, tanassukuh, tamassukuh, ḥaram, ḥurum, 'aliyyā, 'aliyyan waṣiyyā, 'asāh, 'asāh, imāmah, qiyāmah*. In the first segment however, although the end words share the rhyme *ab*, there is no consistent paronomasia or *luzūm-mā-lā-yalzam*. The comparatively less uniform end-rhyme of the seven phrases of the first segment perhaps reflects the perplexity that is evoked by the rhetorical question about the preference of certain inanimate months. By contrast, in what follows, the paronomasia and conjugational parallelism of the words ending each rhyming couplet become more and more complete until the words *tamassukuh-tanassukuh* are almost identical in segment-3, in reference to *lafẓ* and *ma'nā*, and then again the words *'aliyyā-'aliyyā* (though not in the end-rhyme) and *'asāh-'asāh* in reference to Muhammad and 'Alī in segment-4. The order imposed by these phonetically and visually similar words is an answer to the perplexing question imposed by the relative inconsistency of the words in segment-1. The sustained pairing of these near

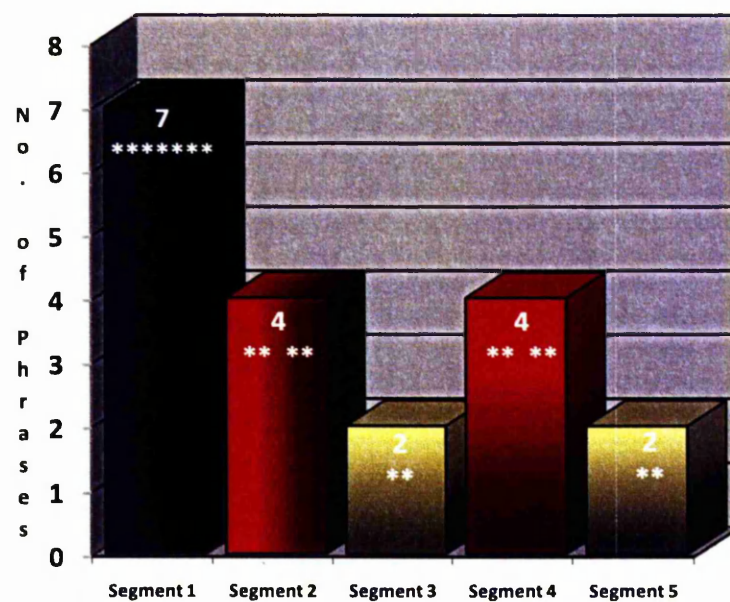
³⁴⁴ Note that in most of al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* Ṭahmīds where there is no *shahādah* there is a separate *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad, 'Alī and the Imāms. Here 'Alī has already been mentioned and related with Muhammad in the *shahādah*. He is, in any case, included in the *āl* of Muhammad.

³⁴⁵ A term used mostly with reference to poetry in which the poet imposes restrictions pertaining to the *qāfiyah*, the end-rhyme, over and above what is required of him by the traditional rules. The *Luzūmiyyāt* poems composed by al-Ma'arrī, a contemporary of al-Mu'ayyad, are the most famous example. Here the *luzūm* is to impose the restriction that the word ending each rhyming couplet should display full or at least partial *jīnās*, paronomasia and should be conjugationally parallel.

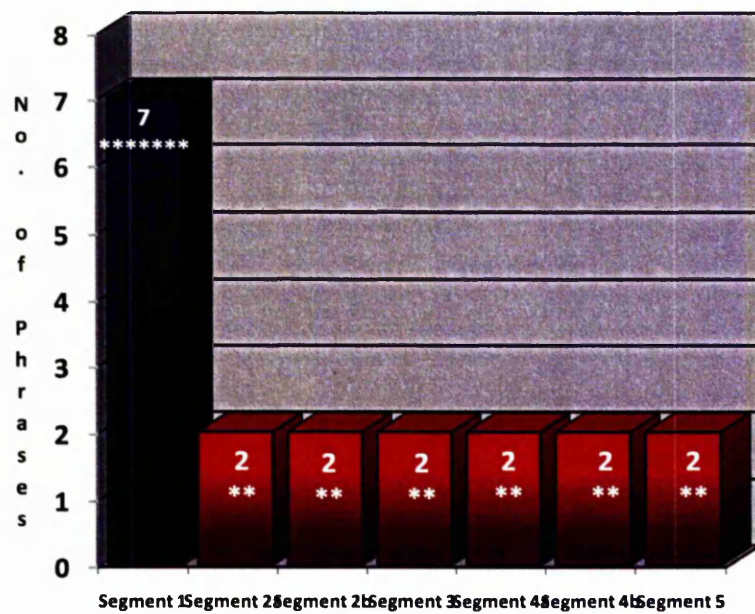
congruous words reflects the correspondence between the two parts of the binarism necessary in order to achieve harmony.

The pattern of the Taḥmīd as a whole displays rather amazing symmetry. The five segments are not equal in length. The first segment is seven phrases, the second four (or pair of couplets), the third two (single couplet), the fourth four (or pair of couplets) and the fifth two (single couplet). Looking at a figural representation of the pattern that this creates, it is not difficult to find meaning in it (see Fig.1 and Fig.2). Once again segment-1 stands out, the seven phrases from one perspective reflecting the heptads of Imāms. The rest are perfectly symmetrical: (7) 4-2-4-2 (Fig. 1), or if we consider each rhyming couplet individually then: (7)-2-2-2-2-2-2 (Fig.2). The symmetry in the 4-2-4-2 pattern reflects the binarism: a mirror image corresponding to the parallelism of the *mathal-mamthūl*, *tanzīl-ta'wīl*, *lafz-ma'nā* or Muhammad-'Alī. On the other hand, looking at the 2-2-2-2 pattern as a sequence, a reflection of the sequence of Imāms and their continuity is perceivable. It is unlikely that this Taḥmīd was ever dissected in this way by al-Mu'ayyad's contemporary audience or that it was ever intended to be; however, based on the concept of tacit persuasion referred to earlier, these sight and sound patterns affect and persuade us in a manner that is not necessarily consciously comprehensible. We do not know exactly how, but they do affect us.

Majalis 3-272 Tahmid Sight and Sound Patterns
Figure 1



Majalis 3-272 Tahmid Sight and Sound Patterns
Figure 2



The Yemeni Phase

The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭaḥmīds in the Yemeni stage retained Fatimid concepts and style to a great degree; on the other hand, certain distinctive changes – viz. an increase in average length from the Fatimid period, the addition of *ṣalawāt* sub-components, specifically the *ṣalawāt* on Fāṭimah, al-Ṭayyib and the Dā'īs – are a reflection of the changing religious and geopolitical circumstances of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*. A brief overview that led to the transfer of the *Da'wah* from Cairo to Yemen is necessary to place the development of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature, including the Ṭaḥmīd, in context.

The spiritual *Da'wah* of the Fatimids in Yemen began with the campaign of Dā'ī Abī al-Qāsim (Ibn Ḥawshab) *Manṣūr al-Yaman* (d. 3rd/9th century) and remained active throughout their rule in Cairo and even after, under the auspices of the Dā'ī *al-satr* following the Imām's seclusion. In terms of political dominion, Dā'ī Abī al-Qāsim held power in a fairly large area in Yemen, in the name of the Fatimid Imām in North-Africa. Then it was with the rise of the Sulayhids to power that Yemen again became politically aligned with the Fatimids in Egypt during the time of al-Mustansir (d. 464/1101). This allegiance resulted in constant contact with Cairo, via a flow of people each way, and a steady stream of correspondence; a collection of *sijils* sent from the Fatimid chancery to Yemen in that period survives. The lofty titles and high praise accorded to the Sulayhids by the Imāms in these letters illustrate the high esteem in which they held them and their followers, especially al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah, the Ṣulayḥid queen whom the Imām raised to the rank of *ḥujjah* in the religious hierarchy³⁴⁶.

A most crucial *sijill* for the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* is one sent by the twentieth Imām al-ʿĀmir (d. 524/1130) to al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah informing her of the birth and proclamation as heir of his son al-Ṭayyib. This document called *Sijill al-bishārah* and quoted in *Majmūʿ*, vol.I and later in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī ʿImād al-Dīn's *ʿUyūn*, vol.VII, (pp.254-255) describes al-Ṭayyib as having been extracted from the line of Prophethood as light is drawn from light (*kamā yustakhraj al-nūr min al-nūr*): an effective *naṣṣ* or appointment. The Imām commands her to spread the good news in her kingdom. Shortly after, al-ʿĀmir was assassinated in Cairo by Nizārī assassins. Before his death, he appointed his cousin ʿAbd-al-Maʿfīd, later known as al-Ḥāfiẓ (d. 544/1149), as

³⁴⁶ For further reading and references on the early Yemeni period of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* see ʿImād al-Dīn, *ʿUyūn*, vol.VII (alt. title: *The Fatimids and their Successors in Yemen*, with an English summary by ed. A.F.Sayyid), B.S. Qutbuddin (1996) and Hamiduddin (2000).

regent for his infant son. ‘Abd-al-Majīd maintained this position for a period of time, using the appropriate title ‘the holder of the oath of allegiance of the Muslims’ (*waliyy ‘ahd al-muslimīn*). Through this time relations with Yemen continued. After a period of political turmoil in Egypt, during which al-Ṭayyib is believed to have been taken into hiding and seclusion by a number of his father’s trusted advisors and Dā’īs, ‘Abd-al-Majīd declared himself Caliph and Imām; he now took the title ‘the holder of the oath of allegiance of the Believers’ (*waliyy ‘ahd al-mu’minīn*), a title reserved for the Imām. Upon receiving a *sijill* with this new title, demanding affirmation of allegiance, al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah responded aggressively, reprimanding ‘Abd al-Majīd for unlawfully usurping the Imāmate. She then decisively broke off the longstanding political and spiritual ties with Cairo.

With the concealment of the Imām al-Ṭayyib and the subsequent break with Cairo, a new phase in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da’wah* began. The *Da’wah* was now based in Yemen itself. The running of the *Da’wah*, which was handled by the chief Dā’ī (*Dā’ī al-Du’āt*) in Fatimid times, continued under the auspices of al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah, alongwith the specially appointed al-Dā’ī al-Muṭlaq (also called *Dā’ī al-satr*) representing the Imām³⁴⁷. The Dā’ī was supported by two other *rutbahs*, *al-Ma’dhūn al-Muṭlaq* and *al-Ma’dhūn al-Maḥṣūr* or *al-Mukāsir*. These three *rutbahs* were to maintain the *Da’wah* under the name of al-Ṭayyib (hence Ṭayyibī *Da’wah*) until the appearance of the Imām or until the Day of Judgment. The Imāmate itself is believed to continue in seclusion from father to son in al-Ṭayyib’s progeny, the present Imām being referred to as Imām *al-aṣr* or Ṭayyib *al-aṣr*. The Dā’ī was made responsible for appointing a successor before he passed away, much as an Imām would appoint his successor, except that the succession need not be father to son. Though the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā’īs maintained a degree of political power and had a number of strongholds, throughout most of the Yemeni period this power was considerably less, even negligible, compared to the Zaydīs and the Sunni dynasties which ruled Yemen. For the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī followers, the political authority of their Dā’ī was secondary and unrelated to his spiritual authority³⁴⁸; thus the *Da’wah* continued to survive through periods of political turmoil, and eventually moved its base

³⁴⁷ According to Fatimid-Ṭayyibī belief, this was ordered by al-Āmir. The representation of the Imām by the ranks and the continuity of the *Da’wah* during the Imām’s seclusion is prescribed by Ja’far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman in *Kitāb al-Shawāhid wa al-Bayān* (d. 4th/10th century), quoted in Syedna Taher Saifuddin’s *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (pp. 76-82).

³⁴⁸ For further discussion on the distinction of the political and spiritual authority for the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs see Hamiduddin, 2000, pp. 21-22.

to India, where the political authority of the Dā'ī ceased to exist. Since Fatimid times the affairs of the *Da'wah* mission in India had been handled by the Yemen establishment. This situation continued after the fall of the Fatimid state, and the Indian followers of the Fatimids remained loyal to al-Ṭayyib and to the Yemeni Dā'īs representing him.

The development of the Ṭahmīd in the Yemeni phase, and the simultaneous maintenance and continuity of Fatimid principal values and concepts, should be understood against this background. The spirit and influence of al-Mu'ayyad in particular persists, as the example analyzed below demonstrates. Al-Mu'ayyad is in a way the spiritual father of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* – its literature, theology and doctrine. It is recorded by Dā'ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (qtd. in 'Imād al-Dīn, *Uyūn*, vol.VII, pp. 127-131 and 177) that al-Qāḍī Lamak b. Mālīk, one of the prominent figures of the *Da'wah* in Yemen, was sent by Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad al-Ṣulayḥī to Imām al-Mustansir to seek permission for performing *Hajj* and then visiting Cairo. The Imām delayed al-Qāḍī Lamak's return, entrusting him to al-Mu'ayyad's care and tutorship. He stayed in Cairo for five years during which he absorbed al-Mu'ayyad's teachings and possibly embraced his style; he also had the good fortune to obtain answers for certain questions directly from the Imām himself. Upon return to Yemen, al-Qāḍī Lamak is reported to have passed on all the knowledge he had acquired to his son Yaḥyā b. Lamak, the bearer of the same rank of Dā'ī *al-Balāgh*, one of the ranks in the hierarchy of *ḥudūd*, who in turn tutored the first Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā (d. 546/1151). The theological knowledge base of the Fatimids, including the spirit and style of their Ṭahmīds, was thus transferred first hand, from mouth to ear, from al-Mu'ayyad, who was a custodian of the Imām's knowledge, through Lamak b. Mālīk, to the Dā'īs in Yemen. This knowledge was disseminated in varying levels among the *Da'wah* followers in Yemen, and was passed on in its entirety from one Dā'ī to his successor. The majority of Fatimid manuscripts that survive today were preserved by the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* initially in Yemen and then in India.

Alongside the preservation of this literary tradition, the Yemeni phase also saw a transcription of a large part of this knowledge by the Dā'īs and scholars leading the community, in order to preserve its integrity for future generations³⁴⁹. Consequently, we see a proliferation in the number of writings in the early Yemeni phase, especially

³⁴⁹ *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1214H presents this torrent of transcription as an effort to preserve the main points of the higher levels of knowledge hitherto passed on orally from generation to generation.

risālahs on higher esoterics (*ḥaqā'iq*) – a subject which, apart from a handful of written works, was for the most part dependent on oral teaching – and by extension a proliferation of Ṭahmīds. The Ṭahmīds of all these works, many authored by the Dā'ī himself, reflected, explained and responded to the religious and geopolitical reality. Through the expansion of the Ṭahmīd, especially the *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib and the Dā'īs, the continuity of the spiritual chain of the *Da'wah* was emphasized, and the spiritual affiliation with the Imām, despite his physical absence, was sustained. The Yemeni Ṭahmīds also retained the basic Fatimid concepts of *tasalsul* and complementary binarisms, their practice of esoteric Qur'ānic references, their stock motifs and relations and their style.

A reference to a few influential authors, before looking at one particular Ṭahmīd in more detail, will provide a broad view of the tradition in the Yemeni phase. As always there are examples in which the Ṭahmīd is purely conventional. The *Risālat al-Nafs* (Appendix-4:111) by the first Dā'ī Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā for instance begins:

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ، وَالصَّلَاةُ وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى رَسُولِهِ سَيِّدِنَا مُحَمَّدٍ وَآلِهِ صَلَوَاتُ اللَّهِ عَلَيْهِمْ

اجمعين،

Nevertheless, the mandatory *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad and his progeny is present, which together with the esoteric dimension of the components makes even this simple *ṣalawāt* a strong statement. One of the *risālahs* by this Dā'ī's *Ma'dhūm* al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 6th/12th century), *Risālat Munīrat al-Baṣā'ir* (Appendix-4:112), boasts a well-rounded Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd³⁵⁰. The Ṭahmīd offers an insight into the basic reason for the practice of offering *ḥamd*, the prime reason for the existence of the Ṭahmīd tradition. We offer *ḥamd* knowing that indeed *ḥamd* is the limit (*ghāyah*) for our intellect vis-à-vis God, and that we have no other alternative:

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ جَاعِلِ حَمْدِهِ غَايَةً يَقِفُ عِنْدَهَا أَفْكَارُ الْمُتَفَكِّرِينَ عَيْنًا وَحَصْرًا، وَنَهَايَةً تَنْتَهِي إِلَيْهَا أَنْوَاعُ الْأَوْهَامِ ضَيْقًا بِهَا
وَقَصْرًا، أَحْمَدُهُ حَمْدَ مَنْ تَيَقَّنَ أَنَّ لَنْ يَجِدَ سِوَى حَمْدِهِ مُعْتَصِرًا، وَأَوْحَدَهُ تَوْحِيدَ مَنْ عَدِمَ بَصِيرَةً يَتَصَوَّرُهُ كَمَا عَدِمَ فِي
الْإِحَاطَةِ بِهِ تَبَصُّرًا . . .

³⁵⁰ Also see Ṭahmīd of *Risālah li al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb* (Appendix-4:126) in *Majmū'*, vol.II.

The Ṭahmīd is broken into a noun *ḥamd* segment, a verbal first person *ḥamd* segment, the *shahādah* of God, the *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad, ‘Alī, the Imāms described as the forefathers of al-Ṭayyib, and on those personas (*maqāmāt*), in all probability referring to the Dā’īs, through whom al-Ṭayyib shows his miracles and warnings. The Ṭahmīd on the one hand retains the spirit of Fatimid Ṭahmīds with respect to *tawḥīd*, the binarism of the physical and intellectual (*baṣīrah/tabāṣṣur*) and stock relations (the ‘true’ names of God, the ‘brotherhood’ between Muhammad and ‘Alī, guidance). On the other it displays the addition of *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib and the Dā’īs, illustrating the evolution of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Yemeni Ṭahmīd.

The *risālahs* of Muhammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 584/1188), compiled alongside numerous other *risālahs* in the compendium *Majmū‘ al-Tarbiyah*, introduced earlier, also exhibit a wide variety of Ṭahmīds, allowing for a comparison of a range of styles in the Fatimid and Yemeni phases. Chronologically, the *risālahs* range from the time of the Fatimid Imām al-Mu‘izz – *al-Risālah al-Lā’ihah* with a brilliant lengthy Ṭahmīd, in contrast to the relatively brief Ṭahmīds of al-Qāḍī al-Nu‘mān – up to the time of compilation in the Yemeni phase in the 6th/12th century.

The numerous works of the third Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā’ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 596/1199) also contain examples of Ṭahmīds that perpetuate the Fatimid legacy and establish the relations necessary for the new circumstances. One such example is the opening of his *Risālat al-Iḥsān* (Appendix-4:114). The Ṭahmīd illustrates the unique Fatimid-Ṭayyibī understanding of *tawḥīd*, the reference to the true names of God, the binarism of *ẓāhir-bāṭin* represented by a reference to the *kitāb ṣāmit* and *kitāb nātiq*, the concept of *tasalsul* represented using the Qur’ānic motif of *ḥabl-Allāh*, and an interpretation of verse 24:35 through an esoteric *nisbah*-relation defining the meaning of the olive tree as Muhammad, who is the source of the ‘oil’ that lights the lamp (*miṣbāh*), which symbolizes ‘Alī. This is supplemented with a specific reference to the Imām of the age, al-Ṭayyib who is described through a series of images as the essence of the line of Prophethood. Similarly, a relation is established with the Dā’īs and the *ḥudūd* of al-Ṭayyib who are the vital link between the audience and the Imām. The additional components and the slightly longer length of the Ṭahmīd seems to have become the standard by the time of this Dā’ī.

Dā’ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm also has a collection of *Majālis* similar in format to those of al-Mu‘ayyad, known as *al-Majālis al-Ḥātimiyyah* (Appendix-4:115-120), which

discuss the virtuous qualities (*faḍā'il*) of 'Alī. Like al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis*, each *Majlis* begins and ends with a distinct Ṭahmīd. The Ṭahmīds of a later collection of *Majālis* entitled *Majālis al-Nuṣḥ wa al-Bayān* (Appendix-4:132-149), authored by the fifth Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215), are another example of the continuation of the *Majālis* format and of the wealth and variety of Ṭahmīds in the Yemeni phase. A Ṭahmīd of a *Majlis* from the latter collection is analyzed in-depth below.

Towards the end of the Yemeni phase, the writings of the nineteenth Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468), best known for his historiography, must be highlighted. His magnum opus, the seven volume work *'Uyūn al-Akhhbār* (Appendix-4:152-157), perhaps the most comprehensive work on Fatimid-Ṭayyibī history, traces the history of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* starting from the time of the Prophet through until the author's time. The work quotes a significant number of Fatimid *sijils* and *taqlīds* and is thus a great repository of Fatimid chancery Ṭahmīds. In addition to the brilliant Ṭahmīd that introduces the *'Uyūn* in vol.I (Appendix-4:152), the other volumes (for example vol.II and vol. VII, Appendix-4:153-154) and various other sections, for instance the beginning of the section on al-Musta'īl (Appendix-4:155), al-Āmir (Appendix-4:156), and al-Ṭayyib (Appendix-4:157), all begin with contextualizing Ṭahmīds.

The longer-than average Ṭahmīd introducing the *'Uyūn*, apart from the regular concepts of *tasalsul*, binarism and stock images, focuses on the role of guidance (*hidāyah*) and establishes its necessity and continuity throughout the ages. In particular, Muhammad's role in uniting the dispersed Arab peoples and saving them from their ignorance and idol worship, and 'Alī's role in assisting Muhammad with the establishment of Islam and the *jihād* against the enemy are emphasized. No less than ten modified and unmodified Qur'ānic quotations with esoteric relations are employed throughout the Ṭahmīd. The seclusion of the Imām is also contextualized relying on cyclical secondary relata to explain the vicissitudes of time, a practice common in introductions to works of history. Apart from the standard components of Yemeni Ṭahmīds, this opening includes a specific *ṣalawāt* on Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and even more significantly *ṣalawāt* on Imām al-'aṣr (the Imām of the age) 'in the progeny of al-Ṭayyib'. Over three hundred years had passed since the seclusion of the Imām when the *'Uyūn* was written, and this Ṭahmīd manifests the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī belief that the Imāmate continues in al-Ṭayyib's progeny, in seclusion, after his demise. The earliest example I have seen, and there may well be instances before then, of *ṣalawāt* on the

Imām of the age from the progeny of al-Ṭayyib is in the Taḥmīd of *al-Risālah al-Kāmilah* (Appendix-4:150) written in the latter half of the 7th/13th century³⁵¹. In this manner, Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature in the Yemeni phase in general, and the Taḥmīd in particular, adapt to the new circumstances, responding to them and attempting to explain them.

Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd-The *āfāq* and *anfus*

Rich in Fatimid heritage, the Taḥmīd of *Majlis*-101 (Appendix-4:132), from Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd's *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ wa al-Bayān*, illustrates the adaptation of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīd tradition to changing religious and geopolitical dynamics. Since it is in the *Majlis* format it allows for a more direct comparison with the Taḥmīds of al-Mu'ayyad, making the continuity and contrast more visible. While the complementary binarisms are readily found, the most visible difference is the increase in length and the added sub-components. For ease of reference, the Taḥmīd can be divided into six segments following the *basmalah*: i-*ḥamd*, ii-*shahādah* of God, iii-*shahādah* and *ṣalawāt* on the Prophet, iv-*ṣalawāt* on 'Alī, v-the Imāms, and vi-al-Ṭayyib, embedded within which is a relation with the Dā'īs.

The first segment addresses the *tawḥīd* of the Almighty in a clearly Fatimid-Ṭayyibī manner. The synthetic and grammatical parallelism in the first two phrases creates the *tawḥīd* paradox discussed in the previous chapter (p.182): our hearts are related to God in that they fear Him, but our minds cannot relate to Him for they cannot even describe Him. What we perceive of God's creation and powers relates us to Him, but that is the limit. In this Taḥmīd, the paradox is couched in the grammatical parallelism of the two phrases: *wajilat* is paralleled with '*ajazat*, *qulūb* with '*uqūl*, '*arīfīn* with *waṣīfīn* and *min makhāfatih* with '*an ta'āfī sīfatih*. The grammatical parallelism suggests that we are discussing the same relation, which we are, yet the semantics convey that this relation is at once a relation and an 'arelation'.

The last two phrases of this segment follow up on the 'arelation' through a pair of familiar images that visualize the impossibility of a relation. The personification of the thoughts (*afkār*) as, literally, mounts (*maṭāyā*) that are prevented from moving, and the personification of incapacity ('*ajz*) as causing whosoever wishes to roam free in the sphere of His greatness to falter, strongly conveys God's unreachability. Though both

³⁵¹ The manuscript copy that I viewed states the author is the eighth Dā'ī Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd (d. 667/1268), while al-Majdū' and Poonawala in their bibliographies attribute it to his successor and son the Dā'ī 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd (d. 682/1284).

phrases convey the same message, there is a subtle difference. In the first, those attempting to 'ride' towards a comprehension of God are described as, literally, those who delve into an issue (*murjiḥīn*), but with the added connotation, derived from the Qur'ānic usage of the word in verse 33:60, of those delving into disagreeable events and conspiracies. In the other phrase, the parallel descriptive word in the same conjugational form but with an opposite connotation is, literally, those who glorify God (*musabbihīn*), a word in its verbal form used predominantly to describe angels in the Qur'ānic context (39:75 for example). Based on the *fikrah*-relation with the Qur'ānic contexts, the parallel phrases thus assert that a relation with God is impossible for humans and angels alike.

The second segment, beginning with the *shahādah* of the Oneness of God, through a modified Qur'ānic verse, introduces the binarism of *mathal-mamthūl* in a manner that also contextualizes the subject matter of the *Majlis*. Verse 41:53, 'We will show them our miracles and proofs (*āyāt*) in the horizons (*āfāq*), and in their souls (*anfus*), until it is clear to them that it [the religion] is the Truth (*haqq*)', is modified and attached to a *Ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet in Fatimid tradition. The Prophet states that religion was founded on the model of creation so that creation itself would act as a 'proof' for religion³⁵². That references to this verse and the *Ḥadīth* are found side by side in the body of one of al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* (2-128), indicates how deeply the influence of al-Mu'ayyad's philosophy and concepts permeates the literature and indeed the Ṭahmīds of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*. The complementary binarism established here is based on an interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse with this *Ḥadīth* in mind. The relation between the *āfāq* and *anfus* is mirrored in the *Ḥadīth* by the words *khalq* and *dīn*. The *āfāq*, the *maḥsūs* or *mathal*, the physical universe (and its components), whose existence and configuration is necessary for the cycle of the physical universe, parallel and symbolize the *anfus*, the *ma'qūl* or *mamthūl*, interpreted as referring to the *ḥudūd*, whose existence and configuration in the religious hierarchy is necessary for the functioning of the spiritual realm and the achievement of its goal: salvation. For example, just as the physical sun is necessary for life, its intellectual counterpart, the Imām is necessary for spiritual life. The latter (the Imām) is as natural and inevitable as the former (the sun).

The complementary binarism established here puts into context and establishes the basic premise for a discussion in the main body of the *Majlis*: the mirroring of the

³⁵² This is the text of the *Ḥadīth* as it appears in al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis*, 2-128:

...قول النبي صلح: "إن الله أسس دينه على مثال خلقه، ليستكمل بخلقه على دينه، وبدينه على وحدانيته"

physical development of the foetus as described in the Qur'ān (*khalqan min ba'd khalq*) (39:6), with religious development and birth. In more general terms, it firmly establishes the complementary binarism of *ẓāhir-bāṭin* and the physical representing the intellectual, inviting a renewed look at the symbolic significance of all the constituents of the universe and the cycles of nature. With this in mind, the parallel between the constituents and cycles of nature and religion are deemed anything but coincidental.

The contrast in use of the word *āfāq* in two different contexts in the Ṭahmīd is worth pointing out. The first appearance in segment-1 is in connection with God, with the proposition that the 'horizon' of His greatness is impenetrable. In the second appearance in segment-2, the constituents of creation (*āfāq*) and what they represent, the *ḥudūd*, are *āyāt* that 'speak', that prove the righteousness of, and guide people towards God's religion. The contrast in the two contexts is striking and reinforces the unreachability of God and the mediation of his *ḥudūd* that is crucial to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī understanding of *tawḥīd*.

The third segment, beginning with the *shahādah* proclaiming Muhammad's Prophethood, establishes his role in the *tanzīl-ta'wīl* binarism, and highlights the concept of *tasalsul* in his progeny. Evoking verse 72:26-27 in the Qur'ān, which asserts that the unknown (*ghayb*) is only revealed to those Prophets whom God selects, Muhammad is related with God as His servant and the one He chose for divulging unto him the *ghayb*, in order to complete his Prophethood (*nubuwwah*). The *ghayb*, that was revealed to Muhammad in the Qur'ān, is used in the Qur'ānic context in association with events in the past (e.g. Prophetic stories) and the future (e.g. Judgment Day), and especially the Hereafter (e.g. Heaven and Hell). With the subsequent references to the message of Islam (*risālat*) and the *Sharī'ah* and *waḥy*, Muhammad's role as the custodian of revelation in the *tanzīl-ta'wīl* binarism is established. Mirroring that binarism, the term *nubuwwah*, the verbal-noun of *nabiyy*, parallels the reference to 'Alī in the following segment as *waṣiyy*.

The description of Muhammad as *amīn* also creates a historical *fikrah*-relation with Muhammad's role in uniting the different factions of Quraysh during the rebuilding of the *Ka'bah*, narrated in Ibn Hishām's *Sīrah* (p. 62). Various tribes were vying for the honour of placing the holy black stone (*ḥajar-aswad*) in its proper place, and finally agreed to accept the arbitration of the first person to walk into the sanctuary. That happened to be Muhammad, upon which the people exclaimed "it is the *amīn*" – the

cognomen by which Muhammad was known— “he will decide justly”. According to tradition, Muhammad placed the holy stone on a piece of clothing, and asked a member from each tribe to assist in lifting it; it was carried thus to the *Ka‘bah*, where Muhammad himself lifted it into place.

Throughout the segment, and especially in the last two phrases, the concept of *tasalsul* also permeates the descriptions and relations. The reference to *tablīgh* and *risālat* creates an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with verse 5:67 in which Muhammad is commanded to deliver (*balligh*) what has been revealed to him, for if he does not, then he has not delivered His message (*risālat*). Al-Mu‘ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-6) interprets this vital verse as a command to appoint ‘Alī as his successor. The word *amānah* also inspires a *fikrah*-relation with the concept of *amānah* vis-à-vis the Prophet, Imām and Dā‘ī: the trust of preparing and appointing a successor. The continuity is further endorsed in the *ṣalawāt* phrases. The elevation of Muhammad to the highest abodes of heaven is linked with the continuity of the word of Imāmate, using the customary *kalimah* motif (43:28). The esoteric signification of *ṣalawāt* is explicitly brought into play by using the verb ‘to fulfil’ or ‘realize’ (*taqḍī*) in the last phrase. The subject of the verb, *ṣalawāt*, is the prayer that effectuates the continuity of the Imāmate.

Whereas the relations in segment-3 were between God and Muhammad, in this segment, segment-4, in which *ṣalawāt* is beseeched on ‘Alī, Muhammad becomes the anchor and the majority of relations are with him. Endorsing the Muhammad-‘Alī binarism through the aid of pronouns, ‘Alī is related to Muhammad as his *waṣiyy*, the door to his city of knowledge (*madīnah*), the one chosen (*muntajab*) for his succession (*khilāfah*)³⁵³, the explicator of commands and prohibitions in his *Sharī‘ah*. It is only in the last two phrases that the pronoun refers back to ‘Alī.

The focus of the segment is predominantly on knowledge (*‘ilm*) and its explication, establishing ‘Alī’s role vis-à-vis *tanzīl-ta’wīl*, mirroring the Muhammad-‘Alī binarism. The term *‘ilm* appears twice in this segment, in the first and last phrases. In the middle phrase the word *mubayyin* is used, an active-participle of explication (*bayān*), frequently related to ‘Alī’s explication of the *ta’wīl* in other Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds³⁵⁴. In the first phrase, a *fikrah*-relation is created with Qur’ān 2:189, which commands

³⁵³ Note that the word *muntajab* was the term used in al-Mu‘ayyad’s Ṭahmīd (*Majālis*, 3-272) in reference to the holy months.

³⁵⁴ See for example: al-Mu‘ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-16 (Appendix-4:21), 2-179 (Appendix-4:42), Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (Appendix-4:182).

Muslims to enter houses through their doors and a *Ḥadīth* of the Prophet discussed below, based on 'Alī's relation with Muhammad as the 'door to his *madīnah*' and as heir to his 'ilm. Al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-41) argues that the command to enter through doors would be unnecessarily stating the obvious if it were not for the esoteric signification of the door and house. In the *Ḥadīth*, Muhammad describes himself as the city of knowledge (*madīnat al-'ilm*) and 'Alī as its gate (*bāb*); whosoever wishes to enter the *madīnah* should come through the *bāb*³⁵⁵. 'Ilm in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the knowledge of the principles of the overt laws (*ẓāhir al-Sharī'ah*), the esoterics (*ta'wīl*) and the divine Truths (*ḥaqīqah*). Passed on from predecessor to successor, and from teacher to pupil, its continuity is vital for the survival of the *Da'wah*³⁵⁶. Considering that pure 'ilm is crucial for salvation, the *fikrah*-relation with the *Ḥadīth* and the Qur'ānic verse establishes 'Alī as the only true way to reach Muhammad and his 'ilm.

A comparison of the three phrases reveals a movement from the focus on 'Alī as heir (*wārith*) to Muhammad's 'ilm, in the first phrase, to the focus on 'Alī as an explicator (*mubayyin*) of the [meaning of the] directives of the *Sharī'ah* in the middle phrase. The final phrase combines the two by describing 'Alī as one who causes the springs of knowledge and wisdom ('ilm and *ḥikmah*) to flow from his divine sea. Based on the earlier two phrases, this interpretation may be posited: after Muhammad, 'Alī is the source of the 'ilm, the *ẓāhir* in context of the earlier appearance of the word, and also the source of *ḥikmah*, the *bātin* or esoteric meaning embedded in the *ẓāhir*³⁵⁷. The continuity, based on the inheritance, and the binarism of *ẓāhir-bātin*, based on the use of the two words 'ilm and *ḥikmah*, are both firmly established.

The fifth segment beseeches *ṣalawāt* on the Imāms, establishing them as the successors of the roles of both Muhammad and 'Alī. Whereas Muhammad was related to God, and 'Alī to Muhammad, the Imāms are related to 'Alī with a *nisbah*-relation, described as the Imāms in his ('Alī's) progeny. The additional description of the Imāms as the companions to the Book (*quranā' al-kitāb*) and its explicators, on the basis of a *fikrah*-relation with 'Alī who is referred to as the initial explicator of Qur'ānic meaning

³⁵⁵ The *Ḥadīth* is also cited in *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no. 3657 with the slight variation of the word *dār*, abode, instead of *madīnah*.

³⁵⁶ Hamiduddin, 2000, pp. 31-43, discusses the understanding and importance of the concept of 'ilm in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition in considerable detail.

³⁵⁷ In numerous Qur'ānic verses the words *kitāb* and *ḥikmah* are used together. In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition *kitāb* refers to the *ẓāhir*, while *ḥikmah* refers to the *bātin*.

(*al-Kitāb al-Nāṭiq*), creates a principle of correspondence with him³⁵⁸. The use of the motif simultaneously, once again, reinforces continuity and the binarism of *zāhir-bāṭin*.

The sixth and final segment beseeches *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib as heir to Muhammad, and also recognizes the role of the Dā'īs. Al-Ṭayyib is related to the Prophet through a number of *fikrah*-relations. While the word *wahy* is exclusively used for the Prophet, the description of al-Ṭayyib as the place of descent for divine aid and enlightenment (*mahbaṭ al-ta'īd al-qudsān*), evokes Muhammad's description as one upon whom revelation descends³⁵⁹, clearly conveying the belief that the Imām inherits Muhammad's link with the divine. Further, the use of al-Ṭayyib's *kunyah*, Abū al-Qāsim, the same as the *kunyah* of the Prophet, as stated explicitly in the *Sijill al-bishārah* mentioned above, also suggests that al-Ṭayyib inherits Muhammad's roles of guidance and intercession. This description of al-Ṭayyib addresses, and responds, to the crucial role he plays in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* following seclusion.

A crucial relation between the Dā'īs and al-Ṭayyib is established in the last two phrases of the sixth segment, addressing the reality of al-Ṭayyib's seclusion. Al-Ṭayyib is described as making clear the straight path of the true religion (*dīn al-ḥaqq*) and, further, as establishing the proofs (*barāhīn*) of this religion through his Dā'īs. A *fikrah*-relation is also created with the surname '*Burhān al-Dīn*', of four Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'īs, including the present Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq, Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin. Based on this *nisbah*-relation with al-Ṭayyib and the religion, a *fikrah*-relation is created with the use of the term *dīn al-ḥaqq* in the first segment. While in segment-1 the *āfāq-anfus* are portrayed as the proofs of the righteousness of God's religion, here that role is assumed by the Dā'īs, as among the animate *anfus* symbolized by the inanimate *āfāq*. Just as the *āfāq-anfus* constituted the proofs of God's religion, it is implied that the Dā'īs, during the Imām's seclusion, are themselves the proofs of the physical presence of the Imām and the righteousness of his *Da'wah*. Al-Ṭayyib's relation with the Dā'īs, in the last two phrases of this Ṭahmīd, constitutes for the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs the vital link that connects them to the Imām in seclusion, and through him to all the Imāms, 'Alī, Muhammad and eventually God. The Ṭahmīd ends with a final prayer for the continuity of *ṣalawāt* until the Day of Judgment.

³⁵⁸ For other examples of reference to the Imāms as *quranā' al-kitāb* see: al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-123(Appendix-4:29), *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1246H(Appendix-4:179) and Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H(Appendix-4:182).

³⁵⁹ For example: al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 1-75(Appendix-4:24) and segment-1 of this Ṭahmīd.

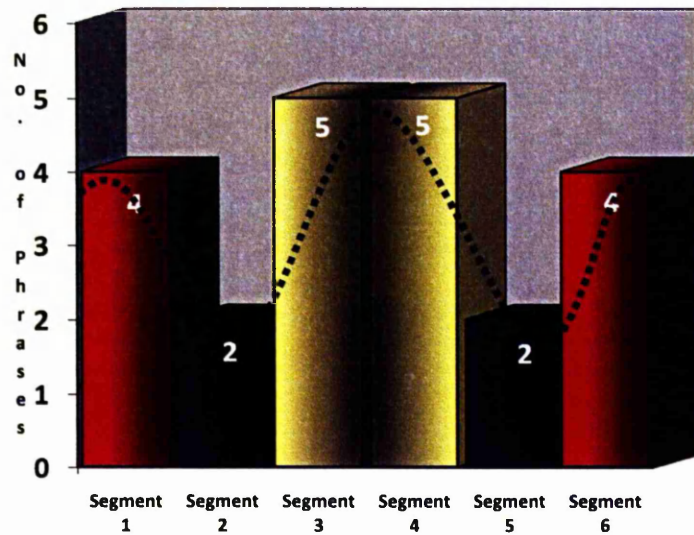
A few final observations regarding the use of rhetorical devices and the patterns at play in this Taḥmīd are worth noting. The single end-rhyme *-tihī*, that continues through this Taḥmīd, not only unifies its various segments but also, as a result of a pronoun at the end, assists in the creation and enhancement of the relations. At the end of every phrase, the audience is compelled to search and find the noun to which the pronoun refers. In the *tawḥīd* and *shahādah* of God and Muhammad, the pronoun predominantly refers to the Almighty and, in the *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad and part of the *ṣalawāt* on ‘Alī it refers to Muhammad. In the latter part of the *ṣalawāt* on ‘Alī, it refers to ‘Alī himself, bridging the way to the *ṣalawāt* on the Imāms which begins with a pronoun referring to ‘Alī: ‘ in his progeny (*dhurriyatiḥī*). We come full circle then in the *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib, where the pronoun again refers to God in ‘the one establishing for God for His devotees His argument’ (*al-qā’imī li Allāhi fī ‘aṣriḥī ‘alā al-‘ibādi bi ḥujjatiḥī*). Finally, the crucial repetition of the pronoun in the last phrase in the words ‘his path’ (*maḥajjatiḥī*), ‘his *ḥujaj*’ (*ḥujajiḥī*), ‘his Dā’is’ (*du’ātiḥī*), and the final end-rhyme, ‘his proofs’ (*adillatiḥī*), all referring back to al-Ṭayyib, builds and cements the integral relation of the Dā’is with al-Ṭayyib.

There is also an interestingly frequent use of the active-participle (*ism-fā’il*) throughout the Taḥmīd, that delineates the roles of each of the primary relata. God is the one who chooses and favours Muhammad (*mukhtaṣṣ*); Muhammad is the one who rises to uphold (*muḍṭali*) the trust of God; ‘Alī is the one who explains (*mubayyin*) the *Sharī‘ah*, the one who breaks (*muqawwid*) the *kuffār*, and the one who bursts open (*mufajjir*) the sea of knowledge; the Imāms are *quranā*’ (sing. *qarīn*), the ones who accompany the Book and the *khuzzān* (sing. *khāzin*), the ones who safeguard the hidden meanings; and finally al-Ṭayyib is the *qā’im*, the one who stands as *ḥujjah* of God. The reference to *du’āt*, the plural of the active-participle *dā’ī*, concludes the Taḥmīd. While the different signification of each word defines the role of each relata, the persistence of this conjugational form throughout the Taḥmīd inevitably relates the different relata and segments to each other.

As for the sight and sound pattern, there is again an uncanny symmetry that reflects the concepts of binarism and continuity. The number of phrases in each segment, marked by the appearance of the end-rhyme, creates a wave-like structure. The first segment is four phrases, the second is two, the third is five, the fourth is also five, the fifth is two, and the last sixth segment is four: 4-2-5-5-2-4 (See Fig. 3). That the

segments devoted to Muhammad and ‘Alī respectively are both five, reflects the equal responsibility of each in the their respective roles of *tanzīl* and *ta’wīl*. Splitting the Ṭahmīd in the middle, the first half, 4-2-5 is the mirror image of the second half, 5-2-4, reflecting the binarism between the *maḥsūs* and the *ma’qūl* established in relation to the *āfāq* and *anfus*. Finally, the wave like pattern (dotted line in Fig. 3) suggests continuity, for indeed one wave is always followed by another, just as one Imām or Dā’ī is always followed by another.

Majlis 101 Tahmid Sight and Sound Patterns
Figure 3



The Indian Phase

The change in the dynamics of the *Da'wah* with the transfer of the centre from Yemen to India directly affects the nature of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd. The Ṭahmīds in the Indian phase are distinguished by the dramatic increase in the average length in the 11th/17th century and, also in the same period, by the introduction of the *qaṣīdah* within the Ṭahmīd, the *ṣalawāt* on Fātimah, Ḥasan-Ḥusayn and the Dā'īs and the adoption of a style rich with rhetorical devices. The primary concepts and motifs, as in the Yemeni phase, are inherited from the Fatimid tradition and further developed, especially with the opportunity provided by the increase in length.

The roots of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* in India go back to the time of the Fatimid Imām al-Mustanṣir, five centuries earlier than the actual transfer of *Da'wah* headquarters to India in the 10th/16th century³⁶⁰. One of the earliest missionaries who came to the Kathiawar region of India is reported to have learned Fatimid theology under the tutelage of al-Mu'ayyad in Cairo. The *Da'wah* in India was administered through Yemen since Fatimid times. During the first four centuries of the Imām's seclusion, the *Da'wah* in India was administered by a series of indigenous governors (*wālīs*) appointed by the Dā'īs in Yemen. When circumstances in Yemen became untenable, the twenty-third Dā'ī Muhammad 'Izz al-Dīn (d. 946/1539), appointed as successor the Indian Dā'ī Yusuf Najm al-Dīn (d. 974/1567), who had come to Yemen from India to seek knowledge from him. Though this Dā'ī too died in Yemen, he appointed the son of the last *wālī* of India, the Dā'ī Jalāl Shams al-Dīn (d. 975/1567), as his successor, after which the seat of the *Da'wah*, with one exception³⁶¹, remained in India, where the present Dā'ī Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin resides.

Though there was minimal addition to the corpus of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature in the early Indian phase, the heritage of the Fatimid and Yemeni phases, both physical copies of the texts and the unwritten understanding of it that was passed from mentor to pupil, was preserved and applied to contemporary issues. Though the mother tongue of the Dā'īs and scholars was not Arabic, they did know and understand the language well enough to teach works written in Arabic. Prominent scholars, among them the first four Dā'īs in India, travelled to Yemen for the sake of obtaining 'knowledge' (*'ilm*) from the

³⁶⁰ There had been Ismā'īlīs in the Indian subcontinent (Multan) during the time of al-Mu'izz, who even held political power, which was quashed by Mahmud Ghazni. For an overview of the initial stages of the *Da'wah* in India see Hamdānī (1956) and Blank (2001, p.37).

³⁶¹ The exception was the thirtieth Dā'ī 'Alī Shams al-Dīn (d. 1042/1632) who was based in Yemen.

Dā'ī himself; the transfer of the headquarters to India thus appears to be carefully planned. The scholar Ḥasan b. Nūḥ (d. 939/1533) and Dā'ī Jalāl Shams al-Dīn, the second Dā'ī of Indian origin, are known to have even taught other students in Yemen. There are also accounts of the continuation of the practice of tutelage and special discourses similar to al-Mu'ayyad's Thursday *Majālis*, based on his and numerous other texts, from the times of the earliest Indian Dā'īs and even before. A major portion of the *Da'wah* library corpus in manuscript form was transferred from Yemen to India. Autograph copies of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's *al-Majālis wa al-musā'irāt*, and Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn's *'Uyūn al-akhbār*, are still preserved in the Dā'ī's collection.

Several works on refutation, history and jurisprudence survive from the initial Indian period. The majority of these works are still in manuscript form. Based on a number of these manuscripts, the following generalities can be observed. The Ṭahmīds in many of the works on jurisprudence, such as *Majmū' al-fiqh* (Appendix-4:164), written in the time of Dā'ī Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754) are brief and formulaic, possibly following the example of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān, the father of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī jurisprudence. However, another work on jurisprudence written in the 13th/19th century, also entitled *Majmū' al-fiqh*, features a lengthier contextualizing Ṭahmīd (Appendix-4:171), demonstrating a change in the trend. An example of a refutation work written in the 11th-12th/17th-18th century by Ḥabīb-Allāh Sidhpūrī, *Risālat al-Izhār wa al-Tabyīn* (Appendix-4:160), begins with a brief Ṭahmīd contextualizing the text based on the antithetical binarism of *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil*. The Ṭahmīd of a *sīrah* of the twenty-sixth Dā'ī Dā'ūd b. 'Ajabshāh (d. 999/1591), by Ḥasan b. 'Alī Khān b. Tāj: *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah* (Appendix-4:161), is an excellent example that demonstrates the continuity of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, but with the additional *ṣalawāt* on Fātimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. It is fairly long, and focuses on relations with guidance, fortitude and the concept of *Naṣṣ* to contextualize the time during and after the reign of the Dā'ī Dā'ūd b. 'Ajabshāh. This *sīrah* also contains the *Risālat al-Na'y* (Appendix-4:162), sent by the twenty-seventh Dā'ī to Yemen upon the demise of his predecessor, which also has an excellent Ṭahmīd that contextualizes the inevitability of death by creating relations that are similar to the ones seen in Fatimid chancery *na'y risālahs*³⁶². This *na'y risālah* confirms that there was a tradition of sending official *risālahs* to followers in Yemen, possibly authored by the equivalent of the chancery *kātib* or by prominent *ḥudūd*.

³⁶² See for example Ṭahmīd by Ibn al-Ṣayrafi in context of al-Musta'fi's death (Appendix-4:67, 68 and 69).

The time of the forty-third Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817), saw a renaissance of the literary output of the Fatimid *Da'wah*, both prose and poetry. The forty-third Dā'ī is said to have taken a keen interest in mastering the Arabic language. He also had an enormous aptitude for composing *qaṣīdahs* in the same tradition as al-Mu'ayyad and the Yemeni Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd; a *diwān* of the Dā'ī's *qaṣīdahs* is preserved in the *Da'wah* library. In addition to the Dā'ī's personal excellence in both Arabic language and *Da'wah* literature, his organization and consolidation of the 'Dars-e-Sayfī', a free seminary for students of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition of learning (with its roots back in the time of the thirty-fourth Dā'ī), further encouraged literary activity. A number of important works on history and jurisprudence were written³⁶³, and the tradition of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* (Appendix-4:166, 172-189), crucial with respect to Ṭahmīd, became well established in this time³⁶⁴.

The earliest *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* (Appendix-4:166) I have seen is from the time of the forty-first Dā'ī 'Abd-al-Ṭayyib Zakīyy al-Dīn (d. 1200/1785). The 12th/18th century bibliography of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature compiled by al-Majdū' (*Fihrist al-kutub*) does not list any *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, leading to the conclusion that practice was established as tradition only after that. The tradition of the *Rasā'il-Yamaniyyah* existed for a long time, such as the *Risālat al-Na'y* mentioned earlier, but these were primarily epistles that conveyed to the followers in Yemen news of the happenings in the Dā'ī's headquarters. Nonetheless, they also featured Ṭahmīds and undoubtedly played a role in the development of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*. It is known that while authoring his *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, Syedna Taher Saifuddin regularly looked through the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* written in the time of his predecessors as well as the *Rasā'il-Yamaniyyah*.

These *risālahs* became more or less an annual tradition. They were written ahead of, or during, the holy month of *Ramaḍān*, as the date of completion in some *risālahs* shows. The *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* were completed as early as Rajab, two months before the beginning of *Ramaḍān*, or in Sha'bān, a month earlier, or even in *Ramaḍān* itself. This is known from some *risālahs* in which the date of completion is actually written. It is possible that the completion of some of these *risālahs* in Rajab has led to the

³⁶³ For example, al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Sayfī's *Risālat al-Libās* (Appendix-4:167), al-Shaykh Qutub b. Sulaymān's *Muntaza' al-Akhbār* (Appendix-4:168) and *Majmū' al-Fiqh* (Appendix-4:171).

³⁶⁴ I have not found any academic scholarship on the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* as an independent genre in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature. What follows is based on a survey of over seventy manuscripts of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, from the 12th/18th century until the 14th/20th century, from the time of the forty-first Dā'ī to the time of the fiftieth (d. 1333/1915).

assumption that the *Rasā'il-Rajabiyyah* was a different annual tradition. It is my contention that the *Risālah-Rajabiyyah* is simply a *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* that was written two months in advance.

The *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* were written by learned scholars in the Dā'ī's name. In the time of the Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn, it is clear from the variation in style and structure that more than one person was given this responsibility³⁶⁵. One of the remarkable individuals who composed these *risālahs* is the scholar 'Abd-'Alī 'Imād al-Dīn: he was tutored by Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn himself, and reached the high rank of *Mukāsir al-Da'wah*³⁶⁶. The milestone of personally authoring the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* was reserved for the fifty-first Dā'ī Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

The *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* begin with a comparatively long Taḥmīd. The primary structure of the Taḥmīd in terms of the components and sub-components is by and large consistent, but there is inconsistency in the inclusion and placement of the *qasīdah* and *ṣalawāt* on the Dā'īs. For instance, we see examples of the inclusion of the *qasīdah* as early as 1214H (Appendix-4:173), but then for many years it does not appear, possibly because of a change of author. Then again we see a reappearance of lengthy *qasīdahs* in 1244 (Appendix-4:178) in praise of Imāms and one in praise of al-Ṭayyib in particular. The *ṣalawāt* on the Dā'ī, for instance, is explicitly stated in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1214H (Appendix-4:173) and left out in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1221 (Appendix-4:175). The structure becomes reasonably consistent in the *risālahs* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin (Appendix-4:182-189), discussed in the following chapter (p.262).

Following the lengthy Taḥmīd the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* offer wise counsel (*maw'izah*), and encourage followers to take full advantage of the season of devotion. Following the *maw'izah* is often an explication of various Fatimid philosophies, the meaning of Qur'ānic verses and tenets of the *Sharī'ah* including the seven pillars of Islam. There is also an assertion of the continuity from the time of the Prophet, with special focus on the transition of the *Da'wah* from the *zuhūr* period (the presence of the Imām among the people) to the *satr* period (the seclusion of the Imām and the appointment of the first Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq in Yemen) up to the transfer to India, and

³⁶⁵ Compare for instance the styles in *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1213H (Appendix-4:172) and 1214H (Appendix-4:173) on the one hand and 1214H and 1221H (Appendix-4:175) on the other. It is apparent that the former two were penned by the same author while the difference in style suggests that the latter two were penned by different authors.

³⁶⁶ *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1244H (Appendix-4:178), 1246H (Appendix-4:179) and 1248H (Appendix-4:180) are examples of Taḥmīds authored by the scholar 'Abd-'Alī 'Imād al-Dīn.

continuing until the time of writing. The *sīrah* of preceding Dā'īs, and the accomplishments and steadfastness of their *ḥudūd* through the ages, also features in the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*. The *risālahs* end with a Ṭahmīd as well.

These *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* were only accessible directly by the limited minority who were proficient in Arabic. Despite this, because of the stature of Arabic as the language of the Qur'ān and as the language of *Da'wah* learning, it remained the primary language of literary composition. There is however, a parallel tradition of writing, especially poetry, in local languages such as Gujarati and Urdu. Even for people who knew Arabic, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition of learning requires a mentor (*mufīd*) to pass on to the pupil the true understanding and essence of theological works that may not be perceivable through comprehension of the letter of the text alone. In practice, the *risālahs* were copied and sent to different centres of the *Da'wah* where local representatives would use them as a basis for lectures before and during Ramaḍān; this was the case with the majority of religious lectures which were delivered in the *Lisān al-Da'wah* (lit. language of the *Da'wah*, a slightly modified version of Gujarati) based on Arabic texts and notes³⁶⁷. This continues to be the practice in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī community today.

The impact of the Indian tradition of Arabic prose writing on the style of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, and a fascination with the *badī'* tradition, must be noted. We can postulate, pending further investigation, that the Indian style of Persian literature popular in the 12th-14th/18th-20th centuries, known as *Sabk-i Hindī*, may have had an influence³⁶⁸. It is characterized by the usage of very elaborate rhetorical devices and was very popular in India in this period. Elements of this style are apparent in many of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*. In *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1237H, for example, the entire Ṭahmīd is a series of rhyming couplets consisting of a phrase composed by the author alternated with a Qur'ānic verse. A number of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* Ṭahmīds and *qasīdahs* are consciously devoid of one or more letters; *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1350H (Appendix-4:186), for example, is devoid of dotted letters, and *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1367H is devoid of *alif* and *thā'*. The appearance in the Ṭahmīds of the *qasīdah*, the epitome of rhyme and rhythm, may also be associated with the *Sabk-i Hindī*

³⁶⁷ Plate-VIIa and VIIb are images of original manuscript scrolls of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1224H and 1244H.

³⁶⁸ For further readings on *Sabk-i Hindī* see: de Bruijn, 'Sabk-i, Hindī', *EI2*; Kirmani, W, (1977); A. Ahmad (1971), M. Mohiuddin (1960) and S. Faruqi (2004).

trend. As the analysis of the Taḥmīd of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1214H below will demonstrate, the text is highly stylized and the use of rhetorical devices, especially paronomasia and parallelism, is relatively speaking far greater than in the earlier phases.

Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1214H: *The season of worship*

The following Taḥmīd is the opening of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1214H (Appendix-4:173) written in the time of the forty-third Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn. While the Fatimid heritage is apparent in the usage of Fatimid motifs and binarisms, the extended length and added sub-components of the Taḥmīd contextualize the religious and geopolitical circumstances of the Indian phase. The adaptation of the Taḥmīd to the extended span of time since the seclusion of the Imām, and to the Indian environment, is through a *ṣalawāt* on the progeny of al-Ṭayyib, a number of *ṣatr* specific motifs and additionally a broader and independent segment devoted to the Dā'īs.

The reasons for choosing this particular Taḥmīd are the following: the forty-third Dā'ī heralded a renaissance in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī literature in India, of which this Taḥmīd is an excellent example, and consolidated the annual *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* tradition. Additionally, it contextualizes the season of worship, *Ramaḍān*, as does al-Mu'ayyad's Taḥmīd discussed above, allowing a close comparison. It also uses the majority of sub-components introduced in the Indian phase, including the *qaṣīdah*, and demonstrates a fervent preference for rhetorical devices, illustrating the impact of the Indian milieu.

The usually long Taḥmīds in all *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* present a challenge in terms of analysis. The length of this Taḥmīd still allows a division and analysis based on segments. Following the *basmalah*, it can be divided into twelve segments, i-*ḥamd 1* (subdivided into four parts including the *qaṣīdah*), ii-*ḥamd 2*, iii-*shahādah* of God, iv-*shahādah* and *ṣalawāt* on the Prophet, v-*ṣalawāt* on 'Alī, vi-Fātimah, vii-Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, viii-the Imāms, ix-al-Ṭayyib, x-the Imāms in al-Ṭayyib's progeny, xi-the Imām al-'aṣr and xii- blessings (*raḥmah* and *riḍwān*) on the Dā'īs.

Segment-1a, using a number of rhetorical devices, especially the symmetrical sight and sound patterns of the *qaṣīdah*, establishes the Greatness of God with relation to His creation, the *tawḥīd* paradox and the relation of worship between God and His devotees. It begins with four flawlessly grammatically-parallel phrases (see visual representation of sight and sound patterns in Appendix-4:173). The first word in all four phrases, all synonymous active-participles which signify the Unity of God (*mutawāḥḥid*, *mutafarriḍ*,

mutaṣammīd and *mutajarrīd*), stand in contrast to the couplet of words at the end of each phrase, highlighting His Oneness in a binary world. God is described with relation to abstract concepts such as praise, greatness, supremacy and power, a common relation in the broader Ṭahmīd tradition as well.

Separated from the initial *ḥamd* by the emphatic *dhālika Allāh alladhī*, the subsequent three phrases, segment-1b, are also grammatically-parallel. While the relation with God in segment-1a is with abstract concepts, the first word of the three phrases in this segment, all synonymous verbs denoting the act of lowering (*dhallat*, *kharrat* and *khasha'at*), relates God with the people of His creation. In the first two phrases, the signification of the verb describing the people is semantically the antonym of the attribute associated with God: the yielding or lowering (*dhallat*) of the necks of the great people (*riqāb al-‘uzamā’* – the usage of the neck with respect to ‘*izzah* is idiomatic) is in contrast to the honour of God (‘*izzat ‘aẓamatih*); similarly the lowering (*kharrat*) of the foreheads of great people (*jibāh al-kibriyā’*) contrasts with the Power of the Greatness of God (*sulṭān al-kibriyā’*). That the people who are great in their own right become, in relation to God, humble, heightens the expression of the Greatness of the Almighty. The final phrase is the only one in which there is no apparent contrast, since it refers to the relation of God with His *awliyā’*, who in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context represent God on earth. The attribute of God related with the radiance of His unity (*nūr waḥdaniyyatih*), is also suitably distinct from the imposing ‘*izzat ‘aẓamatih* and *sulṭān kibriyā’ih*. We begin with negative relations with antagonistic abstract concepts and end with a relation with the *awliyā’*, who, in the context of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *tawḥīd*, are the only true link between people and God.

The *qaṣīdah* that follows, segment-1c, basically a short ode of praise for the Almighty, also reflects this transition, and evokes the *tawḥīd* paradox discussed above. *Qaṣīdahs* in the *ḥamd* section are relatively rare in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds, this being one of only two examples I have seen³⁶⁹. In the context of the seamless parallelism demonstrated above, the impeccable metrical parallelism of the *Hazaj-majzū* metre: *mafā‘ilun mafā‘ilun fa‘ūlun* (twice), blends in. If the sight and sound patterns of grammatically parallel statements can be said to persuade tacitly, then the power of the *qaṣīdah’s* perfectly symmetrical sight and sound patterns cannot be challenged. The author commands the audience: perceive or meditate (*tabaṣṣar*) on the deemed-to-be-

³⁶⁹ The other is in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1213H (Appendix-4:172).

imperceptible glory of God. The ensuing meditation leads to the realization, in the second line, of the impossibility of a relation with Him. The 'arelation' discussed in the previous chapter (p.182) is established using the physical-intellectual (*abṣār-afkār*) binarism. While the intellect is superior to physical sense, both are equal in their perplexity with relation to God. The *qaṣīdah*'s two hemistiches, with a clear break in between, are also ideally suited for establishing this binarism: one hemistich is devoted to the impotence of thoughts (*afkār*), the other to the inadequacy of eyes (*abṣār*). The conjugational parallelism of the words *afkār* and *abṣār* further emphasizes this relation.

After reiterating the Unity and power of God in the following two lines, in the fifth line the author establishes the *tawhīd* paradox. God is high (beyond us and faraway) with relation to His magnificence (*jalāl*) and is near to us with relation to His kindness (*luṭf*), a paradox already echoed at the end of the very first line through the couplet of antithetical words: near (*qurb*) and far (*nā'ī*). This paradox is resolved in the second hemistich of line five through a relation between God and His 'guides' (*hudāt*). This *nisbah*-relation with the *hudāt* or *awliyā'* creates a *fikrah*-relation with the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī concept of the *ḥudūd* as the mediators between God and mankind (discussed earlier). The juxtaposition of this relation with the paradox, facilitated by the *qaṣīdah*'s form, is most striking.

The final line, also exploiting the hemistichal break, utilizes the antithetical binarism of *ḥaqq* and *bātil*, using the words 'ābid (one who obeys and worships God) and 'āṣī (one who disobeys Him). The former enjoys solace from the fear of calamities, while the latter must endure misery. The proximity of the 'ābid to the *hudāt* also creates a *fikrah*-relation between them, implying that he who is an 'ābid recognizes God through His *hudāt*. The choice of the word 'ābid here is not arbitrary; it creates a *fikrah*-relation with the context of the Ṭahmīd, the text and the 'season of worship'. The antithetical binarism encourages the audience to dissociate from the latter group ('āṣī) and be part of the former group ('ābid) and thus take full advantage of this season, which is one of the primary purposes of the *risālah*.

Looking at the *qaṣīdah* as a whole, using tools of *qaṣīdah* analysis, a transfer from a state of confusion to a state of salvation can be seen to have been achieved. In the beginning of the *qaṣīdah* the verb *taḥārat* (to become confused), represents the perplexity with regard to the relation with God. As we continue through the *qaṣīdah*, the relation with the *awliyā'* and the suggestion of worship as a path to salvation clarify the

confusion. Any *qaṣīdah*, according to Sperl and Shackle (1996, p.39), also acts as a custodian to a 'moral code' that is "not incidental or the subject matter of the poem but resides at its very core". Its function as a custodian is exercised "through praise of those who uphold the code, blame of those who infringe it, and instruction and admonition of the audience to adhere to it and respect it". The praise and admonition in this concise *qaṣīdah* is in the final line: the indirect praise for those who, acknowledging God's *hudāt*, obey and worship Him, and the admonition of those who disobey Him, incurring His wrath. The moral code, then, is the recognition, obedience and worship of the Almighty.

With the repetition of the emphatic *dhālika Allāh alladhī*, following from the last line of the *qaṣīdah*, segment-1d focuses attention on the season of worship, using familiar rhetorical tools. In the three grammatically parallel phrases, worship (*'ibādah*), obedience (*tā'ah*) and glorification (*tasbīh*), related to God through a pronoun, are personified as the subject of the verbs they follow. The imagery in the first two phrases focuses on light while the slightly longer final phrase acts as a climax. The worship, obedience and glorification of God themselves make those who perform these acts radiate with light, cast aside darkness and pave the way for salvation respectively. The final two words in the first phrase, *nūr wa al-diyā'*, are contrasted with their counterparts in the second phrase, *ẓulumāt al-aṣdā'*. But in the first phrase, the verb *laqaḥat* creates a positive relation with *nūr* in that *'ibādah* is a source of light, while, in the second phrase, the verb *jallat* creates a negative relation with *ẓulumāt* in that *tā'ah* eliminates darkness. The same contrast is present in the final phrase, in which the treacherous road to salvation is pacified and eased by the grace of God and His glorification. Utilizing these rhetorical devices, the Ṭahmīd thus builds a case for performing acts of devotion in the season of worship and encourages the audience to do so by relating them to God's light and salvation.

The second segment, marked with the repetition of *ḥamd* in the verbal form, introduces the two aspects of worship, the physical aspect of worship (*'ibādah-amaliyyah*), and the intellectual aspect (*'ibādah-ilmiyyah*), as a complementary binarism. The first two long couplets are set apart through the repetition of *ja'ala* which endorses this binarism. A final shorter concluding couplet, begun with the emphatic cognate-accusative, *ḥamdan*, reiterates the binarism and concludes the *ḥamd*.

Reinforcing the *'ibādah-amaliyyah*, the first couplet, beginning with *ja'ala*, relates the 'noble days' (*ayyām fāḍilah*) to God in that it is He who made them special.

The similarity with al-Mu'ayyad's contextualization of the holy days in the beginning of his Ṭahmīd (analyzed above) cannot be missed. The days are further described by relating those who worship God in them with exponential rewards, once again encouraging physical acts of worship. The rhetorical impact of the four consecutive words describing those who obey, fast, stand in prayer, and worship (*tuwwa', suwwam, quwwam, 'ubbad*) is immense. All four words are plurals of intensive active-participles (*sighat al-mubālaghah*), with the same conjugational pattern, the repeating of which tacitly, but forcefully, persuades. Using just these four words, the essential, physical aspects of the season of worship are introduced.

The second couplet, its separation from the first distinctly marked by the repetition of *ja'ala*, focuses directly on *'ibādah-'ilmiyyah*, the intellectual and rational reason for the special status of the months, by using the deep-rooted *sāmit-nātiq* binarism. In this case, rather than to the Qur'ān, it refers to the Silent, inanimate, holy months (*sāmit*), which are related to the Speaking animate *ḥudūd (nātiq)*, echoing once again one of al-Mu'ayyad's propositions. However, rather than leaving the precise signification of the months ambiguous, as is the case in al-Mu'ayyad's Ṭahmīd above, here an esoteric *nisbah*-relation specifies them as the *ḥudūd*.

The final, flawlessly parallel, short couplet concludes the *ḥamd* section, consolidating the importance of both the *'ibādah 'amaliyyah-'ilmiyyah*, the *sāmit-nātiq* and the *mathal-mamthūl*. The grammatical parallelism of the two phrases, enhanced by the synthetic semantic parallelism, assists in making this conclusion effective. Gratitude is offered twice, using closely associated words, *ḥamd* and *shukr*, with the expectation of more of God's bounties and grace (*na'mā' and ālā'*), based on the Qur'ānic verse in which God promises to give more to those who offer thanks (14:7). With the binarism already set, the two parallel phrases beginning with *ḥamd* and *shukr* create a *fikrah*-relation with the two types of *'ibādah*. The first phrase can be understood as offering thanks for the bounties received through the exponential rewards of *'ibādah 'amaliyyah* in the Silent inanimate holy months, while the second can be understood as offering thanks for rewards of *'ibādah 'ilmiyyah*: the knowledge and recognition of the Speaking animate *ḥudūd* that they represent. The Fatimid heritage of the binarism is clear, yet the use of rhetorical devices and the more open declaration of the symbols represented is truly 'Indian' in flavour.

The third segment, beginning with the *shahādah* of God, draws on the familiar images representing the unreachability of God through the physical-intellectual binarism, a relation also created earlier in the *qasīdah*. Featuring both grammatical and synthetic semantic parallelism, the first phrase draws the image of the (physical) tongues of eloquent speakers attempting to express His magnificence literally being reined in (*aljama*), and the second phrase draws the image of (intellectual) thoughts rising to the sky of His unity being overwhelmed (*afḥama*)³⁷⁰.

The repetition of the verbal-noun, *shahādatan*, followed by a modified quote of the Prophet's *Ḥadīth* on the meaning of the sincere rendition of the *shahādah*, creates a *fikrah*-relation with its esoteric dimension, discussed in the previous chapter (p.169), and contextualizes the seasons. The sincere rendition of the *shahādah*, according to the *Ḥadīth*, is through recognition of the *ḥudūd* it represents and the *ḥuqūq* it embodies. The *ḥudūd* and *ḥuqūq* mirror the binarism of the two '*ibādahs* created beforehand. The *ḥuqūq* include '*ibādah*-'*amaliyyah*, the physical obligation of fasting, praying and almsgiving, all essential physical rites of the season of worship. The recognition of the *ḥudūd*, that are the true animate 'seasons', elevates one in the ranks of knowledge, '*ibādah*-'*ilmiyyah*, and ensures the acceptance of his *shahādah* and allows him to reap the benefits of pronouncing it 'sincerely' (with '*ikhhlās*'). That the proclamation with *ikhhlās* involves the fulfilling of the true *ḥuqūq*, and acknowledgment of the real *ḥudūd* embedded in the esoteric significations of the *shahādah* discussed earlier, is emphasized here by the addition of the words hidden (*bāṭin*), and secrets (*asrār*) to describe the two respectively.

Segment-4a, beginning with the *shahādah* of the Prophethood of Muhammad, creates two significant *nisbah*-relations: with the Prophets and with the *Sharī'ah*. The elevated relation of Muhammad, with regard to earlier Prophets, is a standard one in the broader Ṭahmūd tradition and is also used extensively in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmūds³⁷¹. The phrase that follows creates a more specific relation between the *Sharī'ah* of Muhammad and that of the earlier Prophets, with the proposition that the Islamic *Sharī'ah* encompasses all the virtues and beauties of earlier *Sharī'ahs*. While the praise of

³⁷⁰ The root of '*Afḥama*', the fourth form verb, is *fahm* (black coal). The fourth form also conveys a person being silenced or overwhelmed by an argument. In the context of the image, either signification, the skies turning black and dark or being silenced fits in.

³⁷¹ This relation is also used in al-Buṣīrī's famous *Burdah* (Qtd. in full in Sperl and Shackle, 1996, pp.388ff):

فألق النبيين في خلق وفي خلق
ولم يدانوه في علم ولا كرم

the Prophet in this manner is customary, the reference to the *Sharī'ah* creates two important *fikrah*-relations. The first is with the context of the Ṭahmīd, the season of worship, in which the entire emphasis is indeed on the practice of the *Sharī'ah*. Its description as the greatest with relation to earlier ones, acts as an impetus for its followers to do it justice in this season. It also creates the familiar *fikrah*-relation with Muhammad's role in the *tanzīl-ta'wīl* binarism, since the *Sharī'ah* was revealed to Muhammad alongside the Qur'ān.

The short uni-phrase *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad that follows, segment-4b, through the *fikrah*-relations it creates, relates it with the esoteric dimension of *ṣalawāt*. The repetition of the *maṣdar* of *ṣalawāt*, *ṣalātan*, allows a description of *ṣalawāt* as one that suffices to repay the debt of Muhammad's guidance. The word compensation (*ujūr*), in the context of compensating the Prophet for his guidance, inspires a *fikrah*-relation with the Qur'ānic verse 42:23, in which Muhammad is told to say: 'I do not ask you any compensation (*ajr*)... except love (*mawaddah*) for my relations (*qurbā*). Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (*Da'āim*, p. 68) cites a *Ḥadīth* which specifies that *qurbā* in this context refers to 'Alī, Fāṭimah and their descendants. In this manner, the signification of *ṣalawāt* (discussed in detail earlier), that is the acceptance of the succession of one Imām after the other, becomes the true compensation for Muhammad. This naturally leads to the *ṣalawāt* on 'Alī, Fāṭimah and their descendants that follows, with the understanding that it is Muhammad's reward.

Segment-5a begins by creating a *nisbah*-relation between Muhammad and 'Alī as his successor and brother. 'Brotherhood' (*ikhā*) creates a *fikrah*-relation with the events following Muhammad's arrival in Mecca. He is said to have joined as brothers (*ākhā*) individuals who migrated to Mecca (the *muhājirīn*) and individuals who resided in Medina (the *anṣār*). According to the tradition in *Sunan al-Tirmidhī* (no. 3654): after everyone was paired, only 'Alī remained. When he asked the Prophet why he was left out, the Prophet replied: 'you are *my* brother in this world and the Hereafter'. There is also a *fikrah*-relation with the Mūsā-Hārūn motif, since Hārūn was Mūsā's *waṣiyy* and indeed his real brother.

This is followed by a relation with the audience who are identified as *his*, that is 'Alī's, *shī'ah*. The spirit (*rūḥ*) of *ta'wīl* removes, from the soul (*nafs*) of the *shī'ah*, the darkness of the physical prescriptions (*zawāhir al-Sharī'ah*) that are without logical

meaning. The relation between 'Alī and *ta'wīl* of course also completes the binarism of *tanzīl-ta'wīl* initiated in the *shahādah* of the Prophet.

Marked by the repetition of *ṣallā Allāh 'alayhi min waṣiyyin*, segment-5b, in the context of binarisms, describes 'Alī as above and beyond divisions or dichotomies, by relating him with three sets of diametric oppositions, but with the same proposition. 'Alī's eminence (*fadl*) is accepted by both followers and enemies; his Imāmate is recognized by both humans and jinn; his *walāyah* is acknowledged by both intelligent speaking beings and speechless beasts (*nāṭiqūn* and '*ajmā*'). The elongated non-conforming final phrase stands out from the synthetically semantic and grammatically parallel previous phrases. The rise of 'Alī beyond these divisions is not surprising if we consider this final climactic phrase, which creates a relation between 'Alī and God with the proposition that it is through 'Alī that God acts out His will and manifests His power.

The *ṣalawāt* on Fāṭimah, the sixth segment, places her as a link between Muhammad and 'Alī on the one hand and the Imāms on the other. The segment is linked with the previous one through a *nisbah*-relation between 'Alī and Fāṭimah as his wife. The next phrase creates a relation between Muhammad and Fāṭimah as his *bad'ah*, a part of him, his daughter. This creates a *fikrah*-relation with the *Ḥadīth* in which Muhammad states that Fāṭimah is his *bad'ah*: whosoever angers her, angers him and whosoever harms her, harms him³⁷².

The final phrase creates a relation between Fāṭimah and the Imāms (*maqāmāt*). The word *nūr* is repeated in slightly different forms: first in relation to 'Alī, where Fāṭimah is described as his illuminated bride (*'irsihi al-nūrāniyyah*), then with relation to Muhammad, where she is described as one extracted from his glowing light (*munshaqqah min nūrihī al-waḍḍā*), and finally in relation with the Imāms, where she is beautifully described as the land of grace from which the persons of illumination emanate (*maqāmāt al-anwār*)³⁷³. The use of a derivation of *nūr* in all three phrases establishes in itself a relation of continuity between the relata, reinforcing the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī concept of *tasalsul*.

The *nisbah*-relation between Fāṭimah and Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (two of the *maqāmāt*) as her sons links segment-7 to the previous one. The two parallel phrases

³⁷² Cited in Ṣaḥīḥ-Muslim, no. 4483, Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī, no. 3437 and 3483 and Sunan al-Tirmidhī, no. 3804.

³⁷³ A similar image is presented in this verse praising Fāṭimah by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in his *Diwān*.

روضه مجد ابوي وكم
أنشأ فيها ربها زمرا

create a relation between them and God with the proposition that, from them, flow the grace (*barakāt*) and radiance (*anwār*) of God. The only use of the word *barakāt*, prior to this, is in the description of the Prophet; the use of the word *barakāt* with reference to Fātimah creates a *fikrah*-relation with Muhammad. On the other hand, as discussed above, *anwār* is used in relation to Muhammad, ‘Alī and Fātimah; the use of the same word here further reinforces the continuity. In the context of the physical-intellectual binarism, the repetition of *nūr* with reference to different individuals suggests that, while the physical persons are different, the *nūr* is eternal. This bolsters the fundamental continuity of the Imāmate despite the atrocities on Ḥasan and Ḥusayn’s bodies (*nāsūt*), described in the following phrases.

The *nisbah*-relation of the Imāms with Ḥusayn begins the *salawāt* on the Imāms (segment-8). The images of light continue here, with the Imāms being represented as the rising suns in the sky of the *Sharī‘ah*. The light of the sun of Imāmate, like the two *‘ibādah*-s, dissipates darkness. It is worthwhile here to refer back to the Ṭahmīd analyzed in the previous section, and to the physical and theological realities expressed through the relations with *āfāq* and *anfus*. The sun in the physical realm (*āfāq*) symbolizes the sun in the spiritual realm (*anfus*). The rays of the sun of Imāmate, that are the rays of divine knowledge, have the power to give eternal life to the souls of the *shī‘ah*, just as the rays of the physical sun are the source of life on earth. The description does not liken the Imām to the sun, but in fact identifies him as the real sun in spiritual space. While the mirroring of primary relata with secondary nature-based relata is familiar, the distinction here is that the primary relata not only share certain attributes, but are in fact the true counterparts of the secondary relata in the religious cosmos.

The *nisbah*-relation in segment-9 stands out compared to all the other beginning *nisbah*-relations, in that al-Ṭayyib is not introduced as the son of the Imāms, but rather the Imāms are related to al-Ṭayyib as his fathers: in him the strength of his predecessors is combined. This is manifested through a system of esoteric signification based on the numerical value of the letters based on the *abjad-hawwaz* arrangement, a system that is used extensively in the Indian phase³⁷⁴. Al-Ṭayyib’s name is described as *nāṭiq*, in that it

³⁷⁴ The numerical value of letters is based on the *abjad-hawwaz* order of alphabets. The numbering starts with *alif*=1 and continues till ten, after which it continues in multiples of 10, i.e. 20, 30, 40 and so on until reaching hundred, after which it continues in multiples of 100 until reaching 1000 with the final letter. This order is memorized by putting the alphabets in their numerical order to form these words:

أبجد هوز حطي كلمن سعفص قرشت ثخذ ضرغ

bears witness to his place in the chain of Imāms, since its numerical value, twenty-one (the value of *ṭā'* is nine, *yā'* is ten, and *bā'* is two), corresponds to his position in the line of Imāms.

The seclusion of al-Ṭayyib is also contextualized in this segment through the use of a *nisbah* and an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with the Dā'īs. The seclusion of the Imām is explained by a crucial relation with the wisdom of the One Wise God (*ḥikmat al-ḥakīm*). The explicit *nisbah*-relation, following the image of the Imām drawing a curtain on himself, is followed by a relation with the Dā'īs in that through them the Imām continues to establish the *Da'wah* day after night. The relation with the secondary relata, day and night, is also well chosen in that it reflects and explains the spiritual reality of the seclusion (*satr*) and overt presence (*zuhūr*) of the Imām.

From an exegetical perspective, the description of the Dā'īs as those safeguarding the divine truths (*ḥaqā'iq*) and the privileged knowledge (*asrār*) of *ta'wīl*, creates a *fikrah*-relation with the discussion in the body of the *risālah*. The preservation of the tradition of knowledge is credited to the Dā'īs in Yemen, who safeguarded it from corruption by putting it down in writing. From an eisegetical perspective, it contextualizes the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*'s system for acquiring knowledge, which necessitates that one learn the basic *ẓāhir* texts first, in order to be able to understand fully the higher level of *ta'wīl* texts, so safeguarding them from misinterpretation. The authority to give permission for students to learn esoterics lies with the Dā'īs.

The following segment, segment-10, features a *ṣalawāt* on the Imāms in the progeny of al-Ṭayyib, a sub-component that becomes more frequent in the Indian phase, contextualizing the *satr* and creating further relations with the Dā'īs. The Imāms are related to al-Ṭayyib through a *nisbah*-relation as his sons. The seclusion of the Imām is presented and contextualized using a Qur'ānic motif particular to the *satr* period: the cave of seclusion in *sūrat al-Kahf* (18:9-25—*kahf al-satr wa al-taqīyyah*). Many aspects of this allegory, that in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *ta'wīl* context is a reality in the realm of religion, are utilized in Ṭahmīds to contextualize the *satr* period. The *fikrah*-relation with the Qur'ānic testament to the continuity of life for those in the cave, becomes a testament to the continuity of the Imāmate in the progeny of al-Ṭayyib. The reference is particularly significant since, while it accepts the mortality of al-Ṭayyib (hence *ṣalawāt*

The usage of the numeral values of letters and words, especially that of the *basmalah* (786), is still a common practice amongst Muslims of the Indian subcontinent in general. The numerical value of many of the titles of *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* represent the year they were written in.

on the progeny of al-Ṭayyib), at the same time it acknowledges the immortality of the *nūr* of the Imāmate referred to earlier (represented by the immortality of the people of the cave).

The Imām is also related to the Dā'īs as the one aiding them with the substance of inspiration and *'ilm*, to enable them to carry on the establishment of the *Da'wah* and, more relevant to the context of the *risālah*, to maintain the rites of *tasbīḥ* and *tahfīl* as prominent rites of the season of worship. Indeed one of the prime purposes of the *risālah* that the Ṭahmīd introduces is just that: the observation of the season of worship with *tasbīḥ* and *tahfīl*³⁷⁵. The image of the spiritual flow of support to the Dā'īs, resulting in the continuity of the *Da'wah*, contrasts with the preceding image of the Imām withdrawn into the cave of seclusion. The juxtaposition of the two sets of relations serves to highlight the permanence of the institution of the *Da'wah* and the endurance of the link with the Imām, despite the troubling circumstances.

Segment-11 begins with a *nisbah*-relation between the Imāms in al-Ṭayyib's progeny and the current Imām (*sāhib al-zamān*), with the crucial proposition that the *naṣṣ* of all the Imāms culminates in him. The mention of the term *anwār* with relation to the Imām, in view of the context of its previous usages in this Ṭahmīd, further emphasizes *tasalsul*. The contextualization of *satr* continues with an indirect relation with the Dā'īs. The relation here is directly between the Imām and the institution of the *Da'wah*, with the proposition that it shows signs of the strength and luminosity of the Imām in the pre-eminence of its activities: both based on knowledge (*'ulūm*) and based on physical worship (*a'māl*). The reappearance of this binarism brings us back full circle to the beginning of the Ṭahmīd: there the pair are discussed in a timeless absolute sense, whereas here they are said to be surviving in the present day despite all difficulties.

The survival is further highlighted by the *fikrah*-relation created between the three appearances of the word *sulṭān*. It appears firstly in segment-1b, in relation to the greatness of God's power (*sulṭān kibriyā'ih*). Secondly it appears in segment-10, in relation to the power of wretchedness or tyranny (*sulṭān al-darrā'*); this is presented as one of the reasons for the seclusion of the Imām. Finally, it appears again in this segment, segment-11, with reference to the eminence of the power of knowledge (*sulṭān al-'ulūm*), and devotional practices (*a'māl*): the two *'ibādahs*. The negativity of *sulṭān al-darrā'* is

³⁷⁵ There is even a specific mention in the body of the *risālah* of specific *tasbīḥ*-s that should be frequently done in Ramaḍān.

overwhelmed by the positive beginning and ending of the *sulṭān* of the greatness of God and the *sulṭān* of His worship.

The final segment of the Ṭahmīd, segment-12, focuses attention wholly on the Dā'īs, building on the relations created earlier, in particular the *kahf* motif. There is a subtle distinction maintained between the Imāms and the Dā'īs in that, instead of *ṣalawāt*, *raḥmah* and *riḍwān* are beseeched on the Dā'īs. The Dā'īs are described as spreading their arms at the cave, unmistakably evoking an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with the Qur'ānic verse 18:18 and image of the watchdog (*kalb*) who lies with his paws outstretched faithfully, guarding the cave while the dwellers sleep. The Qur'ānic verse presents the people of the cave as miraculous people who seem awake despite being asleep. This represents the state of the Imām in seclusion: though he is in a state of sleep, through the eminence of the *sulṭān* of *'ilm* and *'amal* in the *Da'wah* he seems awake. In the *ta'wīl* signification of the watchdog, the loyalty and defence is transposed to the Dā'īs who guard the *Da'wah*, the dominion of the Imāmate, from the attacks of enemies. Not only does the esoteric *fikrah*-relation define a specific interpretation of the verse but it also contextualizes the entire system of the *ṣatr*-*Da'wah* through this one complex motif.

The positive state of the *Da'wah* in this setup is further stressed with reference to the prevalence of the grace (*barakāt*) of forgiveness and contentment as a result of the knowledge of esoterics (*'ulūm baṭiniyyah*) and the divine inspirations (*fawā'id malakūtiyyah*) from the Imām. Through the negative relation with the people of oppression, with the proposition that the Dā'īs bear their transgressions for the sake of the *Da'wah*, the Dā'īs' sacrifice is recognized and appreciated. A *fikrah*-relation with the earlier reference to the suffering of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn is also created. This establishes a continuity, in that all God's *awliyā'* are affected by such transgressions in this world.

After a brief yet strong prayer for the Dā'īs, which completes the chain of continuity from the Prophet to the Dā'īs, the Ṭahmīd ends with an esoteric *nisbah*-relation with another Qur'ānic verse (46:31-32). The only full *āyah* quote in the Ṭahmīd, and coming at its very end, this verse creates one final binarism with respect to the audience. The jinn, who are the speakers in the Qur'ānic context, represent, according to the Ṭahmīd, the people of esoterics or *ta'wīl* (*ahl al-bāṭin* – *ahl Da'wat al-īmān*). The Dā'ī of Allāh, referring to the Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq in the *risālah*'s context, calls the jinn to answer his *Da'wah*. Establishing the familiar *ḥaqq-bāṭil* binarism, the result of accepting

the Dā'ī's call is described in the first of the two verses, whereas the repercussion of not accepting it is described in the other. The former results in forgiveness and protection from painful chastisement, while the latter category cannot escape [the wrath of] God on earth and have no recourse. The quotation of this verse, and the prospect of salvation or punishment that it suggests, based on the nature of the relation with the Dā'ī, brings together all the relations created in the Ṭahmīd and deposits them in this one final yet vital relation. It establishes unequivocally that in this age, today, salvation or damnation depends on allegiance to the Dā'ī.

A number of points regarding the rhetorical devices used throughout the Ṭahmīd are worth mentioning. These features glue the Ṭahmīd together rhetorically and also create some sort of pattern. First, there are keywords that appear throughout the Ṭahmīd, such as derivatives of *nāṭiq*, *Da'wah*, *nūr* and *barakah*. Less repeated, and in some cases recurring consecutively in two segments, the following words also help in binding the text together: derivatives of *'abada*, *'ilm/bāṭin*, *ism*, *sultān*, and *kahf*. The skilful placement of these words aids the semantic relations and, also purely through the repetition of the sight and sound patterns, act as vertical and horizontal coordinates that guide the text (as pegs that hold up the Ṭahmīd tent). The impeccable grammatical and synthetic parallelism throughout the Ṭahmīd, but especially at the beginning, also sustains the complementary and antithetical binarisms.

A striking and effective 'adhesive' is the single rhyme of the Ṭahmīd together with the continuous occurrence of pairs of mostly synonymous but also antonymous words such as *al-ḥamd wa al-thanā'*, *al-jalālah wa al-sanā'*, *al-ghalabah wa al-ghanā'*...*al-faḍl wa al-bahā'*, *al-jahr wa al-khafā'*...*al-rusul wa al-anbiyā'*...*al-waṣayah wa al-ikhā'*...*al-muwālūna wa al-a'dā'*...*al-faṭḥ wa al-ijrā'*...*al-fawt wa al-fanā'*...*al-satr wa al-khafā'*, *al-ṣabāḥ wa al-masā'*...*al-baghy wa al-faḥshā'*...*al-'add wa al-iḥṣā'*...*al-'afw wa al-riḍā'* (these pairs of words are coloured red and blue in the text of the Ṭahmīd to demonstrate their effect in terms of patterns of sight and sound). These pairs represent the innate binarism of *'ibādah* *'ilmiyyah*-*'amaliyyah*, with which this Ṭahmīd contextualizes the season of worship, but also, perhaps more importantly, create a sort of rhythm, a drum beat that holds the entire Ṭahmīd together on the most basic linguistic level.

While a general pattern of symmetry is difficult to find in such an extended Ṭahmūd, the numbers seven and nine, both symbolically significant in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, seem to appear continuously. Through the merging of individual segments, segments-1a and 1b together are seven phrases, 1c is also seven phrases, segments-1d and 2 are nine phrases, segments-3 and 4a (God and Prophet) are seven phrases, segments-4b and 5 (Prophet and 'Alī) are nine phrases, segments-6 and 7 (Fāṭimah and Ḥasan-Ḥusayn) are nine phrases, segments-8 and 9 (Imāms and al-Ṭayyib) are nine phrases, segments-10 and 11 (Imām and Imām *al-ʿaṣr*) are seven phrases, and the final segment, segment-12 (excluding the climactic Qur'ānic verse) is also seven phrases [7-7-9-7-9-9-9-7-7]. The first three [7-7-9] are a mirror image of the last three [9-7-7], echoing the binarism of the *mathal-mamthūl*. Even though it is through the merger of distinct segments, the recurrence of seven and nine is unlikely to be coincidental given their esoteric significance. Seven signifies, from one perspective, the heptads of Imāms and Dāʿīs, and their divinely ordained continuity; here we have two 'sevens' at each end, which echoes the *sabʿ mathānī* (seven twice), comprising *sūrat al-Fāṭihah* according to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. Nine, especially in the context of Ramaḍān, signifies the ninth *waṣiyy*, 'Alī³⁷⁶, the one responsible for explicating the esoteric signification of revelation and thus at the heart of the binarism of *mathal-mamthūl*.

Conclusion

Based on a consideration of the three primary phases in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, it is clear that their Ṭahmūds represent a shared system of belief, particularly in the continuity of the Imāmate and the binarism of the physical and intellectual, which are manifested in tropes and motifs that persist from the Fatimid to the Yemeni to the Indian phase. The change in religious and geopolitical circumstances is addressed through the expansion of the *ṣalawāt* and the introduction of *satr*-specific motifs. In the Indian phase, in particular, the fascination with patterns of sight and sound, apparent in the impeccable grammatical parallelisms and in the inclusion of the *qaṣīdah*, demonstrates the influence of the Indian milieu. The survey of the three phases represents the very essence of

³⁷⁶ 'Imād al-Dīn, *Risālat al-Bayān*: 'Adam's *waṣiyy*: i-Ḥābīl and ii-Shīth; Nūh: iii-Sām, Ibrāhīm:iv-Ismāʿīl and v-Ishāq; Mūsā: vi-Hārūn and vii-Yūshu'; 'Isā: viii-Shamʿūn al-Ṣafā; and Muhammad: ix-'Alī.

Ṭahmīd: a fixed set of underlying principles, adapted to contextualize changing circumstances.

نَحْمَدُهُ عَلَى عَظِيمِ نِعْمَتِهِ * نَشْكُرُهُ عَلَى عَظِيمِ مَنِّتِهِ
نَحْمَدُهُ مِنْ مُبَدِعِ حُجُبِ * فِي حُجُبٍ مِنْ غَيْبِهِ وَسُبْحَتِهِ
نَحْمَدُهُ مِنْ مُرْسِلِ الرُّسُلِ * فَضَّلَهُ عَلَى جَمِيعِ خَلْقَتِهِ
نَحْمَدُهُ مِنْ مُكَمِّلِ دِينِهِ * يَوْمَ غَدِيرٍ وَمُسْتَمِ نِعْمَتِهِ
نَحْمَدُهُ مِنْ مُطْلِعِ لَقَمَرِي * فَلَكِ بِهَذَا ثَمَرِي بُيُوتِهِ
نَحْمَدُهُ مِنْ مُوجِدِ فِي خَلْقِهِ * لَهْذِهِمْ مِنْ نَسْلِهِ لَصِفَتِهِ
نَحْمَدُهُ نَشْكُرُهُ نَعْبُدُهُ * مُسْتَمْسِكِينَ بِوَيْقِ عُرْوَتِهِ³⁷⁷

³⁷⁷ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Diwān*.

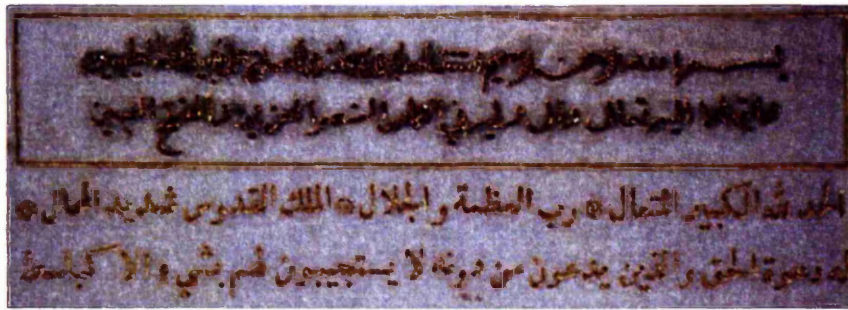


Plate-VIIIa

Inscription of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H in 'Rawḍat-Ṭāhirah', the mausoleum of the author, the 51st Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī, Syedna Taher Saifuddin (d. 1385/1965).

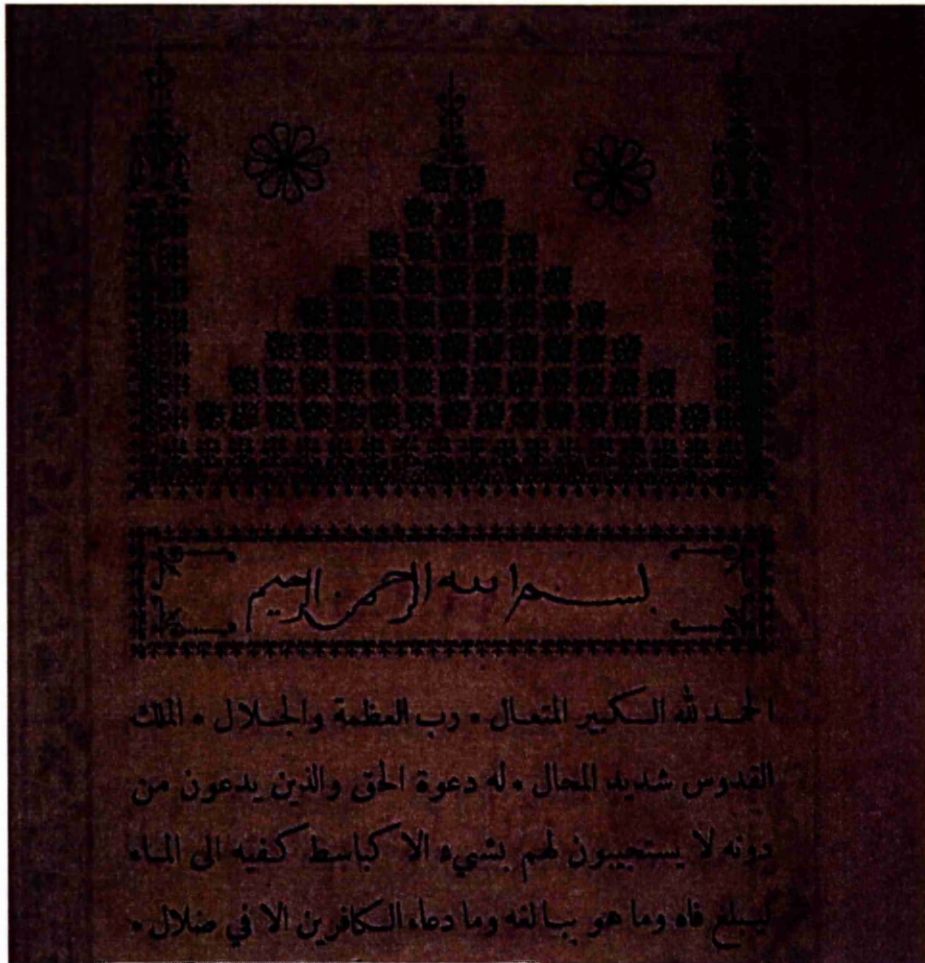


Plate-VIIIa

A print copy of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H with the *basmalah* written by the author himself. From personal library of Syedi Khuzema b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

CHAPTER VII

THE FATIMID-ṬAYYIBĪ TAḤMĪD TRADITION:

SYEDNA TAHER SAIFUDDIN'S *RISĀLAḤ-RAMAḌĀNĪYYAH* 1335H *DAW'*

NŪR AL-ḤAQQ AL-MUBĪN

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْكَبِيرِ الْمُتَعَالِ، رَبِّ الْعِظَمَةِ وَالْجَلالِ، الْمَلِكِ الْقُدُّوسِ شَدِيدِ الْحِصَالِ، ﴿لَهُ دَعْوَةُ الْحَقِّ وَالَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ
مِنْ دُونِهِ لَا يَسْتَجِيبُونَ لَهُمْ بِشَيْءٍ إِلَّا كَبَاسِطٌ كَثْفُهُ إِلَى الْمَاءِ لِيَبْلُغَ فَاؤُهُمَا هَوْبًا لِفَيْهِ وَمَا دُعَاءُ الْكَافِرِينَ إِلَّا فِي
ضَلَالٍ﴾، نَحْمَدُهُ عَلَى مَا أَسْبَغَ عَلَيْنَا مِنْ نِعَمِهِ، وَأَكْمَلَ لَنَا مِنْ مَنِّهِ، وَأَسْكَنَنَا حَرَمًا آمِنًا مِنْ دَعْوَتِهِ،³⁷⁸

Introduction

This chapter focuses on the Ṭahmīd in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's first *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* entitled *Daw' nūr al-ḥaqq al-mubīn fī al-i'tisām bi ḥabl Allāh al-matīn* (1335H), as the apex of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition of Ṭahmīd. The ensuing analysis approaches it primarily as a dialogue, in the Bakhtinian sense³⁷⁹: firstly an inter-textual dialogue, in which the text of the Ṭahmīd 'interacts' with texts in the past, secondly an intra-textual dialogue in which different parts of the text interact with one another, and thirdly a performative dialogue in which the Ṭahmīd 'interacts' with its contemporary voices and issues. The inter-textual dialogue is with texts from the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition and the broader Ṭahmīd tradition. The intra-textual dialogue is with the main-body of the *risālah* and within the different segments of the Ṭahmīd. The performative dialogue is with the contemporary audience of the *risālah*, the learned (*'ulamā'*), the wider community and also the Dā'ī's antagonists in the imperial British court (see Fig.1). Highlighting these dialogues allows an in-depth insight into a Ṭahmīd that is a landmark in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīd tradition.

This chapter is divided into three main parts. Part one lays out the production context of Ṭahmīd: a brief introduction of the author, his education, where this *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* is located within his wider literary production and the relevance of his high spiritual position within the community. It also discusses the turbulent historical context in which this Ṭahmīd was written, allowing an assessment of the intra-textual

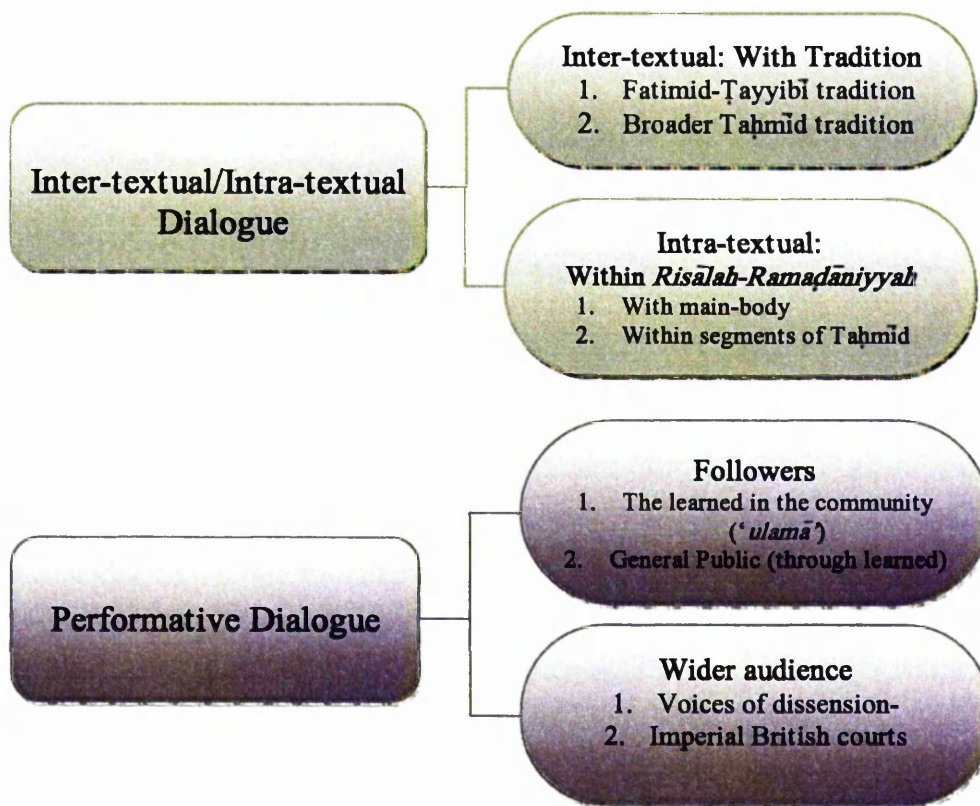
³⁷⁸ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* (Appendix-4:182).

³⁷⁹ Bakhtin outlines his understanding of utterances and their relation in *Speech Genres* (1986):

"...any speaker is himself a respondent to a greater or lesser degree. He is not, after all, the first speaker, the one who disturbs the eternal silence of the universe. And he presupposes not only the existence of the language system he is using, but also the existence of preceding utterances—his own and others'—with which his given utterance enters into one kind of *relation* [emphasis added] or another (builds on them, polemicalizes with them or simply presumes that they are already known to the listener). Any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances" (p. 69).

dialogue between the text of the Ṭahmīd and the subject matter of the *risālah* which addresses the contemporary voices of dissension. The second part briefly introduces the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin as a whole: highlighting the inter-textual dialogue with the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition and locating the position of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* within the corpus. The third and final part presents an analysis of the Ṭahmīd, highlighting the Ṭahmīd's inter-textual, intra-textual and performative dialogues. Following an overview of the Ṭahmīd, this part will focus on the interweaving of key motifs of spiritual continuity, which is the central theme, with the use of different literary devices.

Figure-1
'Dialogues' in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H*



The Production Context

The author of the Tahmīd, Syedna Taher Saifuddin³⁸⁰ (d. 1385/1965), was the fifty-first Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq in the line of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'īs following the seclusion of Imām al-Ṭayyib. He assumed the Dā'ī-ship in 1333/1915 at the age of twenty-eight and held the position for an unprecedented fifty-three years. His authorship of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H was itself a milestone in *Da'wah* history: the earlier practice had been to delegate the responsibility to high ranking scholars, and Syedna Taher Saifuddin was the first Dā'ī in the Indian phase to compose the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* himself. The authorship by the Dā'ī himself places the *risālah*, in terms of its authority and impact, on a different plane than earlier *risālahs*.

Syedna Taher Saifuddin traced his knowledge of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī theology back to the renowned scholar, the forty-third Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn. He matched and indeed surpassed the latter's mastery of Arabic, composing in his life time more than forty prose *risālahs*, as well as over ten-thousand verses of poetry. Syedna Taher Saifuddin's mentor (*mufīd*), the scholar 'Abd-'Alī Muḥy al-Dīn, son of the forty-eighth Dā'ī, was chosen assiduously by his father the forty-ninth Dā'ī³⁸¹. For over nine years from the age of eleven, Syedna Taher Saifuddin received training in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition with classes of religious learning (*sabaq*) for an average of seven hours each day³⁸². After the demise of his first mentor his studies continued under the tutorship of the fiftieth Dā'ī, the former's brother. Both mentors had acquired their knowledge from the immediate students of the Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn, thereby creating a direct link (an *isnād* of sorts) between the forty-third Dā'ī and the fifty-first. The forty-third Dā'ī's erudition and efforts earned him the cognomen, 'Mu'ayyad-i-Asghar' (the younger

³⁸⁰ Born in Surat in 1888. For biographical information on the author see: Qutbuddin, BS (2009), Toorawah 'Ṭāhir Sayf al-Dīn, Abū Muhammad' *EI2*, Haidarali (1931), Moulvi (1940), Habibullah (1953) and Jamea Saifiyyah Publications (1963a, 1963b and 2004).

³⁸¹ The information on Syedna Taher Saifuddin's education is based on an interview with his son Syedi Khuzaima b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin, the present incumbent of the rank (*rutbah*) of *Ma'dhūn al-Da'wah*.

³⁸² These exclusive sessions comprised only a few students besides Syedna Taher Saifuddin and his brother Syedi Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn. The teaching was mostly text based and it is likely that it followed the syllabus and system set by the forty-third Dā'ī: starting with basic books of *ẓāhir*, moving to more complex ones, then to books of *bā'in* and then *ḥaqīqat*. The closed setting of the *sabaq* allowed for individual students to read the text aloud in front of the mentor, thus honing their language skills. There was also ample opportunity for questions and answers. While the teaching was text based, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī view, that the book is the body and the mentor is the one who breathes the soul into it, underlines the vital role that the two mentors played in shaping Syedna Taher Saifuddin's understanding of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. Their perception and inside knowledge of the turbulent debates over succession in the recent past, which they had witnessed, had an impact on Syedna Taher Saifuddin's perception of the events and on the *rasā'il* that he later produced (Khuzaima b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin).

Mu'ayyad)³⁸³, a cognomen that became frequently used to describe his namesake, the fifty-first Dā'ī.

Syedna Taher Saifuddin's mastery of Arabic is owed to the reading of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* texts and other Arabic works under the guidance of his mentors, and to a great degree, to his own dedication. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the bar had already been raised by the forty-third Dā'ī and his pupil 'Abd-'Alī 'Imād al-Dīn. Syedna Taher Saifuddin seems to have raised the bar higher, demonstrating his language skills by producing later on a number of *risālahs* and *qaṣīdahs* that are devoid of one or two letters, and in a few cases devoid of all dotted letters³⁸⁴. His cache of vocabulary and proficiency in grammar is apparent even in the first *risālah*. His mother tongue was not Arabic but Gujarati.

The initial years of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's reign were fraught with internal dissent and doubt. In his *qaṣīdah*-autobiography, Syedna Taher Saifuddin sums up these circumstances in his own words³⁸⁵:

He (the fiftieth Dā'ī) said when he conferred the <i>naṣṣ</i> : "The Garden of the righteous bright <i>Da'wah</i> is like a green garden..."	39	قَدْ قَالَ لَمَّا نَصَّ رَوْضَةَ دَعْوَةِ الْـ حَقِّ النَّصْرِ سِيرَةٌ مِثْلَ رَوْضٍ نَاصِرٍ
[Which is] surrounded with clouds of the stubborn malicious peoples' maleficence, and besieged with intense darkness..."	40	حَفَّتْ بِسُحُبٍ مِنْ فَسَادِ ذَوِي الْعِنَا - وَالْمُفْسِدِينَ تَرَاكَتْ بِدِيَاغِرٍ
And the people [followers]—from the rebellions of the enemies and their harmful damage Are in the darkness of disturbances and misfortunes.	47	وَالنَّاسُ مِنْ فِتْنِ الْعَدَى وَفَسَادِهِمْ فِي مُدْلِهِمْ هَزَاهِ زَوْقٍ وَاقِرٍ
As for me, my belief is unwavering and absolute, In aid (or victory) from Allāh The Powerful.	48	أَمَّا أَنَا فَعَلَى يَقِينٍ كَامِلٍ بِالنَّصْرِ مِنْ عِنْدِ الْإِلَهِ الْقَادِرِ

³⁸³ In reference to *the* Mu'ayyad, al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī (d. 470/1078).

³⁸⁴ *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1350H (Appendix-4:186) for example.

³⁸⁵ This *qaṣīdah*-autobiography was the focus of my MA thesis. It also begins with a Ṭahmīd (Appendix-4:190) in verse form.

The crux of the maleficence and rebellion was the challenge to the dogmatic foundation of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*: the authority of the Dā'ī himself. This challenge rested on a claim that the obligatory act of appointment (*naṣṣ*) had not been conferred upon the forty-seventh Dā'ī by his predecessor. This claim, first brought up fifteen years into the reign of the forty-seventh Dā'ī, continued to be propagated during the times of later Dā'īs as well by individuals who sought to curtail the authority of the Dā'ī and in doing so secure power for themselves. In Syedna Taher Saifuddin's time, the most overt of these challenges was initially headed, with the aid of dissident scholars, by the sons of the wealthy industrialist Adam-ji Pirbhoy, who "decided to take their challenge of the Dā'ī to the wider authority of the country's courts; several cases were fought out over a period of years within the national legal system, first under the British government and later the Indian" (Qutbuddin, B.S., 2009). These cases are a manifestation of the heated performative dialogue between the dissidents and the *Da'wah*. Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālah* was one of the responses to theological arguments put forward by the dissidents in this dialogue³⁸⁶.

The first of these legal suits, known as the 'Chandabhai Gulla Case' was filed in 1335/1917, the very year in which the first *risālah* was authored³⁸⁷. In this case "the legitimacy and extent of the Dā'ī's authority within his community became an issue...and the final verdicts were, in each case, outstandingly in the Dā'ī's favor" (Qutbuddin, B.S. 2009)³⁸⁸. These cases are also referred to by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in his *qaṣīdah-autobiography*:

³⁸⁶ The effect of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* can be gauged through a number of historical anecdotes. For instance a scholar, previously sympathetic to the dissident cause, read the *risālah* and then used it in his sermons to counter dissident claims. It was, however, only part of a concerted effort. Apart from the testimony of the Dā'ī himself in the court of law-without precedent in the history of the *Da'wah*- Syedna Taher Saifuddin's sermons, religious lessons (*sabaq*) and one to one meetings with community members all addressed this issue. The drive to allay the doubts that had pervaded the very fabric of the community had been initiated by the fiftieth Dā'ī but came to a head in the initial years of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's time (Khuzaima b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin).

³⁸⁷ See Mumbai High Court Suit No. 941 of 1917, Judgment of Justice Marten delivered 19 March 1921 (Qutbuddin, B.S 2009).

³⁸⁸ B.S. Qutbuddin (pp. 31-32) offers a summary of the dynamics of the case:

The plaintiffs claimed the Dai was not a validly appointed trustee for the moneys collected in the Chandabhai tomb offertory box (called '*galla*') [in Mumbai], and for the properties connected to the tomb. They accused him of wilful default and demanded the disclosure of accounts. Sayyidna Saifuddin denied the charges and refused to render accounts. His response centred on the premise that in Bohra dogma, the Dai al-Mutlaq derived his authority from and was accountable solely to God and the concealed Imām. The position and rights of the Dai al-Mutlaq thus became an issue, and the plaintiffs were compelled to bring into the open their contention that the forty-seventh Dai had not been a validly appointed

And how many false cases did they
raise

To the rulers, and spent much effort
[for that purpose].

وَلَكُمْ دَعَاوِي بَاطِلٍ رَفَعُوا إِلَى الْاَلِ 49

حُكَّامٍ وَاجْتَهَدُوا بِجِدِّ كَثِيرٍ

I confronted them regarding [their
false claims], so that they returned
defeated and fatigued, and I
returned the return of a victor.

بَارَزْنَهُمْ فِيهِ فَأَعَادُوا خَاسِرِينَ 50

مِنْ وَخَاسِرِينَ وَعُدْتُ عَوْدَ الظَّافِرِ

To extinguish the light of God was
their purpose,
The force of the Victorious God
destroyed them.

إِطْفَاءُ نُورِ اللَّهِ كَانَ مُرَادَهُمْ 51

أُرْدَاهُمْ قُوَّةُ الْإِلَهِ الْقَاهِرِ

God is our Creator, He is the
Custodian of His light,
In spite of every hypocrite and
every disavower.

وَاللَّهُ خَالِقُنَا مُتَمِّمُ نُورِهِ 52

مَعَ كُلِّ مُتَافِقٍ وَمُنَافِرٍ

The *risālah* is part of the 'confrontation' referred to in line-50. The following two lines, a modified quote of Qur'ān 61:8 and 9:32 which also appears in the Ṭahmīd, summarize the impetus of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālah* and its Ṭahmīd: the continuity of God's light, interpreted as the continuity of the Imāmate and the Dā'īs, despite all odds. Interestingly, these lines are fifty-first and fifty-second in the order of the *qaṣīdah*, paralleling the position of Syedna Taher Saifuddin as the fifty-first and his successor Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin as the fifty-second in the line of Dā'īs. An

Dai al-Mutlaq, and therefore all his successors were not true Dais. The Mumbai High Court in 1339 / 1921 delivered a verdict in favour of Sayyidna Saifuddin's legitimate Dai-ship. The presiding judge, Justice Marten, said that of all the evidence presented before him regarding *nass* on various Dais, the testimonies regarding *nass* on Sayyidna Abdul-Qadir Najmuddin were the most clear-cut and compelling. This ruling, further reinforced by the Privy Council Judgement of December 1947, cleared the uncertainties that had plagued a substantial portion of the Bohra community for half a century, and crushed the backbone of the dissident protest movement. The court further ruled against the charge of misappropriation of funds, denied the plea that a Receiver be appointed to manage the trust, and endorsed Sayyidna Saifuddin as the sole trustee with total discretion in the management of the properties in question. The plaintiffs did win part of their petition, however, for the court ruled that there was no such legal entity as an unaccountable trustee, and deemed the Dai liable to render accounts. On this point too, however, a later ruling allowed two separate offertory boxes to be placed in the shrine, the collection in one to be accounted for, the collection in the other labelled as the Dai's personal property. It was a sign of the community's confidence in the Dai's integrity that the latter box filled up, while the former remained mostly empty.

understanding of the production context allows us to appreciate the relations that the author would have expected his contemporary audience to perceive.

The *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin

Syedna Taher Saifuddin managed the phenomenal task of penning over 40 *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* while handling the heavy responsibilities and demands of Dā'ī-ship.³⁸⁹ I wish to discuss briefly how these *risālahs* agree, differ and interact with *risālahs* composed in the time of the earlier Dā'īs, in order to highlight the tangible inter-textual dialogue between Syedna Taher Saifuddin's composition, including *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* (Appendix-4:182), and texts of the past.

In terms of their purpose and overall nature, Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs* retained much of the character of the earlier *risālahs* discussed in the previous chapter, but gained much more prominence because of the position of the author and the nature of the content. They were written to be sent out in the month of Ramaḍān like earlier *risālahs* but, with the gradual increase in length, the completion was often delayed for later *risālahs*. The actual writing was, however, always begun in the holy month. They were still in Arabic (with all the implications of that choice, discussed in the previous chapter), the *basmalah* was still written by hand, in limited copies by the author himself, even though the *risālah* was printed³⁹⁰, and they were still sent out to representatives of the Dā'ī to be used in sermons and lessons (*sabaqs*). With Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs*, however, frequency of usage and reference and, more importantly, the authority of the texts, was greater than before, primarily because of the direct authorship by the Dā'ī. In addition, they were taught and used as the basis for the annual oral examination in the Jami'ah Saifiyyah, the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī seminary founded by Syedna Taher Saifuddin on the basis of the Dars-e-Sayfī established by the forty-third Dā'ī. The *risālah*, as the statement at the end of each clearly states, was meant essentially for internal community consumption, to strengthen and consolidate the community from within.

³⁸⁹ A full set of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs* was presented to the British Library and the Bodleian Library by Syedna Taher Saifuddin himself. Many of the *risālahs* are also held by library of the Ismaili Institute in London. The majority of the copies however remain within the community. It must be noted that Syedna Taher Saifuddin's literary output included also his *Diwān* which has *qasīdahs* in both Arabic, Urdu and Gujarati. Another major output was the many sermons in which he expounded on many issues of relevance to the community, reiterating esoteric interpretations of the Qur'ān by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholars in addition to expounding new interpretations based on his authority as the representative of the Imām.

³⁹⁰ See image of the first page of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* in Plate-VIIIb, in which the *basmalah* is written by Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

The *risālahs* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin were, according to him, both original composition (*taṣnīf*) and collation of excerpts from earlier texts (*ta'liḥ*). The Tahmīd was the primary venue for *taṣnīf*, especially in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's earlier *risālahs*, and he used its potential to the utmost in order to express his insights into Fatimid-Ṭayyibī philosophy. The *ta'liḥ* formed the larger part of the main body (*matn*) of the earlier *risālahs*, in which excerpts from various Fatimid-Ṭayyibī texts, carefully selected on the basis of thematic relevance, were presented, each with a brief introduction by Syedna Taher Saifuddin. The *risālahs* were also valuable because they were repositories of excerpts from many manuscript texts and provided a proper table of contents (*fihrisṭ*). The printed and, relatively speaking, readily accessible *risālahs* became an encyclopedia of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī theology and a vital resource for the various disciplines of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī learning. The extent and variety of *taṣnīf* and *ta'liḥ* increased concurrently over the years.

The impact of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, especially the writing of al-Mu'ayyad and earlier *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, is clearly visible in both the *ta'liḥ* and the *taṣnīf* in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs*. Syedna Taher Saifuddin is known to have browsed through many older *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*, which were laid out on a table for him, while he was authoring his own *risālah*. The *ta'liḥ* section, the *matn*, consistently features passages from al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* and the earlier *risālahs*. But the influence of these can be seen in the *taṣnīf* section as well. The beginning of the Tahmīd in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (Appendix-4:182), for instance, is clearly inspired by the Tahmīd in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1221H (Appendix-4:175), written in the time of the forty-third Dā'ir³⁹¹. Many other Fatimid-Ṭayyibī texts, especially the *Majālis* of al-Mu'ayyad, can be seen to have a strong echo in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs*³⁹². Syedna Taher Saifuddin acknowledges this impetus of *iqtidā'* in his very first *risālah* during the *khitāb* following the Tahmīd (p.16):

³⁹¹ The first few phrases in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1221H (Appendix-4:175) are identical to their counterparts in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (Appendix-4:182). There are also other instances in which earlier *risālahs* are quoted in the Tahmīd of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H referred to below. While the quotations in the *matn* of the *risālah* are introduced and referenced, the shorter quotations in the Tahmīd are assimilated without reference.

³⁹² An illustration of al-Mu'ayyad's impact is Syedna Taher Saifuddin's recitation and explication of all 800 of al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* in community gatherings, one Majlis every Thursday, much like al-Mu'ayyad used to recite nine centuries earlier. Syedna Taher Saifuddin finished the 800 once and had started over again before he passed away (Khuzaima b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin).

أَسْعَى لِأَثَارِ دُعَاةِ قَلْبِي هُدَاةً مُقْتَبِيًا، وَيَهْدَاهُمْ مُقْتَدِيًا،

Other examples of this influence will be highlighted during the analysis of the Ṭahmīd.

The format of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* entails that the primary venue for Syedna Taher Saifuddin's contribution, and for originality, becomes the Ṭahmīd. The praise-preamble increases in length dramatically over the years, extending to over a hundred (A5) printed pages in the later *risālahs*. The consistency of the rhyme and rhythm, coupled with the fluidity of the language, also stands out in comparison with earlier *risālahs* in the Indian phase. The richness of vocabulary and mastery of language, highlighted in particular in those *risālahs* that boast *luzūm mā lā yalzam* (i.e. Ṭahmīds without *alif*, without *fā'*, without dotted letters etc.), is also a distinguishing feature. There is also a greater variety in the approaches to the Ṭahmīd: for example, while the Ṭahmīd of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H focuses on the necessity of the spiritual continuity of the Imāmate and the *Da'wah*, the Ṭahmīd in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1356H (Appendix-4:189), following Syedna Taher Saifuddin's Hajj, focuses on the esoteric signification of the rites and rituals of the pilgrimage. This also underlines the gradual development in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's Ṭahmīd over time. The Ṭahmīd becomes the prime venue for the author to contribute his insights into Fatimid-Ṭayyibī theology and esoterics.

The *matn* of the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* also sees development, with the gradual inclusion of new elements over time. Later *risālahs* also had answers to jurisprudential questions (*masā'il fiqhiyyah*) presented to the Dā'ī, historical narratives about past Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'īs, edited sermons translated into Arabic and a chronicle of contemporary significant events authored by Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

However, the basic format of the *risālahs* as a whole, and of the Ṭahmīd in particular, did not change much over the years. While *risālahs* of earlier Dā'īs, for instance, might or might not feature *ṣalawāt* on the progeny of al-Ṭayyib, *ṣalawāt* on the Dā'īs and *qasīdahs*, Syedna Taher Saifuddin had a consistent structure from the very first *risālah*. The following is an outline of a typical Syedna Taher Saifuddin *risālah*:

- **Ṭahmīd** (addressing contemporary events or often with a particular theme)
 - **Ḥamd** (repeated 'x' times)
 - *Subhāna*
 - **Shahādah**
 - *Allāh*
 - *Muhammad*
 - 'Alī ('*waliyy Allāh, waṣiyy rasūl Allāh*- very rare-one example 1356H; Appendix-4:189)
 - **Ṣalawāt**
 - Muhammad
 - 'Alī
 - Fātimah
 - Ḥasan and Ḥusayn
 - The Imāms
 - *Qaṣīdah* of praise
 - Al-Ṭayyib
 - Imām al-'aṣr
 - *Qaṣīdah* of praise (in later *risālahs*)
 - Culmination of *ṣalawāt* on Imāms
 - The Dā'īs
- **Ammā ba'd**
 - *Khīṭāb/salām* (formal address by Syedna Taher Saifuddin and greeting)
 - *Du'a* (becomes longer in later *risālahs*; often quoted but many original *du'ās* also authored by Syedna Taher Saifuddin)
 - *Maw'izah* (spiritual exhortation; the *khūṭbahs* of 'Alī and excerpts of al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* become a standard feature)
- **Matn**-Main Body of *risālah*
 - Mostly thematically collated material from various sources with introduction and sometimes commentary by Syedna Taher Saifuddin.
 - Historical Narratives of previous Dā'īs (an original composition; a standard in later *risālahs*)
 - *Masā'il fiqhiyyah* (answers to jurisprudential questions posed to Syedna Taher Saifuddin by followers)
 - Chronicle of yearly events (a feature of later *risālahs*)
 - Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *wa'z* or sermons edited and translated into Arabic; these include his insights into Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoterics.
- **End Ṭahmīd**

The combination of a protracted Ṭahmīd, elegant on the surface and with promise of deep esoteric signification, and a *matn* combining spiritual exhortation, history, religious philosophy, esoterics (*ta'wīl*), higher esoterics (*haqīqah*) and jurisprudence, made Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* a distinctive multi-disciplinary work: the diversity of the *matn* was anticipated and given foundation in the rich Ṭahmīd.

Analysis of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* Taḥmīd

Syedna Taher Saifuddin's first *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* (Appendix-4:182) was chiefly a performative dialogue – a strong element in a concerted effort to address contemporary challenges. Simultaneously it was an inter-textual dialogue with the numerous writings of previous Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholars, and an intra-textual dialogue in that utterances in segments of its Taḥmīd interacted with other utterances in different segments and with the *matn*.

Although *tasalsul* is a concept that permeates every Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīd, readily facilitating comparison with earlier texts, it is the very *raison d'être* for *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H*. Since the *religious* belief of the continuity of the Imāms and Dā'īs was being contested in a *secular* court of law, the *risālah*, and especially its Taḥmīd, as part of a performative dialogue, encapsulated the fundamental arguments on the basis of which Syedna Taher Saifuddin reinforced the faith of his followers and made his case to the court and the dissenters.

It is this awareness of the precise historical context of the *risālah*, the recognition that it is a response to these circumstances, and that it is Syedna Taher Saifuddin's first *risālah* (one that is ostensibly the prototype for all of his later *risālahs*), that makes the Taḥmīd in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* an ideal choice for this case study. As a result of the sheer length of the Taḥmīd and the constraints of space, I propose here to present an overview of the Taḥmīd, followed by an in depth look at the use of three motifs of *tasalsul*, rather than a comprehensive segment by segment analysis.

An Overview

The structure of the Taḥmīd in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* resembles earlier Taḥmīds in being the verbal manifestation of the *ḥabl-Allāh*, but with the added 'adhesive' of carefully situated pronoun links. The concept of *ḥabl-Allāh* is all the more pertinent in this *risālah* since it is part of the full title. The first part of the title is *Daw'u nūr al-Ḥaqq al-Mubīn*, the numerical value of which according to the *abjad-hawwaz* calculation system is 1335, and the rest of the title is *fi al-i'tisāmi bi ḥabl-Allāh al-matīn*.

This Taḥmīd's components and sub-components become the template for all of Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *risālahs* that follow, a consistency hitherto seen only in al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis*. The following is an outline of the Taḥmīd's fourteen segments.

Segment No.	Component	Primary-Relata	No. of phrases	Remarks
	<i>Basmalah</i>	Allāh	1	
I.	<i>Ḥamd / subḥānah</i>	Allāh	23	3 sub-segments (<i>al-ḥamd li Allāh / naḥmaduhu / nusabbihuhu</i>)
II.	<i>Shahādah</i>	Allāh	4	-
III.		Muhammad	2	-
IV.	<i>Ṣalawāt</i>	Muhammad	24	5 sub-segments (marked by repetition of <i>sallā Allāh 'alayhi min nabiyyin</i>)
V.		'Afi	45	5 sub-segments (marked by repetition of <i>sallā Allāh 'alayhi min waṣiyyin</i> —first two shorter phrases)
VI.		Fātimah	15	-
VII.		Ḥasan-Ḥusayn	24	-
VIII.		Imāms	49	-
IX.	<i>Qaṣīdah-</i>		25	
X.		al-Ṭayyib	18	
XI.		Imām al-'aṣr	49	
XII.	<i>Sub-culmination</i>		7	Prayer for continuity of <i>ṣalawāt</i>
XIII.		Dā'īs	39	
XIV.	<i>Culmination</i>		18	Prayer for continuity of <i>ṣalawāt</i>
	<i>Khīṭāb</i>	Syedna Taher Saifuddin—audience		The final contemporary link in the chain of continuity.

As mentioned in chapter-V (p.176), the sequence of the *ṣalawāt* connects the reader with a continuous chain, beginning with God through to the Dā'ī of his time in the *khīṭāb*. The added 'adhesive' is the transitional phrase between each segment and the use of pronouns referring to the primary relata of the previous segment.

الحمد لله الكبير المتعال-

نحمده ..

ونشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله

(1) صلى الله عليه وعلى وصيه ...

(2) صلى الله عليهما وعلى مشكاة الانوار (فاطمة) ...

(3) وعلى ولديها الامامين الاقديسين ...

(4) وعلى الائمة من ذرية مولانا الحسين ...

(5) وعلى خير خلفهم ...

(6) وعلى امام العصر من ولده ...

(7) وعلى حملة قوائم عرش دعوتهم ...

After the pronoun link between Muhammad and God in the *shahādah*, the beginning of the first two segments of *salawāt* stand out as a result of the repetition of the *salawāt* on the primary relata of the previous segment(s), alongside the *salawāt* on the primary relata of the ensuing segment. Using the image of a chain, these two transitional segments are the primary fasteners on which the rest of the chain relies, and the emphasis on them is understandable. The phrase at the beginning of each following segment (*wa 'alā*) also acts as an 'adhesive', linking the primary relata of that segment with the primary relata of the previous one³⁹³. In the case of Muhammad and 'Alī, where we have sub-segments, the entire first sub-segment in each solely creates *nisbah*-relations, with the aid of pronouns, with the primary relata of the former segment: Allāh and Muhammad respectively.

Two instances where the pronoun is exceptionally strong are in the *salawāt* on al-Ṭayyib (A), in which he is related with the Imāms, and in the *salawāt* on the Dā'īs (B), in which they are also related with the Imāms:

(A) وعلى خير خلفهم، ووارث مجدهم وشرقيهم، سابع دور أشهادهم، وفرد أفرادهم، وواحد آحادهم، ...

(B) وعلى حملة قوائم عرش دعوتهم، وكتبه أسرار حقيقتهم، التمسكين بولايته، المؤتئين بإمامتهم، المجتهدين في طاعتهم،

المنتظرين أيامهم، الماديين اليهم أعينهم، الشاكرين أنعامهم، التوجين بتاج ذكرهم السنهم، ...

In both cases the pronoun becomes part of the end-rhyme, which is repeated by the author to underline the *nisbah*-relation. The relation of the Dā'īs with the Imāms is

³⁹³ This is the case in almost all the segments with the exception of the *salawāt* on Fāṭimah, in which the *nisbah*-relation is with the Imāms, who are the primary relata of the subsequent segment. However, a *nisbah*-relation with Muhammad and 'Alī is created within the *salawāt*.

especially emphasized in response to the allegation that it is that part of the rope, the succession of the Dā'īs, that has been severed. While the use of the pronoun to relate entities in Taḥmīd is not new, its utilization here to reflect the links in the *ḥabl-Allāh*, with an added emphasis on certain links through the repetition of the pronoun, underscores the emphasis on *tasalsul* which this Taḥmīd wishes to achieve.

The Taḥmīd creates and enhances its relations using various tools, some tried and tested, some fairly original. The use of Qur'ānic quotations permeates the Taḥmīd with a total of twenty-five verbatim and eighteen modified quotes³⁹⁴. The practice of having quotes at the end of segments, witnessed in Fatimid chancellery documents, is evident in segments-1a, 1c, 2, 3, 10 and 13. Every segment has at least one Qur'ānic quotation acting as an anchor (*shāhid*) for the validity of the author's assertions. While the quotations are fairly evenly spread out, two clusters stand out: segment-2 and segment-13, roughly at the beginning and the end of the Taḥmīd, which link the affirmation of the Oneness of God with the assertion of the position of the Dā'īs. Two modified quotes also find their way into the praise *qasīdah*. One relates Qur'ānic imagery to dissenters (line-18; 25:44) and the other is during a supplication to the Imām, transferring to him God's promise to remember those who remember Him (lines-20-21; 2:152). Since the author is steeped in the knowledge of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoteric tradition, the majority of the quotations either create *nisbah*-relations indicating or prescribing their esoteric *ta'wīl* signification (e.g. segments-5d, 5e, 7, 8, 11, 12 and a number of verses in 13) or rely on the audience to perceive this relation based on their background (e.g. segments-1a, 1c, 3, 4a, 6 and 10)³⁹⁵. Such interpretive references to verses are regularly seen in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīds.

Referring systematically to the key Qur'ānic verses, that support the necessity of *tasalsul* according to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī interpretation, the author carefully weaves the verses into the Taḥmīd and the rhyme of the verse occasionally dictates the rhyme of the segment. For example, the nouns used to describe Muhammad in verse 33:45-46, quoted in segment-3: i-*shāhid*, ii-*mubashshir*, iii-*nadhīr*, iv-*dā'ī ilā Allāh bi idhnih* and v-*sirāj munīr*, based on their esoteric interpretation imply continuity. In *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-*

³⁹⁴ The modified and unmodified quotes have been clearly marked in my presentation of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* Taḥmīd in (Appendix-4:182).

³⁹⁵ The esoteric *fikrah*-relation created by the modified quotes in segment-1a, 1c, 3 and 4a are discussed further below.

1352H (pp. 166-173) Syedna Taher Saifuddin, with reference to the writings of al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān and Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd, maintains that these nouns refer to five *ḥudūd* that must be present in every age: *shāhid* refers to the Prophet Muhammad (*nāṭiq*) in his time and to the Imām in later times; *mubashshir* refers to the successor (*asās*, lit. foundation, another term for *waṣiyy*), 'Alī in the Prophet's time and to every Imām's heir-apparent; *nadhīr* refers to the rank of *lawāḥiq*, *dā'ī* refers to the Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq and *sirāj munīr* refers to the *Ma'dhūn*. This is one of several interpretations of the who the five nouns refer to. Based on the *ta'wīl* signification, the verse pertaining in the explicit context to Muhammad is seen to have a relevance and bearing for the ages to come.

The binary outlook witnessed in earlier Taḥmīds, both within the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition and without, permeates this Taḥmīd. Drawing on previous writings creates an inter-textual dialogue of agreement and adaptation. The most common binarism, that of *ḥaqq-bāṭil*, is found in the very beginning of the Taḥmīd and runs through it, from the Qur'ānic quotation in segment-1a (13:14), through to the *qasīdah* (lines 13-14) and segment-10, in which the fates of those related with *ḥaqq-bāṭil* respectively are presented. This antithetical binarism is supplemented by the complementary binarism of *ḥaqq-sidq* that also runs through the Taḥmīd. The appearance of these keywords at strategic points binds the different segments of this relatively long Taḥmīd together. The two keywords will be the subject of a more detailed discussion in the context of spiritual-continuity motifs.

Another familiar binarism is that of *tanzīl-ta'wīl*, characteristic of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Taḥmīds. Syedna Taher Saifuddin devotes almost an entire sub-segment (4e) to creating *nisbah*-relations between Muhammad and the Qur'ān. Expectedly, in the *ṣalawāt* on 'Alī in segment-5c, he is pointedly related to the *ta'wīl* of the Qur'ān and *bayān*. In the same vein, the Imāms are described as *quranā'* al-Qur'ān in the beginning of segment-8. But beyond these specific relations this binarism acts as a backdrop against which the entire Taḥmīd is placed and viewed, as a result of numerous explications and expectations of esoteric signification in Qur'ānic quotations and other relations. Finally, the binarism of *abṣār-afkār* (physical-intellectual), commonly used in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition to contextualize our relation and perception of God, is adapted to

contextualize the binarism of *zuhūr-satr* of the Imām. Later in this chapter, this binarism acts as a framework for a deeper look at the motifs of *zuhūr-satr*, with a particular focus on the role of rhetorical devices in its realization.

A relatively uncommon feature of this Ṭahmīd is the selective inclusion of brief historical narratives. Ṭahmīds are, by and large, non-narrative texts and so the sporadic, though brief, occurrence of narrative stands out. One such occasion occurs in segment-5d, which narrates the appointment of 'Alī by Muhammad in al-Ghadīr. The other brief occurrence is at the end of segment-7, narrating the martyrdom of Ḥusayn and the succession of his son. These two narratives are the primary focus in discussing the motifs of succession in this Ṭahmīd.

While the instances of narration are limited, there are numerous instances in which *nisbah*-relations and descriptions lead to historical *fikrah*-relations. In some cases the *nisbah*-relation makes no sense without recalling the historical context. In segment-7, for instance, Ḥasan-Ḥusayn are related to Fāṭimah as the two 'who were nursed on her milk and were equal partners of her pearls' (*raḍī'ay darrihā wa qasīmay durrihā*). The significance of the latter relation depends on the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī audience's awareness of the oft repeated narrative of the pearl-necklace incident. According to Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition³⁹⁶, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn in their childhood asked their grandfather, Muhammad, to decide whose handwriting was better; Muhammad sent the two to 'Alī who promptly sent them to Fāṭimah; Fāṭimah broke her pearl necklace and scattered its seven pearls, declaring that whoever was able to obtain more pearls was the better one; Ḥusayn was about to take the fourth pearl when the angel Gabriel, upon instructions from God, split the last pearl into two, giving each an equal share. This narrative also has a theological significance, in that it signifies that Ḥasan is also an Imām, equal to Ḥusayn, in whose progeny the Imāmate continues. The reference to them being nursed with her milk, also has a theological significance; Fāṭimah is seen to have given to Ḥasan and Ḥusayn the *'ilm* which the Prophet had given to her³⁹⁷.

Another instance of historical *fikrah*-relations occurs in the *ṣalawāt* on 'Alī, in which his role in the battles of Badr and Ḥunayn (segment-5a -5c) and his removal of the idols from the *Ka'bah* after the conquest of Mecca are evoked-(segment-5a-5b). In the

³⁹⁶ Syedna Taher Saifuddin, *wa'z* sermon.

³⁹⁷ This understanding is explicated in this verse praising Ḥasan by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in his *Diwān*:

أَرْضِيعَتْ مِنْ فَاطِمَةَ * الزَّهْرَاءُ لِلْوَحْيِ اللَّبَنِ

following segment, *fikrah*-relations are created with 'Alī's two *hijrahs* (Mecca to Medina and Medina to Kufa), his praying towards the two *qiblahs* (Jerusalem and Mecca) and the return of the sun for him after it set, a twice-occurring miracle frequently narrated in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. This miracle has further significance, in that it symbolizes firstly the return of the *khilāfah* to 'Alī after it was usurped according to the Shī'ah, and secondly the *zuhūr* of al-Mahdī and the founding of the Fatimid empire after a long period of absence of political power. While there are many other examples of narrative accounts that the author expects his audience to recollect, these two sufficiently illustrate the ability of relatively concise phrases to evoke *fikrah*-relations with elaborate and theologically significant narratives.

Following in the line of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds of the Indian phase, the Ṭahmīd in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* displays a keen commitment to a harmony of sight and sound patterns and an awareness of their ability to create and enhance relations. The parallel statements in the Ṭahmīd, especially in the *ḥamd* section (for example segment-1a, 1b and 1c, also beginning of segment-13), can be seen as creating esoteric *fikrah*-relations based primarily on their shared rhyme and parallelism. These will be discussed further in the framework of the *zuhūr-satr* motif.

Shorter phrases dominate the text, with longer ones either providing some sort of a climax (e.g. 1a, 10 and 13) or changing the tone (e.g. 5e and end of 7). The tempo is greatly escalated by these short phrases (especially in beginning of 1a, 1c, 5a, beginning of 8, beginning of 10 and beginning of 13), as is clear particularly in comparison with Ṭahmīds in which the phrases are on average longer. One such example is Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1356H* (Appendix-4:189), the primary thrust of which is to enlighten the audience about the esoteric significations of religious rites and rituals, especially the Ḥajj. The context in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H*, however, is one of turmoil and confrontation. The tempo thus reflects the context to a certain degree: while the tempo and rhythm of 1356H resembles a relaxing melody, the tempo created by the rapid sequence of short phrases in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* resembles that of a drum beat during battle.

The discussion of rhetorical devices also provides the opportunity to discuss briefly the *qasīdah* in the *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* Ṭahmīd. In the context of the

Ṭahmīd it is the longest uninterrupted series of single end-rhymes (26 in total-including two in the first line). With relation to the binarism of *ḥaqq-bāṭil* mentioned above, each part of the binarism has one line devoted to it in the middle of the *qaṣīdah*, 13 and 14 respectively, the metrical-parallelism creating and aiding the antithetical relation. The *qaṣīdah* also contains all of the primary relata referred to in the Ṭahmīd precisely in the order that they appear in the Ṭahmīd, starting with the Prophet and ending with the Dā'ī himself (the author's plea for succor), thereby encapsulating the *ḥabl-Allāh* and the primary relations in the 25 lines. The added advantage of the *qaṣīdah* is its relative conciseness compared to the Ṭahmīd, and the possibility provided by its metrics for recitation *en-masse*, a tradition of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī community in India.

A qualified principle of correspondence is established throughout the Ṭahmīd between God and the Imām, as His representative, and the Imām and the Dā'ī, as his representative. I say qualified because it is taken as a precept that God is beyond recognition and comprehension and above all of creation including the Imām, as evidenced by the declaration even by the Imām that God is Great[er than all] (*Allāh-akbar*). In segment-8 the author makes this qualification by relating the Imāms to the people as *arbāb*, and to God as *'ibād marbūbūn*. The correspondence between the Imām and the Dā'ī is also qualified in that it is based on the representation of the former by the latter in *satr*: the former is the *mālik* while the latter is the *mamlūk*. The latter epithet, *mamlūk āli Muhammad*, is used by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in the *khīṭāb* section. The correspondence between God and the Imām is purely a correspondence of function rather than a suggestion of anything essential: God's affairs are carried out in this world through the Imām; the Imām's function is carried out by the Dā'ī during the *satr* period. This correspondence is based on the statement by Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq: that which is said about God [in effect applies] to us and that which is said about us [in effect applies] to the highest of our *shī'ah*, understood as referring to the Dā'ī *al-satr* by Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholars (*mā qīla fī Allāh fa huwa fīnā wa mā qīla fīnā fa huwa fī al-bulaghā'i min shī'atīnā*).

The qualified correspondence between God and the Imām is clearly manifested in the quotation of Qur'ān 43:84 in relation to the Imām *al-ʿaṣr* in segment-11. The Imām is unequivocally identified as the one implied by the Qur'ānic statement *'wa fī al-arḍi*

*ilāh*³⁹⁸. The correspondence between the Imām and the Dā'īs is clearly manifested in the assertion in segment-13, using another Qur'ānic verse (18:18), discussed further below: the Imāms are seen as awake despite being asleep, being manifest through the Dā'īs despite seclusion.

The effect of these two cases of correspondence is that, throughout the Ṭahmīd, all the relations and concepts applying to the power of God are seen, in a qualified sense, as applicable to the Imāms, while all those applying to the Imāms are also seen, again in a qualified sense, as applicable to Dā'īs during seclusion. The cases of correspondence infinitely broaden the scope of *fikrah*-relations that the Ṭahmīd can achieve.

A quick note is necessary to draw attention to the 'stock relations' of the primary relata mentioned earlier in chapter-V (p.200): the relation of Muhammad with *rahmah* (segment-4a) and the Qur'ān (segment-4e; discussed further below), the relation of 'Alī with *'ilm* and battles (*minbar-maydān*- segments 5a-5c³⁹⁹), the relation of Fāṭimah with the Imāms, as their mother, and with Maryam (segment-6), the relation of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn with martyrdom (segment-7), the relation of the Imāms with *tathīr* (33:33 in segment-8), and the relations of the Imāms and Dā'īs with the Qur'ānic image of the cave (segments-8 and 13), etc. These examples are simply to show the persistence of these stock relations and to draw attention to the varied usage of, and *fikrah*-relations evoked by, a relatively limited set of relations.

A final general feature of the Ṭahmīd is the inclusion by Syedna Taher Saifuddin of phrases and statements employed in earlier Fatimid-Ṭayyibī works. The first few lines of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H*, as mentioned above, are clearly inspired from the forty-third Dā'ī's *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1221H* (Appendix-4:175). Another verbatim quote (though not identified as such) included in segment-11 is from the main-body of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1215H*: "*wa la 'amr Allāh innahū la ḍarūriyy al-wujūd ma' ghaybatih...ru'yatih*". Additionally, certain phrases in segment-1c, '*subḥānahū min ilāhin qawluhu ḥukm...khabīrā*', are modified quotes from a *du'ā* attributed to Imām 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn Zayn al-'Abidin in the *Ṣaḥīfah Sajjādiyyah*⁴⁰⁰. I have traced the sources of

³⁹⁸ Similar implication with reference to 'Alī in segment-5e with the quotation of verse (57:3).

³⁹⁹ This phrase *fāris al-minbar wa al-maydān* is explicitly used to describe 'Alī in segment-5c.

⁴⁰⁰ Original phrases in Zayn al-'Abidin's *'Du'ā 'Arafah*:

مُبْتَخَانِكَ سَبِيلَكَ جَدِّدْ، وَأَمْرَكَ رَسِّدْ، وَأَنْتَ حَيٌّ صَمَدٌ، مَبْتَخَانِكَ قَوْلُكَ حُكْمٌ، وَقَضَاؤُكَ حَقٌّ، وَإِرَادَتُكَ عَزَمٌ. مَبْتَخَانِكَ لَا رَادَّ لِمَشِيئَتِكَ، وَلَا مَبْدَلُ لِكَلِمَاتِكَ،

certain instances; clearly there may be others as yet unrecognized. By contrast, Taḥmīds in later *risālahs* show a greater willingness to include innovative expressions. *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* being his first *risālah*, it is possible that the author wanted to derive as much authority and credibility for his text as possible by anchoring it and linking it with the utterances of those whose authority and credibility were unquestioned.

Motifs of Continuity-*Tasalsul*

The motifs of continuity can be divided into three rough categories that overlap to a certain degree: (i) unchanging spiritual continuity or permanence, (ii) *naṣṣ* and continuity despite physical change, and (iii) the transition and continuity from the period of *zuhūr* to *satr*. The first considers timeless concepts that are unchanging and permanent, such as *ḥaqq*, *ṣidq* and *raḥmah*. The second considers the progression from one individual to the other, the continuity based on the divinely guided act of appointment (*naṣṣ*). The third is the crucial transition of this continuity from the Imāmate: the succession from father to son in seclusion, to the unbroken succession of their representatives manifest among the people: the Dā'īs. While motifs based on Qur'ānic quotations, historical narratives, keywords, rhetoric and binarisms are found in each category, this chapter will focus on one or two of these types in each category to demonstrate the variety and richness of motifs in this Taḥmīd.

A-Motifs of Spiritual Permanence (Keywords and Qur'ānic Quotations)

The evocative and closely related words *ḥaqq* and *ṣidq* appear throughout the text of the Taḥmīd, building a subtle case for the permanence of the spiritual and binding the different segments of the Taḥmīd together. To start with, the term *ḥaqq* appears in the very title of the *risālah*, thereby directing the audience to seek it within the text. In the very first segment, the buildup of the three short phrases reaches a climax in the quotation of the Qur'ānic verse 13:14 starting with the words: '*lahū da'wat al-ḥaqq*'. This verse, and the word *ḥaqq* in it, are related with the referent of the pronoun '*hū*' in '*lahū*'. While the most immediate referent is God, the Imām and Dā'ī also become referents, based on the rhetorical pattern of the preceding three segments. Indeed, the term *Da'wat al-ḥaqq* refers to the eternal *Da'wah* that begins in the spiritual realm, continues on earth as the *Da'wah* of the Prophets including Muhammad, further continues with the Imāms and persists under the auspices of the Dā'īs. While the

stipulations and *Sharī'ah* of the *Da'wah* change from one Prophet to another, it is the very same *Da'wah*, and its essence (*bāṭin*), and the *'ilm* that supports it, remain the same: that is, they are permanent. This phrase '*lahū Da'wat al-ḥaqq*' becomes the symbol of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*, identified as God's *Da'wat al-ḥaqq*. The verse is quoted fairly frequently by previous Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholars⁴⁰¹. The ability of this word to evoke such a strong set of *fikrah*-relations affords each individual or entity, to which it is related, a share in its continuity and permanence through the ages. Every appearance of the word is therefore significant.

The term *ṣidq* also evokes several strong *fikrah*-relations. The Prophet is referred to in traditions as *al-ṣādiq al-maṣdūq*⁴⁰². In the end-Ṭahmīd (Appendix-4:183) of this *risālah*, Muhammad is described as the *lisān-ṣidq fī al-ākhirīn*, with reference to Qur'ān 26:84⁴⁰³. The common reference to 'Alī as *lisān ṣidq 'aliyyā*, with reference to Qur'ān 19:50, as in al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* 3-272 (Appendix-4:65), a *fikrah*-relation is created with 'Alī as well. It also creates a *fikrah*-relation with the fourth Shī'ah Imām, Ja'far al-*Ṣādiq*, known as such by Shī'ahs and Sunnis⁴⁰⁴. Thus any reference to *ṣidq* creates a *fikrah*-relation with Muhammad, 'Alī and the Imāms.

More broadly, the words *ṣidq*, and its derivation *taṣḍīq*, are used to define another weighty term: *īmān*. Al-Mu'ayyad (*Majālis*, 1-96) states that *īmān* is the acceptance and belief in the truthfulness (*taṣḍīq*), of the Prophets and especially of Muhammad when he speaks of the unseen (*ghayb*). We can divide this *taṣḍīq* into three types: *taṣḍīq* of past, present and future. The requirement of *taṣḍīq* of the past, accepting the truthfulness of the past Prophets and their religions, is attested to by the Qur'ānic verse 37:37, which describes Muhammad as one who brought forth *ḥaqq* and acknowledged the truthfulness of the previous Prophets (*saddaqa*; incidentally, this is also an attestation by the Qur'ān of the complementary binarism of *ḥaqq* and *ṣidq* witnessed time and again in this Ṭahmīd). The *taṣḍīq* of the future means accepting the truthfulness of the Prophets and Imāms when they speak about events that are unperceived by the powers of human

⁴⁰¹ See for example al-Mu'ayyad, *Majālis*, 2-185 (Appendix-4:45), *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*- 1221H (Appendix-4:175) and 1248H (Appendix-4:180) from the Indian phase.

⁴⁰² For example, *Musnad-Aḥmad*, no. 2035, *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, no. 6105, *Ṣaḥīḥ-Muslim*, no. 4781, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, no. 2063, and *Sunan Ibn Mājah*, no. 73.

⁴⁰³ Similar reference in al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis*, 3-266 (Appendix-4:62).

⁴⁰⁴ According to al-Mu'ayyad in *Majālis* 1- 90, Ja'far al-Sādiq is said to have declared that it was the Imāms who were referred to by the word *ṣādiqīn*, commenting on the Qur'ānic verse (9: 119), 'O you who believe fear God and be with the Truthful ones'.

perception or are yet to happen (*ghayb*): the Day of Judgment, punishment in Hellfire and reward in Heaven. Finally, these *taṣdīqs* are combined in the *taṣdīq* of the present: that is to believe in the veracity of *ṣāhib al-zamān*, whether it is the Imām or his representative the Dā'ī in time of seclusion. It is this final *taṣdīq* that is particularly relevant in the context of the Ṭahmūd of this *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*, wherein the veracity, of the Dā'ī when he speaks of the appointment (*naṣṣ*) of the forty-seventh Dā'ī, is in question.

After the initial solitary appearance of the word *ḥaqq*, the two terms *ḥaqq* and *ṣidq* appear together at three strategic points. The first is in segment-7, in which Ḥasan-Ḥusayn are related to the two concepts, with all that they signify, as *imāmay ḥaqq wa humāmay ṣidq*. The second appearance is in segment-8, in which the Imāms in the progeny of Ḥusayn are related to the two keywords as *aḥillat al-ḥaqq wa adillat al-ṣidq*. Finally, in the *khitāb*, the author relates himself to the two concepts: *ad'ū ilā ma da'aw min al-ḥaqq wa asluku mā salakū min sabīl al-ṣidq*. The terms also appear alongside each other once in the main body of the *risālah*, with reference to the continuity of the Imāmate, and also in the end-Ṭahmūd (Appendix-4:183) describing the Prophet⁴⁰⁵. The repetition of the two terms in different segments initiates an intra-textual dialogue between the instances in which they occur, linking them together.

These strategic recurrences not only signify the permanence of these concepts throughout time, but also reinforce the principle of correspondence between the Imāms and the Dā'īs during *saṭr*. The final appearance in relation to the present Dā'ī initiates a performative dialogue with contemporary voices of dissension and makes a strong case for the acceptance of the authority of the Dā'ī, the key contemporary issue that the Ṭahmūd addresses. From a completely eisegetical perspective, in the recurrence of *ḥaqq-ṣidq* in reference to the Imāms and the Dā'īs, individuals who are considered role-models, conveys a subtle though important moral message to the audience to follow the same path: to support *ḥaqq* and be truthful in all their dealings. The repetition of these words, with full knowledge of all the *fikrah*-relations they generate, is evidence that carefully

⁴⁰⁵ Part of a quote from the writings of Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn, this is the context in the main body of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1335H (p. 66):

ولن تزال الامامة جارية في امام بعد امام من آل محمد ذرية بعضها من بعض، متسلسلة فيهم الى يوم الحساب والعرض، دائمة ما دامت السماوات والارض، شهدت على ذلك شواهد الآفاق والانس وتبين لنا انه الحق بما وضع لنا من دلائل الصدق، والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدي لولا ان هدانا الله لقد جاءت رسل ربنا بالحق،

selected 'keywords' strategically placed throughout the Ṭahmīd are a powerful literary tool that is used to its full potential in this Ṭahmīd.

Another motif of spiritual permanence is the concept of mercy (*raḥmah*), presented initially in relation to the Prophet. In Qur'ān 21:107 Muhammad is described as *raḥmah* personified. The modified quote in segment-4a refers to this verse, followed by a strong *nisbah*-relation between the essence (*khamīrah*) of *raḥmah* and Muhammad's progeny after his death. The essence of *raḥmah* is presented as one that is continuous, unchanging and permanent. The *fikrah*-relations and the inter-textual dialogue endorse the necessity for the permanence of *raḥmah*. This verse and the concept of *raḥmah* are the basis for one of al-Kirmānī's (*Maṣābīḥ*) and al-Mua'yyad's arguments for the necessity of the continuity of the chain of Imāmate (*Majālis*, 2-188 and 2-189). Briefly, they argue that, since Muhammad is the embodiment of *raḥmah* for his contemporary people, and since it is possible that there will be after Muhammad those who are as pious and deserving of *raḥmah* as those contemporary to the Prophet, and since God is Just, it is necessary that there be for all of mankind, at every point in time, an individual, an Imām, who is also the embodiment of *raḥmah*⁴⁰⁶. Another *fikrah*-relation, based on the former, is with a verse composed by the 5th Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd (*Diwān*) in praise of the 3rd Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm:

We do not say that the Imām is in seclusion, when you, o *raḥmat al-Raḥmān*, are our Dā'ī.

ولا نقول امام العصر مستتر
 وأنت يا رحمة الرحمن داعينا

The *fikrah*-relation with this verse extends the permanent *khamīrah* of *raḥmah* to include the Dā'ī. The dissidents' claim of the severance of the line of Dā'īs would entail therefore an acceptance – impossible – of injustice by the Almighty.

A number of other motifs of spiritual permanence in the Ṭahmīd should be mentioned here. The reference to *kalimāt* in the context of the Qur'ānic verses 6:115 and 18:27, in segment-1c, creates a *fikrah*-relation, an inter-textual dialogue, with the *ta'wīl* of

⁴⁰⁶ A verse in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *diwān* broaches this concept and addresses the Imām as *raḥmah*, the progeny of he who is *raḥmah* personified:

الا رحمة يا آل من هو رحمة * مشخصة للعالمين بعبث

kalimah discussed in chapter-V (pp.187-188): God's *kalimāt* are the Imāms and during *satr* the Imāms' *kalimāt* are the Dā'īs. In the spirit of continuity and permanence, the statement that God's *kalimāt* cannot be changed, is part of the performative dialogue addressing contemporary circumstances. Any suggestion that the forty-seventh Dā'ī was not appointed is thus rendered blasphemous. In the same vein, the reference to *asmā'* in segment-2, through the Qur'ānic verse 59:24, continues the inter-textual dialogue with the esoteric interpretation of *asmā'* as the Imāms, discussed in chapter-V(p.78).

In segment-10, the *nisbah*-relation of al-Ṭayyib with the Prophet as 'light emanating from light', directly creates a *fikrah*-relation with the *Sijill al-Bishārah*, the official letter sent out by the Fatimid Imām al-Āmir announcing al-Ṭayyib's birth, mentioned earlier, in which this statement appears⁴⁰⁷. This light image conveys continuity as well as permanence, especially if considered in relation to the quotation of verse 9:32 in the end of segment-7, in which God's light is completed and secured by Him despite attempts by dissidents to 'extinguish' it. Through this intra-textual dialogue it is clear that each Imām is characterized as the light of God.

The continuity and spiritual permanence between al-Ṭayyib and Imām al-*ʿaṣr* is endorsed further in the beginning of segment-11, in which the relation between the two is of absolute congruity even though the persons are different: 'the Imām al-*ʿaṣr* is known by his [al-Ṭayyib's] name, his soul is like his soul, his body is like his body' (*al-ma'rūf bi ismih, alladhī nafsuhu ka nafsihī wa jismuhu ka jismih*). For the followers of the Imām in time of seclusion, the Imām al-*ʿaṣr*, also called Ṭayyib al-*ʿaṣr*, is known by the twenty-first Imām al-Ṭayyib's name since the present Imām is in his progeny and it is in al-Ṭayyib's name that the *Da'wah* continues during *satr*. The naming is to assert the physical presence of an Imām, a descendant of the twenty-first Imām al-Ṭayyib, to the extent that the present Imām's birthday is annually celebrated on the date of the twenty-first Imām al-Ṭayyib's birth. The spirit of permanence is summarized in this verse from the Ṭahmīd *qaṣīdah*:

And their last, in glory, with the
first equates.

إنما آخرهم في الـ
مجد لـأول ضامى

⁴⁰⁷ Quoted in 'Imād al-Dīn, 'Uyūn (vol.V, pp. 254-255).

B-Motifs of Spiritual transition: Naṣṣ (Historical Narratives)

Three instances of historical narrative appear in this Ṭahmīd. These instances recount and narrate the actual 'temporal' rite of transition of supra-temporal permanent notions such as *rahmah* from one individual to the other. These motifs mediate between the timeless permanent spiritual concepts and the realities of the time-bound changing world.

The first instance, in segment-5d, describes the relation between Muhammad and 'Alī in al-Ghadīr. With respect to Ṭahmīds, which scarcely entertain details, this passage is fairly rich in specifics. Muhammad is described as rising to the *minbar* with 'Alī, raising him high so that the whiteness of his armpits (*bayād ibṭayh*) is visible, and conferring *naṣṣ* upon him by declaring 'he whose *master* I was, now this 'Alī is his *master*' (*man kuntu mawlāhu fa hādha 'Alī mawlāh*). The physical description of the event is accompanied by the explicit statement of the *naṣṣ*, a statement that eventually gains iconic status. It is also worth mentioning that this narrative is anchored in the prescribed interpretation of the Qur'ānic verse 5:67, discussed earlier in chapter-VI (p.229). This verse, initially alluded to in a modified quote in segment-4c in relation to the Prophet, is quoted verbatim at the beginning of segment-5d, creating an esoteric *nisbah*-relation between the verse and its *ta'wīl* signification. The narrative is supplemented by the keywords *amānah* and *naṣṣ*, which are motifs in their own right and are repeated at strategic points in the Ṭahmīd (segments 4c, 5d, and *amīn* in 11; *naṣṣ* and *nuṣūṣ* 7 and 11). The recurrence of these terms in *ṣalawāt* on Muhammad and 'Alī, as well as on the Imāms, once again creates an intra-textual dialogue asserting continuity. The historical narrative, that otherwise relies mostly on historical *fikrah*-relations is in this case, owing to the contemporary context of the *risālah*, explicated in the Ṭahmīd itself; the implication, through the performative dialogue that it establishes, is that the denial of *naṣṣ* on the forty-seventh Dā'ī is tantamount to the denial of *naṣṣ* on 'Alī.

The other instance of narrative is in segment-7 which comes after the quotation of a *Ḥadīth* attributed to Muhammad in which he, the Ṭahmīd states, confers *naṣṣ* on Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as well: *al-Ḥasan wa al-Ḥusayn Imāmā haqq...*⁴⁰⁸. While there are many *fikrah*-relations on the basis of this *Ḥadīth*, it is the narrative that follows that is of

⁴⁰⁸ The argument that this constitutes a *naṣṣ* on Ḥasan-Ḥusayn is presented by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān in *Da'ā'im al-Islām* vol.1, p. 37. Note that the succession from Ḥasan to Ḥusayn is an anomaly; the rule is that succession of the Imāmate must be father to son. This rule does not apply to the succession of Dā'īs during *saṭr*.

interest here. Ḥasan-Ḥusayn are described as being carried by the Prophet on his shoulders, and climbing on his back during *sujūd*. This brief narration evokes a *fikrah*-relation with the more elaborate version of each report⁴⁰⁹. The argument presented by Syedna Taher Saifuddin – in a *wa'z* sermon– is that the actions of the Prophet are not simply that of a loving grandfather; rather, the Qur'ānic precept (53:3-4), 'the Prophet does not speak on whim; it is but *wahy* that is revealed unto him' extends to his actions. In this respect, the action of Muhammad in carrying Ḥasan-Ḥusayn is in itself an indication of their elevated status.

The final instance is at the end of the same segment, in which a modest narrative element comes into play after reference to the atrocities committed upon Ḥusayn in Karbala. A statement of events follows: 'Alī b. Ḥusayn survived this great calamity (*khayb jalīl*) and in his progeny the *tasalsul* of Imāmate persisted. Yet this event, that is so succinctly narrated, is provided as the starkest testimony to the continuity of the spiritual transference in the direst of circumstances. It immediately creates a *fikrah*-relation and a performative dialogue with the present circumstances in which, spiritually rather than physically, a similar attack has been launched. This short narrative too is anchored in a crucial Qur'ānic verse quoted in the preceding phrase (9:32). The verse creates a negative *nisbah*-relation between *nūr Allāh* and the *kāfirūn*, and a positive esoteric *fikrah*-relation between *nūr Allāh* and the Imām, since it is implied in the following narrative that the survival of the *nūr* is through the survival of 'Alī b. Ḥusayn. This idea of God's enduring light is conveyed in verse 61:8 as well. The Fatimid-Ṭayyibī esoteric interpretation asserts that the notion is repeated because, the first verse refers to the continuity of the Imāms while the second verse refers to the continuity of the Dā'īs⁴¹⁰. The quotation of this verse once again, following the *khayb*, in an example of an intra-textual and performative dialogue, creates a *fikrah*-relation between the two: the

⁴⁰⁹ These anecdotes are presented by al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān in *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār*, vols. 11 and 12, who states on the Imām's authority that the Prophet was commanded by God through the angel Gabriel to remain in *sujūd* lest Ḥasan-Ḥusayn fall. He also states that the Prophet was mocked when carrying Ḥasan-Ḥusayn by the remark 'your mount is indeed the best' (*ni'm al-maṭiyy maṭiyyukumā*), to which the Prophet is said to have retorted indeed they are the best riders (*ni'm al-fārisān humā*).

⁴¹⁰ There is a slight difference in the two verses; the first (9: 32) reads: *wa ya'ba Allāh illā an yutimma nūrah*, while the second (61:8) reads: *wa Allāh mutimm nūrih*. Syedna Taher Saifuddin in a *wa'z*-sermon related the second verse with the 33rd Dā'ī Fīr-Khān Shujā' al-Dīn, who succeeded Dā'ī Qutb al-Dīn al-Shahīd (d. 1056/1646), martyred in Ahmadabad like Ḥusayn was in Karbala. In Ahmadabad too, as in Karbala, the Dā'ī had kept his successor with him at all times, yet he survived the oppressor's sword. It is implied that while physical assassination is the ultimate test of the endurance of the Imāmate and succession of Dā'īs, in other circumstances too, in which the *tasalsul* comes under attack, it will survive.

continuity of the Imāmate following Karbala and the continuity of the Dā'īs following the storm subsequent to the period of the forty-seventh Dā'ī.

While the three narratives cover the crucial and unique transitions from Muhammad to 'Alī, 'Alī to Ḥasan-Ḥusayn and Ḥusayn to 'Alī b. Ḥusayn respectively, the standard father to son transition is presented using other Qur'ānic and keyword-based motifs. The description of the Imām of each age as '*imām mubīn*', near to the end of segment-8, creates a significant *fikrah*-relation with verse 36:12, one of the key instances in the Qur'ān in which the word Imām is explicitly quoted. In the historical context, it creates a *fikrah*-relation with an instance during the proceedings of the litigation. Syedna Taher Saifuddin was asked by the presiding judge to offer evidence from the Qur'ān referring to the 'Imām' of which he spoke so often; he promptly recited the latter verse: *wa kulla shay'in aḥṣaynāh fī imām mubīn*⁴¹¹.

Another such motif is Qur'ānic verse 13:7: 'indeed you are one who warns, and for every folk (*qawm*), there is a guide (*hād*)'. The *nisbah*-relation of the verse with the Imāms prescribes the interpretation of *hād* as the Imām, but also as the Dā'ī through a *fikrah*-relation based on the principle of correspondence discussed earlier.

C-Motifs of zuhūr-satr (Light Imagery and Rhetorical Patterns)

The description of the Imāms in segment-8 as the 'Imāms of *zuhūr* and *satr*' is explicated and expressed through a number of relations and motifs in the Taḥmīd, of which two trends are of particular interest. The first trend we may frame using the binarism of physical and intellectual (*absār-baṣā'ir*), characteristically used in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context to frame our perception of God, as discussed in chapter-V (p.182). In *ṣalawāt* on Imām *al-ʿaṣr*, segment-11, this binarism is employed (with a slightly different proposition) to relate to the secluded Imām who is 'absent from the [perception of] physical or sensory eyes' (*al-ghā'ib* 'an *al-absār al-ḥissiyyah*), and who is 'present by the pure spiritual or intellectual perception' (*al-ḥādīr fī al-baṣā'ir al-ṣāfiyah al-quḍsiyyah*). The opposition between *ghā'ib* and *ḥādīr* is mediated by a relation that follows, in which, using light imagery, the Dā'īs are described as the intermediaries – the receptors and transmitters, as the moon is for the sun's light – through whom the Imām's rays (of bounty) flow in abundance (*al-fā'idī* 'alā *shī'atihi bi wiṣṣatihi du'ātihi fuyūḍ ashi'atihi*).

⁴¹¹ Khuzema b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

This also creates a *fikrah*-relation, through an inter-textual dialogue, with the ending of a verse in a *qaṣīdah* by Syedna Taḥer Saifuddin in *Lisān al-Da'wah*, in the last line of which he states 'he [the Imām] is *ghā'ib* and I am *ḥāḍir*' (*ye ghā'ib chhe may ḥāḍir chhu*).

A relation with the *tawḥīd* paradox described earlier, also an example of inter-textual dialogue, is established by the statement that follows: 'the Imām's presence is necessitated (*darūriyy*), despite his absence (*ghaybah*), because of the existence of the proof and presence (*āyah*) of his Dā'īs and his *Da'wah* amongst us – just as Allāh's Divinity is undisputedly evident, even though we do not see Him, through the necessitating evidence provided for the Creator by His creation, and by those whom He has established as His proofs (*adillah*), those chosen and selected by God (*safwat-Allāh*) from among His creation. The qualified principle of correspondence between Allāh and the Imām, as His fully empowered representative, is brought into play, relating them in their absence from sight on the one hand and in the necessity of their existence and presence on the other. The Dā'ī and *Da'wah* feature in this equation as the proofs of the Imām's existence, just as creation and the Imām, His ultimate creation, are proof of the Creator's existence. That this statement is quoted verbatim from *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1215H is further evidence of the inter-textual dialogue taking place.

In the *ṣalawāt* on the Dā'īs in segment-13, the binarism and the light imagery become more pronounced and are paralleled with the Qur'ānic allegory of the cave discussed in chapter-VI (p.239). The *ghā'ib* and *ḥāḍir* paradox is used again with the light of the Imām and the Imām's *Da'wah* being described as 'radiating because of the Dā'īs, even though the Imāms are in the cave of seclusion (*kahf al-taqiyyah*)'. The link between the light imagery and the cave metaphor, the presence of the light despite the seclusion of the source, is paralleled with the paradox in the Qur'ānic verse 18:18: 'and you would think them awake while they are asleep'⁴¹². The quotation of the verse in this context ascribes to it a novel *ta'wīl* interpretation, that meshes the two paradoxes: absent yet present; asleep yet awake. The final opposition comes straight after this quote, when the Dā'īs are described as 'breaking the dawn of their (the Imāms') *amr* (*Da'wah*), while the Imāms are in the sunset of seclusion'. The remarkable relation of opposition between dawn (*isbāḥ*) and sunset (*maghrib*) belies the harmony and synchrony between the Imām and Dā'ī that allows the actual spread of light. This harmony is possibly the key

⁴¹² Another relation with cave imagery appears earlier in segment-8 describing the Imāms as the people of the cave and *raqīm* (18:9).

statement of the Ṭahmīd, which explains the spiritual continuity of the function of the Imāmate in the Dā'īs, despite their absence from sight.

The light imagery, based on the relations with secondary relata discussed above, plays a key role in establishing the dynamics of the *zuhūr-satr* binarism. The merging of this imagery with the paradox of *tawhīd* and the Qur'ānic cave imagery aims to add further credibility. Finally, the appearance of different forms of the keyword *nūr*, at strategic locations in the Ṭahmīd, creates an intra-textual dialogue reaffirming the overall continuity⁴¹³.

It is also possible to perceive esoteric *fikrah*-relations that bolster the continuity between the *zuhūr-satr* periods, based on some of the rhetorical patterns in the Ṭahmīd. In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context, this reading would only be accepted if presented or approved by an individual with the necessary authority for the extraction of *ta'wīl* significations (*istinbāt*). For example, the author of *risālat al-Basmalah*, 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, states that his *ta'wīl* interpretation of the *basmalah* was presented to the Dā'ī *al-ʿaṣr*, who approved his extrapolation. The readings presented below have been endorsed by the present *Ma'dhūn al-Da'wah*, Syedi Khuzaima b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin. In the context of *zuhūr-satr*, I will focus on segment-1 here, particularly on a sequence of three grammatically and synthetically parallel phrases.

The first group, in segments 1a and 1c, reflects the three key levels of relata: God, the Imām and the Dā'ī. The three short phrases in segment-1a, preceding the long Qur'ānic quote, are distinctly marked as separate from each other by the end-rhyme, *āl*. They are also parallel in the inclusion of two adjectives in each phrase, as well as of the three nouns: Allāh, *rabb*, and *al-malik*. The first phrase, with the greatest name of Allāh (*ism Allāh al-a'zam*), *li Allāh al-kabīr al-muta'āl*, explicitly and in the esoteric sense refers to the Almighty. The adjectives used further endorse this reading in that the derivation of *kabīr* is constantly used, by all God's creatures including the Prophets, in the pronouncement *Allāh-akbar*: no matter how elevated their rank, God is greater.

⁴¹³ The word appears with relation all the primary relata. In relation to Muhammad in segment-3: *sirājan munīrā*, in relation to 'Alī in segment-5a: *nūr 'aynīh*; in relation to Fātimah in segment-6: *mishkāt al-anwār*; in relation to Ḥasan-Ḥusayn in segment-7: *navyiray samā' al-risālat al-zāhirayn*; in relation to the Imāms in segment-8: *ma'ādīn ishrāq al-nūr* and *dhawū lawāhīt nūriyyah*; in relation to al-Ṭayyib in segment-10: *al-mustakhraj...kamā yustakhraj al-nūr min al-nūr*; in relation to Imām *al-ʿaṣr* in segment-11: *miṣbāh anwār al-malakūt*; in relation to the Dā'īs in segment-13 as *suruj al-anwār al-qudsāniyyah*.

Muta'āl is also used to describe the final point of *tawḥīd*: God is beyond recognition (*muta'āl 'an al-idrāk*). Thus the very first phrase places God beyond any relation and makes clear that, no matter what is said apparently with reference to God afterwards, there can be no relation of any kind with God.

The second phrase uses the noun *rabb*, which though used for God, is also used for lesser beings as in 'head of the household' (*rabb al-bayt*), for example. A *fikrah*-relation and intra-textual dialogue is created with the other context in which the plural of *rabb* appears. That occurs in segment-8, where the Imāms are described as those who are masters of the created, and worshippers whose master is the Creator, *li al-khalā'iq arbāb wa li al-khāliq subḥanah 'ibād marbūbūn*. Once it is accepted that God is greater (*Allāh-akbar*), an intra-textual dialogue creates a *fikrah*-relation between the word *rabb* in segment-1a and the Imāms described as *arbāb* in segment-8. The adjectives '*aẓamat* and *jalāl*', could be read as referring to the *lāhūt* (*qudsī* soul-spiritual) and *nasūt* (*qudsī* body-physical) of the Imām. These are also referred to in segment-8 in the plural form, as the *lawāḥīt* and *nawāsīt* of the Imām. The second phrase, *rabb al-'aẓamat wa al-jalāl*, thus literally refers to God but, on an esoteric level, refers to the Imām.

The third phrase uses the noun *malik*, which though used for God, *the King*, is also one that is applied to mortal kings. While there is no reference to the Dā'īs as *malik* in this Ṭahmīd, we have an inter-textual dialogue, a *fikrah*-relation with such references to Dā'īs in Syedna Taher Saifuddin's *Diwān*⁴¹⁴. The two adjectives, *quddūs* and *shadīd al-miḥāl*, are balanced and mirror the adjectives used to describe Muhammad, *bashīr* and *nadhīr*: like *bashīr*, *quddūs* is an adjective that relates to the eternal heaven to which followers will gain entry; like *nadhīr*, *shadīd al-miḥāl* reflects the punishment that transgressors will endure. In the historical context, *quddūs* refers to the spiritual (non-physical) relation the Dā'ī has with the Imām, the spirit of *naṣṣ*, while *shadīd al-miḥāl* describes his stance towards the dissidents. From what is known of his stance and from the tone of the *risālah*, this adjective is apt. The third phrase, *al-malik al-quddūs shadīd al-miḥāl*, thus refers literally to God but, on an esoteric level, refers to the Dā'īs.

⁴¹⁴ This verse describing the Dā'īs in relation to the Imāms and their followers mirrors the phrase describing the Imāms as *arbāb* and *marbūbūn*.

هم ممالك لآل المصطفى ملكوا من تابعهم للرقاب

The following verse is from a *qasīdah* eulogizing the 45th Dā'ī, describing him as *malik*:

ملك عظيم في الملوك مقامه ملك لدى رب الانام مقرب

Based on this reading of the first three phrases of segment-1a, the last phrase of the segment, the crucial quotation of verse 13:14 of the Qur'ān, takes on a new meaning. The pronoun *hū*, in *lahū da'wat al-ḥaqq*, now refers simultaneously to God, to the Imām, and during his seclusion, to his representative the Dā'ī.

While it is possible to read further esoteric significations in these three phrases, based on their rhetorical patterns, and while there are other such clusters⁴¹⁵, this interpretation will suffice to show the role of rhetorical devices in creating relations and generating meaning. The interpretation relies as much on the rhetorical pattern (parallelism and end-rhyme) of the three phrases as it does on the semantics and *fikrah*-relations created by the actual words.

A final *fikrah*-relation and inter-textual dialogue with respect to these phrases is with a verse in a *qaṣīdah* written by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in praise of his father, the forty-ninth Dā'ī. He composed this before he became Dā'ī and thus before the authorship of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H*. The verse clearly reflects the esoteric reading of the first three phrases of *ḥamd* in *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H*, offering *ḥamd* to God, and also to the Imām and the representative of the Imām, the Dā'ī *al-satr*.

To you [the forty-ninth Dā'ī] I
offer *ḥamd* (praise/thanks), after
God and [after] your master, the
master of all people [the Imām],
every morning and evening.

لَكَ الْحَمْدُ بَعْدَ الْإِلَهِ وَمَوْلَا-
لَكَ مَوْلَى الْوَرَى غُدُوَّةً وَمَسَاءً

Conclusion

The Ṭahmīd of *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* clearly illustrates the ability of Ṭahmīds to endorse a particular worldview, in this case the certainty of the *tasalsul* of Imāms and, in their seclusion, the uninterrupted continuity of the line of Dā'īs. The dialogues highlighted demonstrate that the author draws on Ṭahmīds from the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī and broader Ṭahmīd tradition, building on a strong foundation. The creativity of the author is *within* the centuries old framework of Ṭahmīd.

The image in Plate-VIIIa (before the beginning of this chapter) is of an inscription of the 'alāmah and the first few lines of the *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H* Ṭahmīd. Carved in

⁴¹⁵ For example in segment-1c.

marble and inlaid with precious stones and gold-leaf, it adorns the walls of the Syedna Taher Saifuddin's mausoleum in Mumbai (*Rawḍat-Ṭāhīrah*). It forms part of a band of engravings that runs around the four walls below the Qur'ān, engraved in its entirety and inlaid with gold in the inner walls of the mausoleum. The inscription of the Qur'ān begins with *sūrat al-Fātiḥah* (Plate-II)– fully inlaid with rubies, setting it aside from the rest of the gold-inlay – from the point above this Taḥmīd. The placement of this Taḥmīd written by Syedna Taher Saifuddin below *sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, the archetype of Taḥmīd, is a graphic representation of the roots of Taḥmīd and its highly-evolved successor. The material adornment – the gold and jewels – is said to reflect the jewels of *'ilm* that are waiting to be unearthed in the divine words. That inscriptions of Taḥmīd still adorn walls thirteen centuries later is a testament to the endurance and versatility of the *genre*.

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

وَأَخِرُ دَعْوَاهُمْ أَنِ

إِلَهِكَ أَكْبَرُ

Plate-IX

Verse (10:10): 'And their last prayer is 'Praise be to God! The Master of the universe'—written in *Thuluth*.

CONCLUSION
A LITERARY GENRE?

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ
الحمد لله الذي جعل الحمد مفتاحاً لذِكْرِهِ، وسبباً للمزيد من فضله، ودليلاً على آلائه وعظمته.⁴¹⁶ وصلى الله على نبيه وآله
الطاهرين، وسلم تسليماً متصلاً إلى يوم الدين،

The source of all literary genres (secondary genres), asserts Bakhtin, is everyday-speech genres (primary genres; Bakhtin, 1986, pp. 98-99)⁴¹⁷. On the basis of this assertion Mücke (2003) argues that primary genres become literary or aesthetic when they are combined with genres whose language counters the everyday-speech genre's ordinariness. This proposition proves true for *Tahmīd*. The *Tahmīd* is part of everyday speech but it is defamiliarized in its literary contexts whereby it becomes a literary genre.

The answer to the question posited in the title of this dissertation – is *Tahmīd* a literary genre? – is then an emphatic 'yes'. The answer is based on a particular definition of genre which I outline here reflecting on my experience with *Tahmīds* during the course of this study. Although 'genre' is a widely circulated word with a multitude of definitions, it emerges that the definition depends and varies according to the nature, scope and context of a particular genre. As Chandler (1997) states: "Genre knowledge is typically tacit and would be difficult for most readers to articulate as any kind of detailed and coherent framework. Clearly one needs to encounter sufficient examples of a genre in order to recognize shared features as being characteristic of it". On the basis of encountering a significant number of *Tahmīds* in this study, in the context of beginnings in the Arab-Islamic tradition, the *Tahmīd* as a genre is identifiable through its establishment of a clear worldview (*weltanschauung*), its textual and formal characteristics, and its governance of the expectations of the author and audience.

Introducing the published essays of a symposium on theorizing genres, Ralph Cohen (2003) contends that "to refer to a genre is to refer to a group of texts which have both some features in common and others which are individualized. The implication is that each member text contains a combination of features. But only some of these account for

⁴¹⁶ Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*, (p.982; Appendix-2:17).

⁴¹⁷ "The vast majority of literary genres are secondary, complex genres composed of various transformed primary genres (the rejoinder in dialogue, everyday stories, letters, diaries, minutes, and so forth). As a rule, these secondary genres of complex cultural communication play out various forms of primary speech communication. Here is also the source of all literary/conventional characters of authors, narrators, and addressees." (Bakhtin, 1986, pp. 98-99).

making a genre relatively stable; other features loosen the stability". In one of the symposium's papers, Saul Morson (2003) argues for the recognition of short forms, such as aphorisms, as genres and as carriers of a worldview⁴¹⁸. The short form (aphorism for example) is an independent genre and may also be subsumed as a part in a longer form (a novel for example). The *Tahmīd* is also a similar, initially, short form that is subsumed in longer genres, such as the *khutbah*, *risālah* or monograph, but also stands firmly by itself, carrying its own worldview.

The *Tahmīd*'s worldview, a defined frame of reference, is presented through the relations that are established within it. Essentially, through relations with the Almighty and the Prophet, the *Tahmīd* asserts the Unity of God, acknowledges the createdness of humans and the existence of the Hereafter. In other words, it asserts the necessary existence of a spiritual world, which is on a higher plane than our physical world, delineating the relationships necessary to reach it. It asserts the 'remembrance of God', with all that it entails, as the *Tahmīd* quoted at the beginning of this conclusion asserts⁴¹⁹. Connected to this are the bipolarization of existence into *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil* (those who maintain the relations and those who do not), the cycles of nature, the inevitability of death, the supremacy of God's will etc. By espousing this worldview, the *Tahmīd* acts as the link between the physical and the metaphysical, between the microcosm and macrocosm, and between the author's individualistic context and the divine scheme of existence. While in religious contexts it serves to reiterate fundamental premises, in non-religious contexts it establishes this link as the essential and necessary backdrop for every theme and every endeavor.

The use of *Tahmīd*, even in non-religious contexts or contexts that are seemingly averse to religion, highlights the conscious or unconscious acceptance by its author of its ability to act as a link to a higher plane of spirituality, and to provide a worldview that necessitates such a plane. Analyzing a work by Herbert Home (d. 1891), Jerome McGann (2003) draws attention to how aesthetic aspects, that are alien to the secularist content of the book, manage to conjure a paradoxical link with the spiritual. Commenting on this paper, Hayden White (2003) states that "what McGann's analysis of Home's book

⁴¹⁸ Livingstone (1990, p. 155) also asserts that "different genres are concerned to establish different worldviews".

⁴¹⁹ Al-Qalqashandī's (p. 979) passing statement that most beginnings are *Tahmīd* beginnings because souls *tatashawwaf* (desire and look forward) to the Praise of God, also vindicates this assertion.

shows...is the ways in which older religious notions and concepts can continue to exist in cultures that are not only post-religious but also anti-religious. He shows...how religious or mythical ideas like those about the nature of the sacraments can continue to exist in materialist culture and, when put to aesthetic uses can succeed in endowing even the most brutal matter the aspect of 'spirituality'". In the case of *Tahmīd*, its use by authors in seemingly secular contexts (even today) establishes quite clearly a link with the divine. Even the beginning of *al-Mukhtar min qutb al-surūr fī awṣāf al-anbidhah wa al-khumūr* begins with a *Tahmīd*, outlining clearly the author's frame of reference, which might be doubted upon reading the title⁴²⁰. In non-religious contexts, sometimes with a *Tahmīd*, sometimes only with its first component, the *basmalah*, and sometimes with only the numerical value of the *basmalah* (for example in a modern academic work on mediaeval writing published in the West), the praise preamble represents the worldview, the fundamental frame of reference, with which the author begins⁴²¹.

In the case of Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Tahmīds*, apart from this worldview shared with the rest of the Islamic community, the binary outlook of existence is firmly entrenched in the *Tahmīds*: Muhammad and 'Alī, *tanzīl* and *ta'wīl*, *ẓāhir* and *bātin*, the tangible and intellectual, the word and its meaning, the physical and the spiritual. This outlook shapes and supports the core epistemological and ideological basis of the community. The binarism of all of existence asserts God's Unity, the fundamental message of Islam. It also necessitates the presence of a living Imām in every age as the living counterpart that complements the written scripture. The continuity of the chain of Imāmate, that ensures the presence of an Imām in every age, is manifested in the expansion of the *ṣalawāt*. The binarism also reflects the worldview that recognizes the periods of the Imām's seclusion and the presence of a living representative Dā'ī. Thus the *Tahmīd* develops to reflect the more specific worldview of communities within Islam.

The performance of the *Tahmīd* in the context of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition or in the broader context of the Islamic *ummah* unites individuals who share a particular worldview as a community. The mutual relations that are shared by those who embrace a mutual worldview that the *Tahmīd* presents become in effect a spiritual family.

⁴²⁰ The work quotes various *qasīdahs*, proverbs and anecdotes on *khumūr*, but also asserts in a dedicated chapter that the consumption of wine is *ḥarām* according to the divine laws. Another such example is al-Nafzāwī's *al-Rawḍ al-ʿatir* (Appendix-2:132) which is a manual on love making.

⁴²¹ A *Tahmīd* by Al-Samarra'ī (1985), in his introduction to *kitāb al-Nakhl*, a text that he edited; Toorawa (2005), writes '786' on the top of the dedication page of his monograph.

For any work beginning with Taḥmīd, the appreciation of the worldview, that is intrinsic to it, enables a better appreciation of the body of text that follows. But as this thesis has demonstrated, especially in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context, the Taḥmīd by itself provides a keen insight into the worldview of the society or community from which it emanates. The primary relations, principles and ideological views can be found within the Taḥmīd, even without reference to the text that follows. This worldview is not tangential to Taḥmīds but resides at their very core. In every Taḥmīd, because it is a Taḥmīd, we expect to find it.

While in some contexts formal or textual elements may not be ideal for defining or identifying a genre, as far as the Taḥmīd is concerned, they are vital. Its four primary structural components, the *basmalah*, *ḥamd*, *shahādah* and *ṣalawāt*, are the foundation of Taḥmīd that remains constant from its earliest examples to the present day. It is their presence that allows the identification of a particular preamble as Taḥmīd. The codifications of the rules of Taḥmīd in manuals of chancery writing demonstrated a conscious awareness of the formal and structural rules that constitute the formal parameters of the genre. They were perhaps the earliest attempts to theorize the Taḥmīd genre.

It is within the confines of this core structure that the Taḥmīd develops. The formal restrictions act as a mould into which each Taḥmīd is cast. Farrell (2003) contends “that the ancients invented and perfected certain genres and that the works they left might serve as models for later writers...[but] today belief in ideal patterns is a distant memory”. Contrary to this view, authors of Taḥmīd continued to view the example of *sūrat al-Fātiḥah*, orations of the Prophet and Taḥmīds of earlier *kātib*s as ideals worth emulating. Indeed the concept of *iqtidāʾ*, and the model Taḥmīds presented in manuals of chancery writing, are a manifestation of this view. The dialogue that Syedna Taher Saifuddin’s Taḥmīd establishes with Fatimid texts, further vindicates the survival of the spirit of *iqtidāʾ*. But this has not resulted, by any means, in the stagnation of the Taḥmīd genre. Here innovation lies not in shattering the mould but in creativity within it. Using the same core structure of the model Taḥmīds (which guarantees the same fundamental worldview), the Taḥmīd develops and evolves by adapting to new and challenging circumstances, as demonstrated in this dissertation, until distinct sub-genres can be recognized (reflecting more society specific worldviews). The Taḥmīds of *khutbah*s,

risālahs, *taqlīds*, monographs, contemporary political speeches and, in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context, in the *Majālis* and the *Rasā'il -Ramaḍāniyyah*, all demonstrate distinct sub-generic characteristics. The variety of sub-genres is evidence of the capacity of Ṭahmīd, as a genre, to adapt to the disparate contexts in which it was employed.

Throughout the development, the 'hybrid' nature of Ṭahmīd persists. The rhyme and rhythm are as intrinsic to the character of Ṭahmīd as the four primary elements. The hybridity continues to acknowledge the 'oral' beginnings of the Ṭahmīd in the Islamic-*khutbah*. While it is still used in contemporary religious *khutbahs* and also political speeches, broadly speaking a movement of the Ṭahmīd on the continuum of orality and literacy is evident. This movement reflects the movement of Arab Islamic culture in general from being a residual-oral culture to one that is increasingly literate. While the hybridity remains, the increase in the length and syntactic complexity of sentences and, the use of rhetorical devices, such as the exclusion of selected letters in the *risālahs* of Syedna Taher Saifuddin, are evidence of this movement. This assessment is, however, a general one and undoubtedly the precise location on the continuum of orality and literacy will vary from one author to the other and one context to the other. In our overwhelmingly literate culture, an awareness of this hybridity is necessary if we are to grasp the entirety of the Ṭahmīds message and depth.

A genre is also defined by the expectations of its authors and audience. It controls, according to Chandler (1997), "the behaviour of producers of such texts, and the expectations of potential consumers". Apart from the basic expectation of the four elements, the worldview and the contextualization of the text that follows, there is also a shared code. As Fowler (1989, p. 215) has commented, "the system of generic expectations amounts to a code, by the use of which (or by departure from which) composition becomes more economical". It is because of this shared code that a plethora of implicit *fikrah* relations are evoked in Ṭahmīds, and it is because of these relations that multiple layers of meaning are embedded in usually concise Ṭahmīds. It is also because of this code that the esoteric language system in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds functions. The shared expectation of the author and audience achieves maximum 'meaning' with the greatest economy of words, one of the definitions of *balāghah*.

What are the implications of acknowledging the *Tahmīd* as a genre? Genre, as Morson asserts, “becomes essential to meaning, a quasi-part of the work itself”. How we categorize *Tahmīd*, which is what a genre essentially does, determines what we derive from it. Considering it simply as a formal convention and no more, may lead to it being perceived purely as an exercise in verbal acrobatics or verbosity. Considering it as a genre that embodies a certain worldview, leads to a completely different set of expectations and, consequently, a different and, in my view, more mature interpretation. Chandler (1997) similarly asserts that “genre analysis situates texts within textual and social contexts, underlining the social nature of the production and reading of texts”. The acceptance of *Tahmīd* as a genre will promote the recognition of the important role it plays in texts, encourage scholars to appreciate its worldview, seek the author’s personal frame of reference within the worldview and uncover its layers of meaning. With this realization, the massive existing corpus of *Tahmīds* begs scholarly attention.

Tahmīd is very much a living tradition today. An appreciation of the evolution and heritage of the *Tahmīd* genre (and an approach to analyze it) allows a better understanding of *Tahmīd* texts, not only from mediaeval times but also in contemporary texts and speeches. Statements and speeches by political and religious leaders of movements founded on the Islamic principle of statehood begin with powerful *Tahmīds* that legitimize their cause and outline their worldview⁴²². A closer look at contemporary *Tahmīds* is perhaps a project for the future.

In recent times, in some instances, the convention has been curtailed or completely done away with. In non-religious contexts, there is certainly a reduction in the use of *Tahmīds* compared to earlier times. While these observations are at best tentative, the reduction in *Tahmīds* may be reflective of parts of society that are either detached from the metaphysical or are finding other alternatives to it; of trends in society that may construe gratitude to God as politically incorrect; and of currents within it that are perhaps in a

⁴²² See for example Appendix-2:139 and 140. Even in secular Turkey, the Friday sermon, even though the sermon is consciously delivered in Turkish to emphasize sentiments of nationhood, the *Tahmīd*, albeit a very standard one, remains at the beginning in Arabic (Gibbon, 2008).

vacuum of spirituality. I hope this project will increase the consciousness of the crucial role the Tahmīd plays in establishing our link with the spiritual.

والحمد لله الذي جعلنا من عباده الخاملين، الذاكرين لآلائه والشاكرين، المصلين على نبيه وعلى آله الطاهرين،
القائلين أمثالاً بقول اصدق القائلين، وآخر دعوانا ان الحمد لله رب العالمين،

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APPENDICES

VOLUME-II

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﴿ الحمد لله رب العالمين ﴾ These brackets and red colored text denotes an unmodified Qur'ānic quote.

..... Red dotted underlining denotes a modified Qur'ānic quote.

¹ The footnotes present the Qur'ānic verse thought to have been modified in the Taḥmīd (only for Taḥmīds analyzed as case studies).

، This comma denotes the end of a phrase marked by the arrival of the end-rhyme.

The phrases are often marked in the original text as well.

(?) Denotes that writing in the manuscript or meaning is unclear.

Ia This marks the subdivision into segments (the numbers) and sub-segments (lower case letters). This segmentation is not in the original text.

Ms. Denotes that the source of the Taḥmīd is a manuscript.

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APPENDIX-I
COMPONENTS OF TAḤMĪD IN PRE-ISLAMIC AND EARLY-ISLAMIC
INSCRIPTIONS AND NUMISMATICS

i-Pre-Islamic inscriptions

1. Reminiscent of the Islamic basmalah (*Safaitic Inscriptions*)

Enno Littmann (1943, p. 277)

1267. Copied by Butrus.

[illegible]

לְבַח(ו)ה בֶּן לֵהוּי בֶּן חֲבֵב בֶּן
בְּדַר בֶּן מִשְׁחֵת וְהִי כַהֵן(א)לֵת
לְ(ב)עֲמֵה אֲחֵה(ת) >

by *Bikha(1)h b. Luhaïyon b. Khubaib b. Kudair b. Tahrat*. And he greeted in the name of Allah his brother *Kāammih*.

2. Suggestive of Islamic *shahādah* (Greek Inscription)

William Kelly Prentice (1909, p. 206) - in a Syrian house

ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟ
Ο ΧΗΛ
ΣΤΡΑΥΑ

Εἰς Θυσίαν εἰς ἑωρτήσαν. Μνησθῆναι εἰς γράψαν.

СЪРЦИ
ИСТИГА
ОУИТАН

One God who aideth. May he who wrote this be remembered!

Inscr. 1205.

3. Suggestive of Islamic *shahādah* (Greek Inscription)

Prentice (1909, p. 68) –inscribed in the year 403 AD

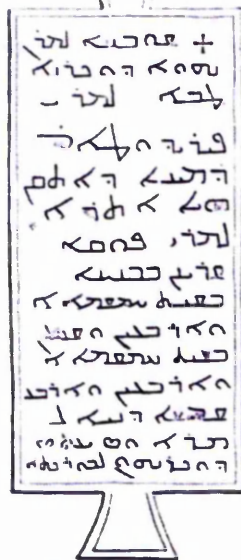
ΕΤΟΥΣΔΙΥΕΙΣ
ΒΕΟΣΟΒΟΗΘΩΝ
ΤΩ ΚΥΡΩΕΥΛΑΛΙΩ ΤΩΦΙ
ΛΟ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΤΟΚΑ ΛΟΝ
ΜΕ ΤΑΠΟΛΛΟΚΑ ΜΑΤ

Ἔσους ἀπ'. Εἰς Θεός, ὁ βοηθῶν τῷ κυρ(τῷ) Εὐ-
λαλίῳ, τῷ φιλοκρίστῃ· τὸ καλὸν μετὰ πολλοῦ καμῖν(ου).

In (the) year 714. (There is) one God, that helpeth Lord Entalios, who delights in building: honor (is joined) with much toil. (402-3 A.D.)

4. Evocative of *ḥamd* (Syriac Inscriptions)

Littmann (1934, p. 39).

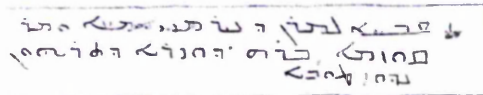
Pognon, *Inscriptions sémitiques*, pp. 60–61. — Littmann in *Zeitschrift für Semitistik*, vol. 1, p. 182.

Inscr. 50. Scale 1:10.

1	ܐܡܢ ܠܗܘܐ	1	+ Praise be to Our Lord!
2	ܡܫܚܝܢ ܡܫܚܝܢ	2	Pious remembrance
3	ܠܡܪ ܠܡܪ	3	be to Mar
4	ܦܝܪܝܕܝܢܬܐ	4	periodentes
5	ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ	5	Damianos, who founded
6	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	6	this place
7	ܠܡܪ ܦܫܩܐ	7	for St. Phocas!
8	ܒܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	8	We began the building
9	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	9	in the year five hundred
10	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	10	and forty, and we completed (it)
11	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	11	in the year five hundred
12	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	12	and forty and four:
13	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	13	the deacons Daniel,
14	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	14	Marā, and their fellows.
15	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ	15	Their memory be blessed!

5. Evocative of *ḥamd* (Syriac Inscriptions)

Littmann (1934, p. 53).



Inscr. 61. Scale 1:10.

1	ܐܡܢ ܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ (ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ)
2	ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ
3	ܡܕܝܢܐ (ܡܕܝܢܐ)

- 1 + Praise be to Our Lord who raised from the dead (or: removed from this life) Mar Damianos and Mar
- 2 Kosmas his son! The memory of both
- 3 be blessed!

6. Evocative of *ḥamd* (Syriac Inscriptions)

Littmann (1934, p. 37).



Inscr. 47. Scale 1:10.

ܐܡܢ ܠܗܘܐ ܕܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ ܡܕܝܢܐ
Praise be to the praised Trinity!

ii-Islamic inscriptions

7. Basmalah—Tombstone Inscription— Year 31/652.

(El-Hawary, 1930, p. 322)

"بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هذا القبر لعبد الرحمن بن خير الحجري اللهم اغفر له وادخله في رحمة
منك واتنا معه استغفر له اذا قرا هذا الكتاب وقل امين وكتب هذا الكتاب في جمدي الآخر من
سنت احدى وثلثين"¹

8. Ṣalawāt verse— Rock Inscription near Ṭāl'f— 1st/7th century.

(G.C. Miles, 1948, p. 241)

"ان الله وملئكته يصلون على النبي يا ايها الذين امنوا صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما وكتب عبد الله بن تامين (?) محمد بن
مهرن"²

9. Dome of the Rock—Inner face of arcade (basmalah/ḥamd/ṣalawāt) – Year 72/691.

(Kessler, 1970, pp. 4-6)

S بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له له الملك وله الحمد يحيي ويميت وهو
على كل شي قدير محمد عبدالله ورسوله SE ان الله وملئكته يصلون على النبي يا ايها الذين امنوا
صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما صلى الله عليه والسلم عليه ورحمت الله ياهل الكتاب لا تغلو في دينكم
E ولا تقولوا على الله الا الحق انما المسيح عيسى ابن مريم رسول الله وكلمته القاها الى مريم وروح
منه فامنوا بالله ورسوله ولا تقولوا ثلاثة انتهوا NE خيرا لكم انما الله اله وحده سبحنه ان يكون له ولد
له ما في السموت وما في الارض وكفى بالله وكيل ان يستنكف المسيح ان يكون N عبدا لله ولا
الملئكة المقربون ومن يستنكف عن عبده ويستكبر فسيحشرهم اليه جميعا الله صلى على رسوله

¹ El-Hawary's translation: "In the name of God the whole merciful, the compassionate; this tomb belongs to 'Abd-el-Rahmān ibn Khair al-Ḥajrī. O God, forgive him and make him enter into Thy mercy and make us go with him [grant us forgiveness with him] (passer by) when reading this inscription ask pardon for him (the deceased) and say Amen! This inscription was written in Djumāda II of the year one and thirty (January-February, A.D. 652)" (p. 322).

² Miles's translation: "Verily Allāh and his angels bless the Prophet; O you who believe bless him and salute him with salutation! [Qur'ān 33:56] And wrote [it] 'Abdullāh b. Ta'mīn [or Tām b.] Muḥammad b. Mihran" (1948, p. 241). A picture of the inscription is also supplied by Miles.

وعبدك عيسى NW ابن مريم والسلم عليه يوم ولد ويوم يموت ويوم يبعث حيا ذلك عيسى ابن مريم
قول الحق الذي فيه تَمْتَرُونَ ما كان الله ان يتخذ من ولد سبحانه W اذا قضى امرا فانما يقول له كن
فيكون ان الله ربي وربكم فاعبدوه هذا صراط مستقيم شهد الله انه لا اله الا هو والملكه واولوا
العلم قيما بالقسط لا اله الا هو العزيز الحكيم SW ان الدين عند الله الاسلام وما اختلف الذين
اوتوا الكتاب الا من بعد ما جاءهم العلم بغيا بينهم ومن يكفر بايات الله فان الله سريع الحساب³

10. Dome of the Rock–Outer face of arcade (basmalah/ḥamd/ṣalawāt) – Year 72/691.

(Kessler, 1970, pp. 8-9)

S "بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له قل هو الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم
يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم * SW بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا
اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له محمد رسول الله ان الله وملكه يصلون على النبي W يا ايها الذين امنوا
صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما * بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله وحده الحمد NW لله الذي لم
يتخذ ولدا ولم يكن له شريك في الملك ولم يكن له ولي من الدن وكبره تكبرا محمد رسول الله N
صلى الله عليه وملكه ورسله والسلم عليه ورحمت الله * بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له NE له الملك وله الحمد يحيي ويميت وهو على كل شي قدير محمد رسول الله
صلى الله عليه وتقبل شفاعة يوم القيمة في امته * E بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم لا اله الا الله وحده
لا شريك له محمد رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم * بنى هذه القبة عبد الله ع SE مد الله الامام
المأمون امير المؤمنين في سنة اثنين وسبعين تقبل الله منه ورضى عنه امين رب العلمين لله الحمد *

³ Kessler also provides pictures of the cited inscription. The Latin letters inserted within the text show the orientation of the inscription within the octagon. The markers or separating stars, are part of the original inscription and have not been added by Kessler or me. The underlined name is a later alteration by the Abbasid caliph al-Ma'mūn who tried to attribute the construction of the Dome of the Rock to himself, but somehow forgot to alter the date.

iii-Islamic Numismatic Inscriptions

11. Arab Sassanian *Dinār* Dārābijird year 41/ 660.

Walker (1941, p. 10) coin no. 14. Image from:

http://Islamiccoins.ancients.info/umayyads/41Darabjird_AS.JPG.



obverse centre: portrait of Khusrau
obverse margin: بسم الله
reverse centre: Darabjird 30 (in Pahlavi)

12. Arab Sassanian *Dinār* Bishāpūr year 70/689.

Walker (1941, p. 100) coin no. 198. Image from

<http://Islamiccoins.ancients.info/umayyads/abdalmalik.html>.



obverse centre: portrait of Khusrau
obverse margin: لله الحمد
reverse centre: Bishapur 70 AH (in Pahlavi)

13. Kharijite *Dinār* 1st/7th Century

(Hawting 1978, p. 460)

A similar coin is referred to by Walker (1941, p. 100) coin no. 112, also see his "Introduction" p. cxlvi. Image from *Coinage of the Ancient and Islamic World*, coin no. 98 p. 64.

obverse centre: portrait of Khusrau
 obverse margin: لا حكم الا لله
 reverse centre: image of fire altar

14. Arab-Byzantine *Dinār* year 76/695.

Walker (1956, p. 42) coin no. 136. Image from Walker (1956, plate VIII).



obverse centre: Standing figure of the Caliph wearing headdress, and robes, and with his hand on the sword in the customary attitude.

obverse margin: بسم الله لا اله الا الله وحده محمد رسول الله

reverse centre: A pillar (in place of the prototype's cross)

reverse margin: بسم الله ضرب [هذا الدينار] سنة ست وسبعين

15. Arab-Byzantine *Dinār* before year 85/704.

Walker (1956, p. 54) coin no. 143. Image from Walker (1956, plate X)



obverse centre: Two imperial busts (as on Walker's prototype of Byzantine gold coins except that cross above heads has been eliminated)

obverse margin: Latin legend equivalent of لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له according to Walker (1956), xcix. This is the actual Latin according to Walker (1956, p. 54): NONESToSNISIIPSESOLC[ISN] (i.e. NON EST DeuS NISI IPSE SOLus CuI Socius Non est)

reverse centre: A pillar (in place of the prototype's cross)

reverse margin: This is the actual Latin according to Walker:

oEoNOCIASMA[ET]OMNAN (i.e. Deus Dominus NOster CIA Magnus ETernus OMNiA Noscens). OMNiA Noscens: العليم, ETernus: الصمد, Magnus=العظيم,

16. Post-reform Arab-Byzantine *Dirham* year 77/696.

Walker (1956, p. 84) coin no. 186. Image from Walker's plates (1956, plate no. XII).



obverse centre: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

obverse margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدين في البصرة سنة سبع وسبعين

reverse centre: الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد

reverse margin: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله

17. Post Reform *Dinār* Al-Basrah year 81/699-700.

Walker (1956, p. 127) coin no.300. Image from

<http://Islamiccoins.ancients.info/umayyads/81alBasra2.JPG> visited 24 Jan. 05.

obverse centre: لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له

obverse margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدرهم في البصرة سنة احدى وثمّنين

reverse centre: الله احد الله الصمد لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن له كفوا احد

reverse margin: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون

18. Fatimid *Dinār*, Calro, year 365/977.Cited in *The Arab Bank Limited*, 1980, p. 54. Image from same source.obverse 1st margin: لا اله الا الله محمد رسول اللهobverse 2nd margin: محمد خير المرسلين علي افضل الوصيينobverse 3rd margin: محمد رسول الله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كلهreverse 1st margin: المعز لدين الله امير المؤمنينreverse 2nd margin: دعا الامام معد لتوحيد الله الصمدreverse 3rd margin: بسم الله ضرب هذا الدينير بفلسطين سنة تسع وخمسين وثلاثمائة

iv-Qurrah Papyrus

19. Papyrus Egypt-90H (Oriental Institute no. 13757)

Papyrus showing the earliest original of a taṣḍīr written in 90H.

Image, transcription and translation from Abbott (1938, Plate-I and pp.42-43).

 <p style="text-align: center;">Recto</p>	<p>بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من قره بن شريك الى صاحب اشقوه، فاني احمد الله الذي لا اله الا هو، اما بعد فانظر الذي كان بقي على اسقف كورثك مما فرض عليه عبد الله بن عبد الملك ولم الاول ففعل به مع رسولي ورسول الاسقف ولا تؤخرن من تلك البقية قليلا ولا كثيرا والسلام على من اتبع الهدى وكتب في شهر ربيع الاول من سنة تسعين</p> <p>"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Qurrah ibn Sharik to the <i>ṣāhib</i> of Ashqauh. I praise God, than whom there is no other God. Now to proceed: Look up the balance due from the bishop of your district of the amount imposed on him by 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abd al-Malik and collect the first (amount) and rush it to me by my messenger and the messenger of the bishop; and do not delay any of that balance, be it little or much. Peace be with those who follow the guidance. Written in the month of Rabī' I of the year ninety."</p>
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APPENDIX-II

SAMPLES OF TAḤMĪDS FROM *KHUTBAHS*, CHANCERY-*RISĀLAHS* AND
OTHER SOURCES (1ST/7TH—15TH/21ST CENTURY)

i-*Tahmīds* from *Khutbahs*1. Abū Ṭālib's *khutbah* upon Muhammad's Marriage with KhadījahSafwat (1985, vol.I.i, no.50, p.77)⁴.

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مِنْ زَرْعِ إِبْرَاهِيمَ، وَذُرِّيَّةِ إِسْمَاعِيلَ، وَجَعَلَ لَنَا بَلَدًا حَرَامًا، وَبَيْتًا مَحْجُوجًا، وَجَعَلَ
الْحُكَّامَ عَلَى النَّاسِ. ثُمَّ إِنَّ مُحَمَّدَ بْنَ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ ابْنَ أَخِي، مَنْ لَا يُوَارِثُ بِهِ قَسِيٍّ مِنْ قُرَيْشٍ إِلَّا رَجَعَ عَلَيْهِ بِرًّا
وَفَضْلًا، وَكَرَمًا وَعَقْلًا، وَمَجْدًا وَبُيُوتًا. وَإِنْ كَانَ فِي الْمَالِ قُلٌّ، فَإِنَّمَا الْمَالُ ظِلٌّ زَائِلٌ، وَعَارِيَةٌ مُسْتَرْجَعَةٌ، وَلَهُ
فِي خَدِيجَةَ بِنْتِ خُوَيْلِدٍ رَغْبَةً، وَلَهَا فِيهِ مِثْلُ ذَلِكَ، وَمَا أَحَبُّبُهُ مِنَ الصَّدَاقِ فَعَلِيَ

2. Prophet Muhammad's first *khutbah* in Mecca 1st/7th centurySafwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 1, p. 147— cited from *al-Sīrah al-ḥalabiyyah* and *al-Kāmil fī al-tārīkh*)

- Note that the underlined statement occurs at the beginning of many *khutbahs* of the Prophet and other early orators before the oration itself. It affirms the practice of beginning with *ḥamd* and the possibility that only a fraction of the *khutbah Tahmīds* actually survive (See also Safwat, 1985, pp. 148).

حمد الله واثني عليه ثم قال،

إِنَّ الرَّائِدَ لَا يَكْذِبُ أَهْلَهُ، وَاللَّهُ لَوْ كَذَبَ النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا مَا كَذَبْتُمْ، وَلَوْ غَرَرْتُ النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا مَا غَرَرْتُكُمْ،
وَاللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ إِنِّي لِرَسُولِ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ خَاصَّةً، وَإِلَى النَّاسِ كَافَّةً، وَاللَّهُ لَتَمُوتُنَّ كَمَا تَتَمَوَّنَ، وَلَتَبْعُنَّ
كَمَا تَسْتَقِظُونَ، وَلَتَحَاسِبُنَّ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ، وَلَتَجْزُونَ بِالْإِحْسَانِ إِحْسَانًا، وَبِالسُّوءِ سُوءًا، وَإِنَّا لَجُنَّ أَبَدًا، أَوْ لَنَارُ
أَبَدًا،

3. Prophet Muhammad's first Friday *khutbah* 1st/7th centurySafwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 3, p. 148—cited from *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*)

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ أَحْمَدُهُ وَأَسْتَعِينُهُ، وَأَسْتَغْفِرُهُ وَأَسْتَهْدِيهِ، وَأُؤَمِّنُ بِهِ وَلَا أَكْفُرُهُ، وَأُعَادِي مَنْ يَكْفُرُهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا
اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ، أَرْسَلَهُ بِالْهُدَى وَالتَّوْرِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ عَلَى قَتَرَةِ مِنَ الرُّسُلِ، وَقَلَّةٍ
مِنَ الْعِلْمِ، وَضَلَالَةٍ مِنَ النَّاسِ، وَانْقِطَاعٍ مِنَ الزَّمَانِ، وَدُثُوبِ السَّاعَةِ، وَقُرْبِ الْأَجَلِ — مَنْ يُطِيعِ اللَّهَ وَالرَّسُولَ فَقَدْ

⁴ Safwat cites it from *Subḥ*, *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*, *Tahdhīb al-Kāmil* and *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah*. It is also cited a number of other authors in various contexts. This includes Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd in *Sharḥ* (p. 1470), al-Zamakhsharī in *Asās al-Balāghah* (p. 271) and *al-Kashshāf* (p. 217), al-Bāqillānī in *I'jāz al-Qur'ān* (p. 47), al-Mubarrid in *al-Kāmil fī al-Lughah wa al-Adab* (p. 302), Ibn al-Jawzī in *al-Muntaẓim* (p. 232) and al-Qalqashandī's *Subḥ* (p. 86). There are minor variations in the editions of this *khutbah* in these sources.

رَشَدٌ، وَمَنْ يَعَصِيهِمَا فَقَدْ غَوِيَ وَفَرَطَ، وَضَلَّ ضَلَالًا بَعِيدًا، وَأَوْصِيَكُمْ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ، فَإِنَّ خَيْرَ مَا أَوْصَى بِهِ
 الْمُسْلِمُ الْمُسْلِمَ أَنْ يَحْضَهُ عَلَى الْآخِرَةِ، وَأَنْ يَأْمُرَهُ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ، فَاحْذَرُوا مَا حَذَرَكُمُ اللَّهُ مِنْ نَفْسِهِ، وَلَا أَفْضَلَ مِنْ
 ذَلِكَ نَصِيحَةً، وَلَا أَفْضَلَ مِنْ ذَلِكَ ذِكْرًا، وَإِنَّ تَقْوَى اللَّهِ لَمِنْ عَمَلٍ بِهِ عَلَى وَجَلٍ وَمَخَافَةٍ مِنْ رَبِّهِ عَوْنٌ صِدْقٍ
 عَلَى مَا تَبْغُونَ مِنْ أَمْرِ الْآخِرَةِ،

4. Prophet Muhammad's *khutbah* 1st/7th century

Safwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 7, p. 152—cited from *I'jāz al-Qur'ān*)

إِنَّ الْحَمْدَ لِلَّهِ أَحْمَدُهُ وَأَسْتَعِينُهُ، نَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ شُرُورِ أَنْفُسِنَا، وَسَيِّئَاتِ أَعْمَالِنَا، مَنْ يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَلَا مَضِلَّ لَهُ، وَمَنْ
 يَضِلَّ فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، أَنْ أَحْسَنَ الْحَدِيثِ كِتَابُ اللَّهِ . . .

5. Prophet Muhammad's farewell *khutbah* 1st/7th century

Al-Jāhiz, *al-Bayān*, (p. 128)

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ، نَحْمَدُهُ وَنُسْتَعِينُهُ، وَنَسْتَغْفِرُهُ وَتَوْبُ إِلَيْهِ، وَنَعُوذُ بِاللَّهِ مِنْ شُرُورِ أَنْفُسِنَا، وَمِنْ سَيِّئَاتِ أَعْمَالِنَا، مَنْ
 يَهْدِ اللَّهُ فَلَا مَضِلَّ لَهُ، وَمَنْ يَضِلَّ فَلَا هَادِيَ لَهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا
 عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ، أَوْصِيَكُمْ عِبَادَ اللَّهِ بِتَقْوَى اللَّهِ، وَأَحْكُمُكُمْ عَلَى طَاعَتِهِ، وَأَسْتَفْتِي بِالَّذِي هُوَ خَيْرٌ، أَمَّا بَعْدُ،

6. *Khutbah* of 'Uṭarid b. Ḥājib b. Zarrārah in front of the Prophet 1st/7th century

Safwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 17, p. 163—cited from *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī, al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh, Sīrat Ibn Hishām, Subḥ al-A'shā*)

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي لَهُ عَلَيْنَا الْفَضْلُ وَهُوَ أَهْلُهُ، الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مَلُوكًا، وَوَهَبَ لَنَا أَمْوَالًا عَظِيمًا، نَفْعَلُ فِيهَا الْمَعْرُوفَ،
 وَجَعَلَنَا أَعَزَّ أَهْلَ الْمَشْرِقِ وَأَكْثَرَ عَدَدَهُ، وَأَيْسَرَهُ عَدَدَهُ، فَمَنْ مَثَلْنَا فِي النَّاسِ، أَلَسْنَا بِرُؤُسِ النَّاسِ وَأَوْلَى فَضْلَهُمْ،
 فَمَنْ يَفَاخِرُنَا فَلْيَعِدِدْ مِثْلَ مَا عَدَدْنَا، وَإِنَّا لَوْنَشَاءُ لَأَكْثَرْنَا الْكَلَامَ، وَلَكِنَّا نَحْيَا مِنَ الْإِكْثَارِ فِيمَا أَعْطَانَا، وَإِنَّا نَعْرِفُ
 ذَلِكَ، أَقُولُ هَذَا الْآنَ لِنَأْتُونَ بِمِثْلِ قَوْلِنَا، وَامْرَافِقُ مِنْ أَمْرِنَا،

7. *Khutbah* of Thābit b. Qays b. al-Shammās in response to ‘Uṭārid b. Hājib b. Zarrārah in front of the Prophet 1st/7th century

Ṣafwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 18, p. 163—cited from *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā*)

الحمد لله الذي السموات والارض خلقه، قضى فيهن امره، ووسع كرسيه علمه، ولم يك شيء قط الا فضله، ثم كان من قدرته ان جعلنا ملوكا، واصطفى من خير خلقه رسولا، اكرمهم نسبا، اصدقهم حديثا، وافضلهم حسبا...

8. Abū-Bakr *khutbah* 1st/7th century

Ṣafwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 40, p. 184—cited from *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*)

الحمد لله أحمدوه وأسبغوه وأؤمن به وأتوكل عليه، وأسأله الله بالهدى، وأعوذ به من الضلالة والردى، ومن الشك والعمى، من يهد الله فهو المهدي، ومن يضل فلن تجد له وليا مرشدا، وأشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له، له الملك وله الحمد، يحيي ويميت، وهو حي لا يموت، يعز من يشاء ويدل من يشاء بيده الخير وهو على كل شيء قدير، وأشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله، ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون الى الناس كافة، رحمة لهم، وحجة عليهم، والناس حينئذ على شر حال في ظلمات الجاهلية، دينهم بدعة، ودعوتهم فرية، فاعز الله الدين بمحمد والى بن قلوبكم ايها المؤمنون فاصبحهم بنعمته اخوانا، وكنتم على شفا حفرة من النار فانقذكم منها، كذلك بين الله لكم آياته لعلكم تهتدون، فاطيعوا الله ورسوله فإنه قال عز وجل، ﴿من يطع الرسول فقد اطاع الله، ومن تولى فما ارسلناك عليهم حفيظا﴾،

اما بعد، ايها الناس، اني اوصيكم بتقوى الله العظيم. في كل امر...

9. ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb *khutbah* 1st/7th century

Ṣafwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 83, pp. 217-218—cited from *al-‘Iqd al-farīd*)

الحمد لله الذي اعزنا بالاسلام، واكرمنا بالايان، ورحمنا بنبيه صلى الله عليه وسلم، فهدانا به من الضلالة، وجمعنا به من الشتات، والى بن قلوبنا، ونصرتنا على عدونا...

10. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 51)Speech on the day of *Shūrā*

الحمد لله الذي اختار محمداً منّا نبياً، وأبعثه إلينا رسولاً، فتحن أهل بيت النبوة ومعدن الحكمة، أمان لأهل الأرض، ونجاة لمن طلب؛ إن لنا حقاً إن نعطه نأخذه، وإن نمنعه نركب أعجاز الإبل وإن طال السرى، لو عهد إلينا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم عهداً لأفئدنا عهداً، ولو قال لنا قولاً لجالدنا عليه حتى نموت. لن يسرع أحد قبلي إلى دعوة حق وصلة رحم، ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم. اسمعوا كلامي، وعوا منطقي، عسى أن تروا هذا الأمر بعد هذا الجمع تنتضي فيه السيوف، وتخان فيه العهود؛ حتى لا يكون لكم جماعة، وحتى يكون بعضكم أئمة لأهل الضلالة وشيعة لأهل الجهالة،

11. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 173)

الحمد لله وإن أتى الدهر بالخطب الفادح، والحدث الجليل، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، ليس معه إله غيره، وأن محمداً عبده ورسوله، صلى الله عليه وآله،

12. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 291)

(1) الحمد لله كلما وقبَّ ليلٌ وغسق، (2) والحمد لله كلما لاح نجمٌ وخفق، (3) والحمد لله غير مفقود
الإعظام، ولا مكافٍ الإفضال —

أما بعد، فقد بعثتُ مُقَدِّمِي وأمرتهم بلزوم هذا المِلْطَاطِ حتى يأتِيهم أمرِي، وقد رأيتُ أن أقطع هذه النُظْفَةَ إلى شِرْذِمَةٍ مِنْكُمْ مُوْطِنِينَ أَكْثَفَ دِجْلَةَ، فَأَنْهَضَهُمْ مَعَكُمْ إِلَى عَدُوِّكُمْ، وَأَجْعَلُهُمْ مِنْ إِمْدَادِ الْقُوَّةِ لَكُمْ، . . .⁵

⁵ These are the definitions of some of the more difficult vocabulary: *waqab*: the beginning of the night, *ghasaq*: its darkening; *khafaq*: to set (disappear from view), *lah*: to become apparent; *muqaddimah*: the forefront of the army; *milṭāt*: the edge of the valley or shore of the sea or river, referring in this case to the shore of the Euphrates.

13. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah* (Eve of Battle), (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 497)

الحمد لله الذي لا يبرم ما تقض، ولا ينقض ما أبرم، ولو شاء ما اختلف اثنان من هذه الأمة ولا من خلقه، ولا تنازع البشر في شيء من أمره، ولا جحد المفضول ذا الفضل فضله. وقد ساقنا وهؤلاء القوم الأقدار، حتى لفت بيننا في هذا الموضع، ونحن من ربنا بمرأى ومسمع، ولو شاء لجعل النعمة، ولكن منه النصر، حتى يكذب الله الظالم، ويعلم الحق أين مصيره، ولكنه جعل الدنيا دار الأعمال، والآخرة دار الجزاء والقرار، ﴿لِيَجْزِيَ الَّذِينَ أَسَاءُوا بِمَا عَمِلُوا وَيَجْزِيَ الَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا بِالْحُسْنَى﴾ (53:31). ألا إنكم ملاقو العدو إن شاء الله، فاطيلوا الليلة القيام، واكثروا تلاوة القرآن، واسألوا الله الصبر والنصر، والقوهم بالجد والحزم، وكوثوا صادقين،

14. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 522)

الحمد لله على نعمه الفاضلة على جميع من خلق من البر والفاجر، وعلى حُججه البالغة على خلقه من أطاعه فيهم ومن عصاه، إن يرحم بفضلِهِ ومنه، وإن عذب فيما اكتسبت أديهِمْ (42:30)، ﴿وَأَنَّ اللَّهَ لَيْسَ بِظَلَّامٍ لِلْعَبِيدِ﴾ (3:182)، أحمده على حسن البلاء، وتظاهر النعماء، وأسعيتُهُ على ما تابنا من أمر الدنيا والآخرة، وأتوكل عليه وكفى بالله وكيلًا، ثم إنني أشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأشهد أن محمدًا عبده ورسوله،

15. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 753)

الحمد لله الذي شرع الإسلام فسهل شرائعه لمن ورده وأعز أركانه على من غالبه، فجعله أمانًا لمن علقه، وسلمًا لمن دخله، وبرهانًا لمن تكلم به، وشاهدًا لمن خاصم عنه، ونورًا لمن استضاء به، وفهما لمن عقل، ولبا لمن تدبر، وآية لمن توسم، وتبصرة لمن عزم، وعبرة لمن اعطى، ونجاة لمن صدق، وثقة لمن توكل، وراحة لمن فوض، وجنة لمن صبر،

16. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 778)

الحمد لله الواصل الحمد بالنعم، والنعم بالشكر، نحمده على آلائه كما نحمده على بلائه، ونستعينه على هذه النفوس البطاء عما أمرت به، السراع إلى ما نهيت عنه، ونستغفره مما أحاط به علمه، وأحصاه كتابه، علم غير قاصر، وكتاب غير مغادر، ونؤمن به إيمان من عاين الغيوب، ووقف على الموعد، إيماناً نفى إخلاصه الشرك، ويقينه الشك، ونشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأن محمداً صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم عبده ورسوله، شهدا تين تصعدان القول، وترفعان العمل، لا يحف ميزان تواضعان فيه، ولا يثقل ميزان ترفعان به،

17. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 982)

الحمد لله الذي جعل الحمد مفتاحاً لذكره، وسبباً للمزيد من فضله، ودليلاً على آلائه وعظمته. عباد الله إن الدهر يجري بالباقيين كجريه بالماضين، لا يعود ما قد ولى منه، ولا يبقى سرمداً ما فيه،

18. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 1368)

الحمد لله الفاشي في الخلق حمده، والغالب جنده، والمتعالي جده، أحمداه على نعمه التوام، وآلائه العظام، الذي عظم حلمه فعفا، وعدل في كل ما قضى، وعلم بما يمضي وما مضى، مبتدع الخلاق بعلمه، ومنشئهم بحكمه، بلا اقتداء ولا تعليم، ولا احتذاء لمثال صانع حكيم، ولا إصابة خطأ، ولا حضرة ملاء. وأشهد أن محمداً عبده ورسوله، ابتعثه والناس يضربون في غمرة، ويموجون في حيرة، قد قادتهم أزمة الحين، واستغلت على أفئدتهم أفتال الرين.

عباد الله! أوصيكم بتقوى الله فإنها حق الله عليكم،

19. °Alī b. Abī Ṭālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd (*Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*, p. 1372)

الحمد لله الذي لبس العز والكبرياء، واختارهما لنفسه دون خلقه، وجعلهما حمىً وحرماً على غيره، وأصطفاهما للجلالة، وجعل اللعنة على من نازعه فيهما من عباده.

ثم اختبر بذلك ملائكته المقربين، ليميز المتواضعين منهم من المستكبرين، فقال سبحانه، وهو العالم بمضمورات القلوب ومحجوبات الغيوب: "إني خالق بشراً من طين" فإذا سويته ونفخت فيه من روحي فقعوا له ساجدين فسجد الملائكة كلهم أجمعون إلا إبليس، اعترضته الحمية، فافتخر على آدم بحلقه، وتعصب عليه لأصله، فعدو الله إمام المتعصبين، وسلف المستكبرين، الذي وضع أساس العصية، ونازع الله رداء الجبرية، وادّرع لباس التعز، وخلع قناع التذلل.

الأيرون كيف صغره الله بتكبره، ووضع به بترفعه، فجعله في الدنيا مدحوراً، وأعد له في الآخرة سعيراً.

20. °Afi b. Abī Tālib *khutbah*, (1st/7th century)

Şafwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 183, p.303—cited from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*)

الحمد لله على كل أمر وحال، في الغدو والآصال، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله، وأن محمدا عبده ورسوله، اتبعته رحمة للعباد، وحياة للبلاد، حين امتلأت الأرض فتنة، واضطرب حيلها، وعُبد الشيطان في أكنافها، واشتمل عدو الله إبليس على عقائد أهلها، فكان محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد المطلب الذي أطفأ الله به نيرانها، وأخذ به شرارها، ونزع به أوتادها، وأقام به ميلها، إمام الهدى، والنبي المصطفى صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، فلقد صدع بما أمر، وبلغ رسالات ربه، فأصلح الله به ذات البين، وآمن به السبل، وحقن به الدماء، وألف به بين ذوي الضغائن الواغرة في الصدور، حتى أتاه اليقين، ثم قبضه الله إليه حميدا . . .

21. ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib *al-khutbah al-gharrāʾ*, (1st/7th century)

Nahj al-Balāghah, no. 82, pp. 160-161 – Representation below highlights both semantic and grammatical parallelism.

Semantic Parallelism	Grammatical Parallelism
1. الحمد لله الذي علا بحوله، ودنا بطوله ،	1. الحمد لله الذي علا بحوله، ودنا بطوله ،
2. مانح كل غنيمة وفضل، وكاشف كل عظيمة وأزل،	2. مانح كل غنيمة وفضل، وكاشف كل عظيمة وأزل،
3. أحمدّه على عواطف كرمه ، وسوابغ نعمه ،	3. أحمدّه على عواطف كرمه ، وسوابغ نعمه ،
4. -	4. -
a. وأؤمن به أولاً بأدياً ،	a. وأؤمن به أولاً بأدياً ،
b. وأشهد به قريباً هادياً،	b. وأشهد به قريباً هادياً،
c. وأستعينه قادرًا قاهراً،	c. وأستعينه قادرًا قاهراً،
d. وأتوكل عليه كافياً ناصراً،	d. وأتوكل عليه كافياً ناصراً،
5. وأشهد أن محمداً صلى الله عليه وآله عبده ورسوله،	5. وأشهد أن محمداً صلى الله عليه وآله عبده ورسوله،
6. أرسله -	6. أرسله -
a. لإفاد أمره ،	a. لإفاد أمره ،
b. وإنهاء عذره ،	b. وإنهاء عذره ،
c. وتقديم نذره ،	c. وتقديم نذره ،
أوصيكم عباد الله بقوى الله الذي ضرب لكم الأمثال . . .	أوصيكم عباد الله بقوى الله الذي ضرب لكم الأمثال . . .

22. Jarīr b. ʿAbd-Allāh al-Bajāfī *khutbah* (ʿAlī's message to Muʿāwiyah sent with Jarīr)

Safwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no.192, p. 309—cited from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*)

الحمد لله المحمود بالعوائد، المأمول فيه الزوائد، المرتجي منه الثواب، المستعان على النوائب، أحمدّه وأستعينه في الأمور التي
تخير دونها الألباب، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، كل شيء هالك إلا وجهه، له الحكم واليه ترجعون، وأشهد

أن محمدا عبده ورسوله، أرسله بعد فترة من الرسل الماضية، والقرون الخالية، فبلغ الرسالة، ونصح للامة، وأدى الحق الذي استودعه الله وأمره بأدائه إلى أمته، صلى الله عليه وآله من رسول ومبعث ومنخب وعلى آله، أيها الناس...

23. Ḥasan b. ʿAlī *khutbah*

Safwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 171, p. 293—cited from Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ*)

الحمد لله العزيز الجبار، الواحد القهار، الكبير المتعال، ﴿سواء منكم من أسر القول ومن جهر به ومن هو مستخف بالليل وسارب بالنهار﴾، أحمدته على حسن البلاء، وتظاهر النعماء، وعلى ما أحببنا وكرهنا من شدة ورخاء، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأن محمدا عبده ورسوله، امتن علينا بنبوته، واختصه برسالته، وأنزل عليه وحيه، واصطفاه على جميع خلقه، وأرسله إلى الآس والجن، حين غبذت الاوثان، وأطيع الشيطان، وجحد الرحمن، وصلى الله عليه وعلى آله، وجزاه افضل ما جزى المسلمين،

أما بعد، ...

24. Mālīk al-Ashtar al-Nakhaʿī *khutbah* in Qunaṣirīn

Ibn Abī al-Ḥadīd, *Sharḥ* (p.501)

He is said to have delivered this mounted on a pitch black horse.

الحمد لله الذي خلق السموات العلى، ﴿الرحمن على العرش استوى﴾، له ما في السموات وما في الارض وما بينهما وما تحت الثرى، أحمدته على حسن البلاء، وتظاهر النعماء، حمدا كثيرا، بكرة وأصيلا، من هداه الله فقد اهتدى، ومن يضل فلقد غوى، أرسل محمدا بالصواب والهدى، فأظهره على الدين كله ﴿ولو كره المشركون﴾، صلى الله عليه وآله،

25. Muhammad b. Abī-Bakr *khutbah* upon reaching Egypt 36H

Safwat (1985, vol.I.ii, no. 298, p. 398—cited from al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*)

الحمد لله الذي هدانا وإياكم لما اختلف فيه من الحق، وبصرنا وإياكم كثيرا بما عمى عنه الجاهلون، ألا إن أمير المؤمنين ولاني أموركم...

26. Zayd b. ʿAlī *khutbah* (d. 122/740)

Al-Naḥḥās (p. 400)

الحمد لله الواصل الحمد بالنعم، والنعم بالشكر، أحمدته على آلائه وبلائه، حمد من يعلم أن الحمد فريضة واجبة، وتركه خطيئة محيطة، ونسعى عنه على هذه النفوس البطاء عما امرت به، السراع الى ما نهيت عنه،

امر الله نافع، ونهي الله ضار، نستغفر الله العظيم بما أحاط به علمه، وأحصاه كتابه، علم الله غير مغيب عنه، وكتابه غير مغادر، ونؤمن به إيمان من عاين الغيوب، ووقف على الموعد إيماناً، نفى اخلاصه الشرك، وبقينه الشك، وتوكل عليه توكل من لا يثق إلا به، ولا يفزع إلا إليه، ثقة أهل الرخاء، ومفزع أهل التوكل، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأشهد أن محمداً عبده ورسوله، شهادتين تصعدان القول، وترفعان العمل، لا يخف ميزان توضعان فيه، ولا يتقل ميزان يرفعان منه، يهون بهما الحساب، ويمضي بهما على الصراط، جعلنا الله وإياكم من المتقين، أوصيكم عباد الله بتقوى الله التي من اكتفى بها كفته، ومن اجتنأ بها وقته، كافية غير خاذلة، وإقية غير مجالة، هي الزاد والباقي المعاد، زاد مبلغ ومعاد منجج، دعا إليها اسمع داع، ووعاها خير واع، فاعدد داعيها، وفاز واعياها . . .

Ibn Nubātah °Abd al-Rahīm b. Muhammad b. Ismā'īl (d. 374/ 984-5), *Khutab Ibn Nubātah*-4th/10th century

The author has four *khutbahs* for each month of the year in addition to *khutbahs* for the two 'īds, *istisqā'*, and a unique *khutbah* that incorporates the names of each and every Qur'ānic *sūrah*. Each of these begin with a *Tahmīd* similar in length and style to the one presented below.

27. -First *khutbah* in Muḥarram

(pp. 2-3)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله منشئ أصناف الفطر، وحى الأرض بوابل المطر، الغالب على ما بطن وظهر، والعالم بما بقي ودثر، أحمده حمد من أولي جميلات فشكر، وأنزهه عن قول من جحد به وكفر، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له تعالى قددر، وملك فقهر، وعُصي فغفر، وجوهر بالقبيح فستر، وأشهد أن محمداً عبده ورسوله، أرسله حجة لمن استبصر، وحجة على من استكبر، فقام بأمر ربه وأنذر، وجاهد في سبيله وشمر، ودعا إلى طاعته وأمر، ونهى عن مخالفته وزجر، حتى أبلج قمر الإيمان فابدر، وخبا نجم الطغيان فادبر، وزهر تمويه الشيطان ودخر، وظهر دين الله على كل دين وزهر، وحصص الحق واشتهر، صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله فأكثر، كما طيب جبلتهم وطهر، أيها الناس، اتقوا الله العظيم عزوجل وأطيعوه، أوصيكم عباد الله وإياي بتقوى الله، فإن تقواه توجب كريم المآب وجزيل الثواب،

28.-Fourth khutbah in Rabīʿ-II

(pp. 65-66)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله مؤلف الاشياء بلا اقتداء، ومصرف القضاء بلا اعتداء، وسامك السماء بغير عمد في الهواء،
وساطح الارض طافية على تيار الماء، الذي زم ما خلق بالعد والاحصاء، وعم ما رزق بالبذل والاعطاء،
وعلم ديبب النملة السوداء، على صفاء الصخرة الصماء، تحت جلاليب حنادس الليلة الظلماء، في قعر
قاموس لجة الدأماء، احمده على السراء والضراء، حمدا يوجب المزيد من النعماء، واشهد ان لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له، شهادة متلالية الصفاء، ميوثة لقائلها منازل اهل الوفاء، واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله
ارسله من الذروة العليا، في صميم العرب العرباء، الى اهل الترات والشحناء، وذوي اختلاف الآراء،
يعمهم في الجاهلية الجهلاء، ويتيهون في القول العراء، فشرع لهم سبل النجاء، وقومهم على المحجة البيضاء،
واتاهم باصدق الانباء، واقدهم من ضلة السفهاء، صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله اهل العباء،
وعلى اصحابه البررة الاقبياء، صلوة تدوم دوام الارض والسماء،

ايها الناس، اكرهوا النفوس على مخالفة الاهواء، وناجزوها في اداء حق الله مناجزة الاعداء، . . .

29.-Fifth khutbah in Rabīʿ-II

(p. 69)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله حاجب فطن اولي العقول عن تكييفه، وباهر اهل الجد والتحصيل بعجائب تأليفه، ومطعم الغافلين
في رحمته لسعة معروفه، وموجل قلوب العارفين من نعمته لشدة تخوفه، احمده ومتى اقوم بحمده، اذ كان
حمده على الرفد من رفده، واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له، . . .

30. -Fifth khutbah in Rajab

(pp. 119-120)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله الذي سبج كل شيء بحمده، وغمر كل حي بسعة رفده، وحجب مواد الفطن ان تحيط بحجده،
واخرس فصاح اللسان ان ينطق بقبلة او بعده، احمده على توالي البركات من عنده، حمداً يُنجز به مضمون
وعده، واشهد ان محمدا عبده الوفي بعهدده، ورسوله الموضح سبيل قصده، الذي قدح الله شهاب الايمان
بزنده، وفل حد الشيطان بحجده، وايده بحجزه وجنده، صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله من بعده وعلى
مؤمني آل جده، وعلى المصطفين من صحابته واهل وده، ما فقهه سحاب برعده، ودار فلك بنحسه
وسعدده،

ايها الناس، من عرف الحق انكر الباطل، ومن احب الآجل ابغض العاجل، . . .

31. -Second khutbah in Dhū al-Hijjah

(pp. 202-203)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله مشرف الايام بعضها على بعض، ومصرف الاحكام بالابرار والنقض، ومكلف الانام للقيام باداء
الفرض، ومؤلف الاجسام باعتدال الطول والعرض، الذي لم يتقدم علمه بالاشياء جهالة، ولم تقده حقيقة
الانباء دلالة، ولم تجر بماهيته مقالة، ولا لربوبيته تغيير ولا ازالة، احمده على استخلاصنا لايداع ذكره،
واستخصاصنا بايزاع شكره، واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له، شهادة من اليقين بعين البصيرة،
وأثر سلوك محجته المنيرة، واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله، ارسله عند انتشار الفساد في اقطار البلاد،
واستعار العناد في افكار العباد، فابر من الايمان سجيله، واوضح من البرهان سبيله، وارغم حزب
الشيطان وجيله، صلى الله على محمد وعلى آله صلوة يشرف بها مقيله، كما شرف وكرم ابراهيم خليله،

ايها الناس، ان التسمير بالادراك ضمنين، كما ان التقصير بالهلاك قمين، . . .

32. -Third khutbah in Dhū al-Hijjah

(pp. 205-206)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله الحكيم فعله، العظيم فضله، الكريم بذله، العليم عدله، الذي لا تخطر كفيته ببال، ولا تجري ماهيته في مقال، ولا يدخل في الامثال والاشكال، ولا يؤل الى التحويل والانتقال، احمده على ما انطق والهم، حمدا يقوم بشكر ما رزق وانعم، واشهد ان لا اله الا الله . . .

33. -khutbat al-istisqa'

(pp. 239-240)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله منزل الفطر بعد اليأس، ومخرج الناس من الشدة واليأس، الذي خشعت له الجبال الراسيات، والصخور القاسيات، فتجرت بامر عيونا، وتصدعت بطاعته شحونا، احمده على آلائه، واشكره لحسن بلائه، واستدفع به من لأوائه، واسئله ان يزيدنا من نعمائه، واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له، له الخلق والامر، وبه النفع والضرر، واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله، ارسله بالحق بشيرا ونذيرا، ﴿وداعيا الى الله باذنه وسراجا منيرا﴾، صلى الله على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وسلم تسليما كثيرا، ايها الناس، ان الله سبحانه وتعالى جعل هذا المعاش بلغة لكم الى اخراكم، ووصلة في دنياكم،

34. -Khutbat suwar al-Qur'ān

(pp. 243-246)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم،

الحمد لله الذي اقتح بفاعحة الكتاب كلامه القديم، وادع في البقرة وآل عمران والنساء احكام التحليل والتحريم، ومد للمقرين مائدة قربه وجعل الانعام من انعامه وفضله العميم، ورفعنا عن الاعراف واختصنا بانفال الغنائم وقبل توبة من اتاه بقلب سليم، وانجا يونس وهودا ويوسف وازال رعد الخوف عن ابراهيم وشرف الحجر بمن تلا النحل وايده بالاسرا واخبر عن اصحاب الكهف والرقيم، . . .

35. Fatimid *khutbah*-*ʿĪd al-Nahr*—authored by Ibn al-Ṣayrafi-5th/11th century

Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 1394). [the author Ibn al-Ṣayrafi is the author of the chancery manual of writing *Qanūn diwān al-rasāʾil*].

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي أعلّى منار الملة، وشرف مواسم أهل القبلة، وكلّ أمير المؤمنين أمر الأيام، كما
كفّهُ أمر الأنام، فرأى الناس من حسن سيرته أيقاظاً ما لا يروونه مجازاً في المنام،

وصلى الله على جدنا محمد نبيه الذي أرسله إلى الناس كافة، وجعل العصمة محيطة به حافة، فأطلع في
ظلام الشرك شمس التوحيد بدره، وآمن به من شرّح للإسلام صدره، وعصاه من تردّد فأثقل الوزر ظهره،
وبين عبادات كرم أجرهما وعظم ثوابها، وألزم طاعات جعل الجنة للعاملين بها مفتحة أبوابها،

وعلى أخيه وابن عمه أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب مظافره ومظاهره، والمساوي في حكمه بين باطنه
وظاهره، ولم يزل حاملاً على المحجة البيضاء جاعلاً ذلك من قربه وذخائره، قائماً بحقوق الله جاهداً في
تعظيم حرّماته وشعائره،

وعلى الأئمة من ذريتهما نجوم الأرض وهداة أهلها، والواجبة طاعتهم على من في وعمرها وسؤلها،
والذابين بالمشرفة عن حمى الشريعة، والذين متابعتهم من أوجه ذريعة،

ii-Tahmīds from Chancery-*risālahs*36. Prophet Muhammad (letter to Khālīd b. al-Walīd) 1st/7th century (Old-*risālah*)Safwat (1937, vol. I, no. 31) [qtd. from *Sīrat Ibn Hishām*, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, *Ṣubḥ al-a'shā*].

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ، مِنْ مُحَمَّدٍ النَّبِيِّ رَسُولِهِ اللَّهُ إِلَى خَالِدِ بْنِ الْوَلِيدِ، سَلَامٌ عَلَيْكَ، فَإِنِّي أَحْمَدُ إِلَيْكَ اللَّهُ
الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ،

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَإِن كُتِبَ جَاءَنِي مَعَ رَسُولِكَ يُخْبِرُنِي أَنَّ بَنِي الْحَارِثِ بْنِ كَعْبٍ قَدْ أَسْلَمُوا قَبْلَ أَنْ تَقَاتِلَهُمْ، وَأَجَابُوا
إِلَى مَا دَعَوْتُهُمْ إِلَيْهِ مِنَ الْإِسْلَامِ، وَشَهِدُوا أَنَّ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ وَحْدَهُ لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ، وَأَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ وَرَسُولُهُ،
وَأَنَّ قَدْ هَدَاهُمُ اللَّهُ بِهَدَاهِ، فَبَشِّرْهُمْ وَأَنْذِرْهُمْ، وَأَقْبَلْ وَلُتَقْبَلْ مَعَهُمْ وَفَدَهُمْ، وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَيْكَ وَرَحْمَةُ اللَّهِ
وَبَرَكَاتُهُ،

37. Qurrah b. Sharīk 1st/7th century (old-*risālah*)

Abbott (1938, pp. 42-43).

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ مِنْ قُرَّةِ بْنِ شَرِيكٍ إِلَى صَاحِبِ أَشْقَوُهْ، فَإِنِّي أَحْمَدُ اللَّهَ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ، أَمَّا بَعْدُ
فَانْظُرِ الَّذِي كَانَ بَقِيَ عَلَى اسْقَافِ كُورَتِكَ مِمَّا فَرَضَ عَلَيْهِ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَبْدِ الْمَلِكِ وَلَمْ الْأَوَّلُ فَعَجَلَ بِهِ مَعَ
رَسُولِي وَرَسُولِ الْأَسْقَافِ وَلَا تُؤَخِّرَنَّ مِنْ تِلْكَ الْبَقِيَّةِ قَلِيلًا وَلَا كَثِيرًا وَالسَّلَامُ عَلَى مَنْ اتَّبَعَ الْهُدَى وَكُتِبَ فِي
شَهْرِ رَجَبِ الْأَوَّلِ مِنْ سَنَةِ تِسْعِينَ⁶

38. °Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib 2nd/8th century°Abbās (1988, pp. 271-272, *Risālah* no. 24)

الْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ النَّاصِرِ لِدِينِهِ وَأَوْلِيَّائِهِ وَخُلَفَائِهِ، الْمُظْهِرِ لِلْحَقِّ وَأَهْلِهِ، وَالْمُذِلِّ لِأَعْدَائِهِ أَهْلِ الْبِدْعَةِ وَالضَّلَالَةِ، الَّذِي لَمْ
يَجْمَعْ بَيْنَ حَقٍّ وَبَاطِلٍ، وَأَهْلِ طَاعَةٍ وَمَعْصِيَةٍ إِلَّا جَعَلَ النَّصْرَةَ وَالْفَلَاحَ وَالْعَاقِبَةَ لِأَهْلِ حَقِّهِ وَطَاعَتِهِ، وَجَعَلَ
الْخِزْيَ وَالذِّلَّةَ وَالصَّغَارَ عَلَى أَهْلِ الْبَاطِلِ وَالْخِلَافِ وَالْمَعْصِيَةِ، حَمْدًا يَتَقَبَّلُهُ وَيَرْضَاهُ، وَيُوجِبُ بِهِ لِأُمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
وَأَهْلِ طَاعَتِهِ الزِّيَادَةَ الَّتِي وَعَدَ مِنْ شُكْرِهِ.

⁶ This is Abbott's translation of the text: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. From Qurrah ibn Sharīk to the *ṣāhib* of Ashqauh. I praise God, than whom there is no other God. Now to proceed: Look up the balance due from the bishop of your district of the amount imposed on him by 'Abd Allāh ibn °Abd al-Malik and collect the first (amount) and rush it to me by my messenger and the messenger of the bishop; and do not delay any of that balance, be it little or much. Peace be with those who follow the guidance. Written in the month of Rabi' I of the year ninety."

والحمد لله على ما يتولى من إعزاز أمير المؤمنين ونصره وإفلاجه، وإظهار حقه على ما وقع بأعدائه وأهل معصيته والخلاف عليه من سطواته وثقاته وبأسه. فيما وكل أمير المؤمنين من موالاة من والآله، وعداوة من بغى عليه وعاداه، لا يكله في شيء من الأمور إلى نفسه، ولا إلى حوله وقوته ومكيدته، فإنه لا حول ولا قوة لأمر المؤمنين إلا به،

39. °Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib 2nd/8th century

°Abbās (1988, p.272, *Risālah* no. 25)

الحمد لله العلي مكانه، المنير برهانه، العزيز سلطانه، الثابت كلماته، الشافية آياته، النافذ قضاؤه، الصادق وعده، الذي قدر على خلقه بملكه، وعز في سماواته بعظمته، ودبر الأمور بعلمه، وقدرها بحكمه، على ما يشاء من عزمه، مبتدعا لها بانشائه إياها، وقدرته عليها، واستصغار عظيمها، نافذا غرادته فيها، لا تجري إلا على تقديره، ولا تنتهي إلا إلى تأجيله، ولا تقع إلا على سبق من حتمه، كل ذلك بلطفه وقدرته، وتصريف وحيه، لا معدل لها عنه، ولا سبيل لها غيره، ولا يعلم احد بخفاياها ومعادها إلا هو، فإنه يقول في كتابه الصادق، ﴿وعنده مفاتيح الغيب لا يعلمها إلا هو يعلم ما في البر والبحر، وما تسقط من ورقة إلا يعلمها ولا حبة في ظلمات الأرض ولا رطب ولا يابس إلا في كتاب مبين﴾،

40. °Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib 2nd/8th century

°Abbās (1988, pp. 273-274, *Risālah* no. 26) and Ṣafwat (1937, v.II, no. 512).

(1) أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي اصطفى الإسلام ديناً، رضي شرائعه، وبين أحكامه، ونور هدايته، ثم كفنه بالعز المؤبد، وأيده بالظفر القاهر، وأزره بالسعادة المنجية، وجعل من قام به داعياً إليه من جنده الغالبين، وأنصاره المسطرين، كلما قهر بهم مناوراً أورثهم رباعهم المأهولة، وأموالهم الثرية، ودارهم الفسيحة، ودولهم المطولة^(33:27)، أمراً حتمه على نفسه، ثم جعل من عاندتهم وأبغى غير سبيلهم مسلماً، قد استهوت ذلة الكفر بظلمها، وخيرة الجهالة بجوارها، وتية الشقاء بمغاويها، وكلما ازدادوا لدعوة الحق إباءً، ازداد الحق إليهم ازدلافاً، وعليهم عكوفاً، وفيهم إقامة، إلى أن يحل بهم عز الغلبة - ونجاة المجاز،

رَاغِبِينَ فِيمَا شَوْقُهُمْ إِلَيْهِ، مُحَافِظِينَ عَلَى مَا نَذَبَهُمْ لَهُ، قَدْ بَدَلُوا فِي طَاعَةِ اللَّهِ دِمَاءَهُمْ، وَقَبِلُوا الْمَعْرُوضَ عَلَيْهِمْ
فِي مُبَايَعَةِ رَبِّهِمْ لَهُمْ بِأَنْفُسِهِمُ الْجَنَّةَ^(9:111) 8، مَحْمُودٌ صَبْرُهُمْ، مُسَهَّلٌ بِهِمْ عَزُّهُمْ، إِلَى خَيْرِ الدُّنْيَا وَالْآخِرَةِ،

(2) وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي أَكْرَمَ مُحَمَّدًا بِمَا حَفِظَ لَهُ مِنْ أُمُورِ أُمَّتِهِ، أَنْ اخْتَارَ لِمَوَارِيثِ نُبُوَّتِهِ مَا أَصَارَ إِلَى
أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مِنْ تَطْلُوبِهِ مَا حِيلَ بِحُسْنِ نُهُوضٍ بِهِ، وَشَحَّ عَلَيْهِ، وَمُنَافَسَةٍ فِيهِ، أَنْ فَعَلَ وَفَعَلَ،

(3) وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي تَمَّمَ وَعَدَهُ لِرَسُولِهِ، وَخَلَقَهُ فِي أُمَّةٍ نَبِيِّهِ، مُسَدِّدًا لَهُ فِيمَا اعْتَزَمَ عَلَيْهِ،

(4) وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الْمُعِزِّ لِدِينِهِ الْمُتَوَلَّى نَصْرَ أُمَّةٍ نَبِيِّهِ، الْمُتَخَلِّي عَمَّنْ عَادَاهُمْ وَنَاوَاهُمْ، حَمْدًا يَزِيدُ بِهِ مَنْ رَضِيَ
شُكْرَهُ، وَحَمْدًا يَعْلُو حَمْدَ الْحَامِدِينَ مِنْ أَوْلِيَائِهِ، الَّذِينَ تَكَامَلَتْ عَلَيْهِمْ نِعْمَةٌ فَلَا تُوصَفُ، وَجَلَّتْ أَيْادِيهِ فَلَا
تُحْصَى،

(5) وَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي حَمَلَنَا مَا لَا قُوَّةَ بِنَا عَلَى شُكْرِهِ إِلَّا بِعَوْنِهِ، وَبِاللَّهِ يَسْتَعِينُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى ذَلِكَ، وَإِلَيْهِ
يَرْغَبُ، إِنَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ قَدِيرٌ،

إِنْ أَلَّهَ اشْتَرَى مِنَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَنْفُسَهُمْ وَأَمْوَالَهُمْ بِأَنْ لَهُمُ الْجَنَّةُ يُقَاتِلُونَ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ فَيَقْتُلُونَ وَيُقْتَلُونَ وَعَدًا عَلَيْهِ

التوبة 111 حَقًّا فِي التَّوْرَةِ وَالْإِنْجِيلِ وَالْقُرْآنِ وَمَنْ أَوْفَى بِعَهْدِهِ مِنَ اللَّهِ فَاسْتَبْشِرُوا بِبَيْعِكُمُ الَّذِي بَايَعْتُمْ بِهِ وَذَلِكَ هُوَ الْفَوْزُ
الْعَظِيمُ

41. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib 2nd/8th centuryʿAbbās (1988, p. 274, *Risālah* no. 27)

The following Fatimid Taḥmīd is presented in a manner that highlights its sight and sound patterns. It is discussed in chapter-IV (p.128ff).

أما بعد،

[1]

فالحمد لله الذي اصطفى الاسلام لنفسه، *

وارتضاه ديناً ملائكته وأهل طاعته من عباده، **

وجعله رحمةً وكرامةً ونجاةً وسعادةً *** لمن هُدي به من خلقه، ***

[2] وأكرمهم *

وفضلهم **

وجعلهم بما أنعم عليهم به ***

أولياءه المقربين، *

وحزبه الغالبين، **

وجنده المنصورين، ***

[3] وتوكل لهم بالظهور والفلاح، *

وقضى لهم بالعلو والتكبر، **

وجعل من خالفه، وعزب عنه، وابقى سبيل غيره ***

أعداء الأقلين، *

وأولياء الشيطان الأخرين، **

وأهل الضلالة الأسفلين، ***

[4]

مع ما عليهم في دنياهم من الذل والصغار، *

فأعجل لهم فيها من الخذلان والانتقام، **

إلى ما أعد لهم في آخرتهم من الخزي والهوان المقيم والعذاب الأليم، ***

إنه عزيز ذو انتقام.

42. Ibn al-Muqaffa^c 2nd/8th century

Safwat (1937, vol. III, no. 28) [qtd. from Ibn Abī Tāhir Ṭayfūr, *Ikhtiyār al-Manẓūm wa al-Manthūr*].

الحمد لله ذي العظمة القاهرة، والآلاء الظاهرة، الذي لا يعجزه شيء ولا يمتنع منه، ولا يدفع قضاؤه ولا أمره، ﴿إنما أمره إذا أراد شيئاً أن يقول له كن فيكون﴾،

والحمد لله الذي خلق الخلق بعلمه، ودبر الأمور بحكمه، وأتخذ فيما اختار، واصطفى منها عزمه، بقدرة منه عليها، وملكة منه لها، لا معقب لحكمه، ولا شريك له في شيء من الأمور، ﴿يخلق ما يشاء ويختار﴾، ما كان للناس الخيرة في شيء من أمورهم، ﴿سبحان الله وتعالى عما يشركون﴾،

والحمد لله الذي جعل صفوة ما اختار من الأمور دينه الذي ارتضى لنفسه، ولمن أراد كرامته من عباده، فقام به ملائكته المقربون، يعظمون جلاله، ويقدمون أسمائه، ويذكرون آلاءه، لا يستحسرون عن عبادته ولا يستكبرون، يسبحون الليل والنهار لا يفترون، وقام به من اختار من أنبيائه وخلفائه وأوليائه في أرضه، يطيعون أمره، ويذنبون عن محارمه، ويصدقون بوعده، ويوفون بعهده، يأخذون بحقه، ويجاهدون عدوه، وكان لهم عند ما وعدهم من تصديقه قولهم، وإفلاجه حجته، وإعزازة دينهم، وإظهاره حقهم، وتمكينه لهم، وكان

لعدوه وعدوهم عندما أوعدهم من خزينة، وإحلاله بأسهم، وانتقامه منهم، وغضبه عليهم، مضى على ذلك أمره، ونفذ فيه قضاؤه فيما مضى، وهو ممضيه ومنفذه على ذلك فيما بقي، ليتم ﴿نوره ولو كره الكافرون﴾، وليحق ﴿الحق ويبطل الباطل ولو كره المجرمون﴾،

والحمد لله الذي لا يقضي في الأمور ولا يدبرها غيره، ابتدأها بعلمه، وأمضاها بقدرته، وهو وليها ومنهاها، وولي الخيرة فيها، والإمضاء لما أحب أن يمضي منها، ﴿يخلق ما يشاء ويختار، ما كان لهم الخيرة سبحان الله وتعالى عما يشركون﴾،

والحمد لله الفاتح العليم، العزيز الحكيم، ذي المن وال طول، والقدرة والحول، الذي لا تمسك لما فتح لأولياته من رحمته، ولا دافع لما أنزل بأعدائه من نعمته، ولا راد لأمره في ذلك وقضائه، يفعل ما يشاء، ويحكم ما يريد،

43. Ghassān b. °Abd al-Ḥamīd, 3rd/8th century

Ṣafwat (1937, vol. III, no. 74) [qtd. from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Ikhtiyār al-Manẓūm wa al-Manthūr*].

الحمد لله الذي نشر رحمته في بلاده، وبسط سعة على عباده، الذي لا يزال العباد منه في رزق يقسمونه، وفضل ينظرونه، لا ينقضه ما قبله، ولا ينقصي ما بعده،

44. Kātib of Khuzaymah b. Khāzim an Abbasid commander, 3rd/9th century

Ṣafwat (1937, vol. III, no. 211). [qtd. from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Ikhtiyār al-Manẓūm wa al-Manthūr*].

أما بعد، فالحمد لله ذي الملكوت والقدرة، والجبروت والعزة، والسلطان والقوة، أهل الحماد كلها، ومدير الأمور ووليها، وخالق الخلاق وبارئها، ومبنيها ومحبيها، وباعثها ووارثها، الذي أوجب على نفسه بما نفذ من مشيئته، وسبق من علمه، وثبت في اللوح المحفوظ عند إعزازه دينه، وإظهار حقه، وإعلاء كلمته، وإبلاغ حجة، وإزهاق باطل أعدائه الصادقين عن طاعته، والجاحدين لرؤيته، المكذبين بكلمته ورسالته، بلغ بذلك أمره، ونطق به كتابه، فإنه يقول تبارك اسمه في المنزل من فرقائه، ﴿بل تذف بالحق على الباطل فيدمغه فإذا هو زاهق ولكم الويل مما تصفون﴾،

45. Aḥmad b. Yusuf (time of al-Ma'mūn), 3rd/9th centuryṢafwat (1937, vol. III, no.220). [qtd. from al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh*].

أما بعد، فالحمد لله القاهر القادر الخالق الرازق، فاطر السموات والأرض، الذي أحاط بكل شيء علما، ونطق به خبرا، وأتقنه حكمة وعلما، وألف بين مختلفه ومتقنه، ليدل بقوام بعضه على بعض على اتصال تدبير مشيئته ومبتدعه، وأنه أحد صمد، لا ضد له ولا ند، إذ قدر له حاجته، ثم شدها ببلاغها إلى الغاية التي جعلها فقال الله عزوجل ﴿وإن من شيء إلا عندنا خزائنه وما ننزله إلا بقدر معلوم﴾، وحكى عن نبيه موسى عليه السلام ﴿قال ربنا الذي أعطى كل شيء خلقه ثم هدى﴾، وقال الله تعالى ﴿وكل شيء فصلناه تفصيلا﴾، ثم لم يكلف العباد من شكره كفاء نعمته بل رضي منهم باليسير، وقبل منهم بالعفو، وجعل طاعتهم إياه عائدة عليهم بالجزيل الحظ في دينهم ودنياهم، لغناه عن عبادتهم، واتساع قدرته بالتطول عليهم، مفتحا وخاتما، وبادئا وعائدا،

والحمد لله الذي اصطفى محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلم نبيا لرسالته، وأتمنه على وحيه، وأنزل عليه كتابه العزيز، ﴿الذي لا يأتيه الباطل من بين يديه ولا من خلفه تنزيل من حكيم حميد﴾، فأدى إلى خلقه الرسالة، واستنقذهم من الضلالة، وصدع بأمر ربه، وجاهد في سبيله، ونصح لأئمة، حتى أتاه اليقين من ربه، بعد استنارة الحق وظهور الحجة، فصلى الله عليه ﴿بشيرا ونذيرا وداعيا إلى الله بإذنه وسراجا منيرا﴾، قد تلافى من الهلكة، وجمع الألفة بعد الفارقة، وأوضح الهدى بعد الدروس، ومعلم الرشد بعد الطموس، ﴿وكان بالمؤمنين رحيما﴾،

والحمد لله الذي قفى على آثار المرسلين، والأئمة الراشدين، الهادي التقي، الطاهر الزكي، الإمام المأمون...

46. °Amr b. Mas'adah, 2nd/8th century (7)Ṣafwat (1937, vol. III, no. 318) [qtd. from *wafiyyat al-a'yān*. Consoling a friend on the remarriage of his mother!].

الحمد لله الذي كشف عنا ستر الحيرة، وهدانا لستر العورة، وجدع بما شرع من الحلال أنف الغيرة، ومنع من عضل الأمهات كما منع من وأد البنات، استنزالا للنفوس الأبية عن الحمية حمية الجاهلية، ثم عرض للجزيل الأجر من استسلم لواقع قضائه، وعوض جليل الذخر من صبر على نازل بلائه،

47. Ibrāhīm b. al-^cAbbās, 3rd/9th century

Şafwat (1937, vol. IV, no. 96). [Qtd. from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Ikhtiyār al-Manẓūm wa al-Manthūr*]

The underlined phrases indicate the use of the keywords *ḥaqq* and *bāṭil* to create the dichotomy of good and evil.

الحمد لله الغالب ذي القدرة، والفاخر ذي العزة، الذي لم يقابل بالحق باطلا في موطن من موطن التحاكم بين عباده، إلا جعل أولياء الحق منهم حزيه وجنده، وجعل الباطل بهم فلا منكوبا، ودحيضا زهوقا، إن نهض به أولياؤه كانت مراصد عواقبه مفرقة ما جُمع، ومُبترة ما أُعد، وقائدة بأشياعه إلى مصرع الظالمين، حتى يكون الحق الطالب الأعز، والباطل المطلوب الأذل، وأولياء الحق الأعلين يداً وأيدا، وأشياع الضلال الأخرسين أعمالا وكيدا، قضاء الله وسنته، وعادة الله وإرادته، في الفئة المنصورة، أن تعز فلا ترام، وأن عكن لها في الأرض كما مكّن للذين من قبلها، وفي الفئة الناكين عنه أن تذلل، فتكون كلمتها السفلى، وكلمة الله هي العليا، والله عزيز حكيم.

48. Ibrāhīm b. al-^cAbbās, 3rd/9th century

Şafwat (1937, vol. IV, no. 99). [the underlined phrases create a *fikrah*-relation with the Prophet's proclamation following the conquest of Mecca, discussed in chapter-IV]

الحمد لله الذي أنجز وعده، ونصر عبده، وأيد جنده، وجعل فتوح أمير المؤمنين شرقا وغربا مشفوعة بين إقامة حق وإدالة باطل، وإزالة عائد، وإبادة عائد، وإقالة مستقيل، ويسأل الله أمير المؤمنين مسألة العبد سيده ومولاه، رغبة إليه، مذللا له، أن يصلي أفضل صلواته عنده على أكرم أنبيائه،

49. Ibrāhīm b. al-^cAbbās, 3rd/9th century

Şafwat (1937, vol. IV, no. 100). [use of pronouns highlighted; see chapter-IV]

والحمد لله بجميع محامده التي حُمد بها، على جميع آلائه وجميع بلائه، فيما ولي به خليفته، ونصر به دينه، وأقام به حقه، وأعز به وليه، وقمع به من ألد عن سبيله، حمدا يؤدي حق نعمة، ويوجب به أفضل مزيده، بمنه وطوله،

50. Sa'īd b. Ḥamīd (*kātib* of Abbasid caliph al-Musta'īn), 3rd/9th century

Ṣafwat (1937, vol. IV, no. 170). [qtd. from Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *Ikhtiyār al-Manzūm wa al-Manthūr*].

Tahmīd following a victory.

أما بعد، الحمد لله الحميد المجيد، الفعال لما يريد، الذي خلق الخلق بقدرته، وأمضاه على مشيئته، ودبره بعلمه، وأظهر فيه آثار حكمته التي تدعو العقول إلى معرفته، وتشهد لذوي الألباب بربوبيته، وتدل على وحدانيته، لم يكن له شريك في ملكه فينازعه، ولا معين على ما خلق فكلزمه الحاجة إليه، فليس يصرف عباده في حال إلا كانت دليلا عليه، ولا تقع الأبصار على شيء إلا كان شاهدا له بما رسم فيه من آثار صنعه، وأبان فيه من دلائل تدبره، إعذارا بحجته، وتطولا بنعمته، وهداية إلى حقه، وإرشادا إلى سبيل طاعته، ﴿وهو الذي يبدأ الخلق ثم يعيده وهو أهون عليه، وله المثل الأعلى في السموات والأرض وهو العزيز الحكيم﴾.

والحمد لله العزيز القهار، الملك الجبار، الذي اصطفى الاسلام واختاره، وارتضاه وطهره، وأعلاه وأظهره، فجعله حجة أهله على من شاقهم، ووسيلتهم إلى النصر على من عند في حقهم، وابتغى غير سبيلهم، وبعث به رسله يدعون إلى حقه، ويهدون إلى سبيله بالآيات التي يبينون بها عن المخلوقين، ويوجبون بها الحجة على المخالفين، حتى انتهت كرامة الله إلى خاتم أنبيائه، وحامل كتابه، ومفتاح رحمته صلى الله عليه وسلم على حين فترة من الرسل، واختلاف من الملل، ودثور من أعلام الحق، واستعلاء من الباطل، والناس عاندون عن سبيل ربهم، يتسافكون دماءهم، ويحلون ما حرم الله عليهم، ﴿ويعبدون من دون الله ما لا ينفعهم ولا يضرهم﴾، وأيده بالبرهان الواضح، والحجج القواطع، والآيات الشواهد، وأنزل عليه كتابه العزيز الذي لا يأتيه الباطل من بين يديه ولا من خلفه، تنزيل من حكيم حميد، وجعل فيه أوضح الدليل على رسالته، وأعدل الشواهد على نبوته، إذ عجز المخلوقون عن أن يأتوا بمثله على مر الأيام، وكثرة الأعداء والمنازعين، يتحداهم به في المواسم، ويتصدّمهم بحجته في المحافل، ولا يزدادون عنه إلا حسورا وعجزا، ولا تزداد حجة الله عليهم إلا تظاهرا وعلوا، ثم أيده بالنصر بأنصار ألف بينهم بطاعته، وجمعهم على حقه، ولم شعهم بنصرة دينه، بعد الشقاق المتصل بينهم، والحرب المفرقة لجماعتهم، كما قال عز وجل ﴿هو الذي أيدك بنصره وبالمؤمنين﴾، وقدم إليه وعده بالنصرة والتمكين، فجعله بشرى للمؤمنين، وحجة على

الكافرين، ودليلاً على ما بعث به من الدين، فهزم بالقليل من عددهم الكثير من عدد أعدائهم، وغلب
بضعفائهم أهل القوة ممن ناوهم، فقل به حدهم، وفض جموعهم، واقتح حصونهم، وحرز معاقلم، وأظهر
بججه ونصره عليهم، وأنجز سابق وعده لهم وفيهم، ﴿والله لا يخلف الميعاد﴾،

51. *Ṣāhib al-barīd* in al-Daynūr, 3rd/9th century

Ṣafwat (1937, vol. IV, no. 278). [Qtd. from al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh*. Apparently a mule gave birth to a mare!]

الحمد لله الموقظ بعبره قلوب الغافلين، والمرشد بآياته ألباب العارفين، الخالق لما يشاء بلا مثال، ذلك الله
البارئ المصور في الأرحام ما شاء،

52. Al-Muṭṭasim's *risālah* following the arrest of the Byzantine emperor 3rd/9th century

Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 1025)

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي جعل العاقبة لدينه، والعصمة لأوليائه، والعز لمن نصره، والفليح لمن أطاعه، والحق
لمن عرف حقه، وجعل دائرة السوء على من عصاه وصدف عنه، ورغب عن ربوبيته، وآبغى لها غيره، لا
إله إلا هو وحده لا شريك له. يحمد أمير المؤمنين حمد من لا يعبد غيره، ولا يتوكل إلا عليه، ولا يفوض أمره
إلا إليه، ولا يرجو الخير إلا من عنده، والمزبد إلا من سعة فضله، ولا يستعين في أحواله كلها إلا به. ويسأله
أن يصلي على محمد عبده ورسوله، وصفوته من عباده، الذي ارتضاه لنبوته، واتبعه بوجيه واختصه
بكرامته، فأرسله بالحق شاهداً ومبشراً ونذيراً، وداعياً إلى الله بإذنه وسراجاً منيراً.

والحمد لله الذي توجه لأمر المؤمنين بصنعه، فيسر له أمره، وصدق له ظنه، وأنجح له طلبه، وأنفذ له
حيلته، وبلغ له محبته، وأدرك المسلمون بئارهم على يده، وقتل عدوهم، وأسكن روعتهم، ورحم فاقتهم،
وأنس وحشتهم، فأصبحوا آمنين مطمئنين مقيمين في ديارهم، متمكنين في أوطانهم، بعد القتل والخوف
والتشريد وطول العناء، وتتابع البلاء، مناً من الله عز وجل على أمير المؤمنين بما خصه به، وصنعاً له فيما
وقفه لطلبه، وكرامة زادها فيما أجرى على يده.

فالحمد لله كثيراً كما هو أهله، ونرغب إلى الله في تمام نعمه ودوام صنعه، وسعة ما عنده بمنه ولطفه. ولا
يعلم أمير المؤمنين مع كثرة أعداء المسلمين وتكفهم إياه من أقطاره، والضغائن التي في قلوبهم على أهله، وما

يتصدونه من العداوة، وينطون عليه من المكيدة، إذ كان هو الظاهر عليهم، والآخذ منهم عدواً كان أعظم بليّةً ولا أجل خطباً، ولا أشد كلباً، ولا أبلغ مكيدة، ولا أرمى بمكره، من هؤلاء الكفرة الذين يغزوهم المسلمون، فيستولون عليهم، ويضعون أيديهم حيث شاءوا منهم، ولا يقبلون لهم صلحاً، ولا يميلون معهم إلى مواعدة، وإن كان لهم على طول الأيام وتصرف الحالات وبعض ما لا يزال يكون من فترات ولاية الثغور أدنى دولة من دولات الظفر وخلصه من خلس الحرب، كان بما لهم من خوف العاقبة في ذلك منغصاً لما تعجلوا من سروره، وما يتوقعون من الدوائر بعد، مكدرًا لما وصل إليهم من فرجة .

53. End-Tahmīd, al-Mu'tasim's *risālah* following the arrest of the Byzantine emperor 3rd/9th century.

Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 1026)

فالحمد لله الذي أعز دينه، وأظهر حجته، ونصر أوليائه، وأهلك أعداءه. حمداً يقضي به الحق، وتتم به النعمة، وتتصل به الزيادة. والحمد لله الذي فتح على أمير المؤمنين وحقق ظنه وأنجح سعيه، وحاز له أجر هذا الفتح وذخره وشرفه، وجعله خالصاً لتمامه وكماله بأكل الصنع وأحسن الكفاية، ولم ير بؤساً فيه مما يقضي عينه، ولا خلا من سرور يراه، وبشارة تتجدد له عنه، فما يدري أمير المؤمنين ما متع فيه من الأمل، أو ما ختم له من الظفر. فالحمد لله أولاً والحمد لله آخرًا. والحمد لله على عطاياه التي لا تحصى، ونعمه التي لا تنسى، إن شاء الله تعالى،

54. Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi' (4th/10th century), Tahmīd of *risālah* following conquest of Baghdad.

Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī [from Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Mathal al-Sā'ir*](p. 980)⁹.

الحمد لله رب العالمين، الملك الحق المبين، الوحيد الفريد، العلي المجيد، الذي لا يوصف إلا بسلب الصفات، ولا ينعت إلا برفع النعوت، الأزلي بلا ابتداء، الأبدى بلا انتهاء، القديم لا منذ أمدٍ محدود، الدائم لا إلى أجل معدود، الفاعل لا من مادةٍ امتدها، الصانع لا بآلةٍ استعملها، الذي لا تدركه الأعين بألحاضها، ولا تحده الأنس بألفاظها، ولا تتخلقه العصور بمرورها، ولا تهزمه الدهور بمرورها، ولا تجاريه أقدم النظراء والأشكال، ولا تزاوجه مناكب القراء والأمثال، بل هو الصمد الذي لا كفء له، والفرد الذي لا توأم معه،

⁹ Ibn al-Athīr reprimanded Abū Ishāq 'despite his greatness' stating that this Tahmīd is suitable for a *kitāb* on theology or philosophy but not for one celebrating the conquest of Baghdād.

والحي الذي لا تحترمه المنون، والقيوم الذي لا تشغله الشؤون، والقدير الذي لا تؤوده المعضلات، والخير الذي لا تعيبه المشكلات،

55. Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi' (4th/10th century), on behalf of al-Muṭī' (d. 363/974), subsequent to the truce achieved between him and one of the kings of Banī Sāsān.

Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 1030).

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الولي بالاستحمام، المستحق لكه الاعتقاد، القدير على تأليف الأجساد، البصير بسبل خفايا الأحقاد، ذي الحكمة في تبديل الضغن والسخيمة ذمة، والمتابذة عصمة، والقطيعة وصلة، والشحناء خلة، والحرج فرجة، والشعث نضارة وبهجة. الذي جعل الصلح فتحاً هنيت، والسلم منجاً بهياً، والمودعة مناً جزيلاً، والإرعاء أمناً جميلاً، والإقالة حرماً لا يضل هداه، ولا تحل قواه، ولا تخيب عواقبه، ولا تخفى مآثره ومناقبه، رافةً منه بالخلق، وصيانة لأهل الحق، وإمهالاً في العهد، ورخصة في الاختصار دون الحد، ليقرب فيئة المتأمل، ويسهل رجعة المتحصل، وتسرع رفاهية المستبصر، ويخف اجتهاد المزاوِل المشر، وقد قال الله عز وجل ﴿والصلح خير﴾ وهو المسؤول عمارة الإسلام بالسلامة، والأنام بالاستقامة، والسلطان بالطاعة، والملك ببخوع الجماعة، حتى تزال الفتنه مهيضة الجناح، مريشة الاجتياح، قليلة الشبابة، قليلة الأدوات، فتكون النفوس واحدة، والأيدي مترافدة، والمودات صافية، والمآرب متكافية متضاهية، في الشكر الذي يذاد به عن النفوس، ويحمى به حريم الدين، ويرجى معه التأيد، ويتغنى بوسيلته المزيد، فقد قال الله وقوله الحق: ﴿لَنُشْكِرَنَّكُمْ لِأَزِيدَنَّكُمْ﴾ والله سميع مجيب. وحسب أمير المؤمنين الله ونعم الوكيل!

56. al-Ṭāi' (d. 381/991), *Tahmīd* of *risālah* to one of his governors after reconciliation between him and emirs in his jurisdiction (4th/10th century).

Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 980).

أما بعد، فالحمد لله ناظم الشمل بعد شتاته، وواصل الجبل بعد بئاته، وجابر الوهن إذا انثلم، وكاشف الخطب إذا أظلم.

57. Al-Ḥākim's *risālah* explaining execution of the vizier (Fatimid) year 309/1000.

Qtd. in Shayyāl (1958, no. 12, pp. 307-310)¹⁰.

مِنْ عَبْدِ اللَّهِ وَوَلِيِّهِ الْمُتَّصِرِ أَبِي عَلِيٍّ، الْإِمَامِ الْحَاكِمِ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ، إِلَى سَائِرِ مَنْ شَهِدَ الصَّلَاةَ الْجَامِعَةَ
فِي سَلَامٍ عَلَيْكُمْ مَعَاشِرَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ الْمُصَلِّينَ فِي يَوْمِنَا هَذَا فِي الْجَوَامِعِ وَسَائِرِ النَّاسِ كَافَّةً أَجْمَعِينَ. فَإِنَّ أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ
يُحْمَدُ إِلَيْكُمْ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ، وَيَسْأَلُهُ أَنْ يُصَلِّيَ عَلَى جَدِّهِ مُحَمَّدٍ خَاتَمِ النَّبِيِّينَ، وَسَيِّدِ الْمُرْسَلِينَ، وَعَلَى
أَهْلِ بَيْتِهِ الطَّاهِرِينَ.

أَمَّا بَعْدُ، فَالْحَمْدُ لِلَّهِ الَّذِي قَالَ—وَقَوْلُهُ الْحَقُّ الْمُبِينُ—﴿لَوْ كَانَ فِيهِمَا آلِهَةٌ إِلَّا اللَّهُ لَفَسَدَتَا، فَسُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ
رَبِّ الْعَرْشِ عَمَّا يَصِفُونَ، لَا يُسَالُ عَمَّا يَفْعَلُ وَهُمْ يُسَالُونَ﴾ (21:22-23). يُحْمَدُهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى مَا أَعْطَاهُ
مِنْ خِلَافَتِهِ، وَجَعَلَ إِلَيْهِ—دُونَ بَرَّتِهِ—مِنَ الْبَسْطِ وَالْقَبْضِ وَالْإِبْرَامِ وَالنَّقْضِ،
رَبِّ الْعَرْشِ عَمَّا يَصِفُونَ، لَا يُسَالُ عَمَّا يَفْعَلُ وَهُمْ يُسَالُونَ. يُحْمَدُهُ أَمِيرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَى مَا أَعْطَاهُ
مِنْ خِلَافَتِهِ، وَجَعَلَ إِلَيْهِ—دُونَ بَرَّتِهِ—مِنَ الْبَسْطِ وَالْقَبْضِ وَالْإِبْرَامِ وَالنَّقْضِ،

58. *Sijillāt Mustanṣiriyyah*, no. 2.

p. 32.

The highlighting shows the maze of pronouns used in this *Tahmīd*. The noun being referred to is the same color as the pronouns referring to it are highlighted. For example Allāh is written in a grey font, while all the pronouns referring to Allāh (*niʿamih*, *ḥamdih* etc.) are highlighted grey. The pronouns in braces are hidden subject pronouns that are explicated for emphasis. (Discussed in chapter-IV, p. 123)

The most striking of these pronouns is the one in turquoise which relates not the Imam to Muhammad, but Muhammad to the Imam, by explicating that it is *his* [the Imam's] grandfather whom God chose for His message.

Key:

Grey: Allāh

Green: Muhammad

Blue: ʿAlī

Red and Green: Muhammad and ʿAlī

Yellow: Imams

¹⁰ Shayyāl cites the famous Egyptian historian al-Maqrizī's *Ittiʿāz* as his source. Shayyāl also presents a historical commentary on the document (pp. 131-135).

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي نعمه لا تحصى عددا، القاصرة القوى دون القيام بحق حمده إلا أن يجعل لها من معونته مددا، المثني على من زكا أصلا بطاعته وطاب مولدا، تلويحا بقوله سبحانه: ﴿وَالْبَلَدُ الطَّيِّبُ يَخْرِجُ نَبَاتَهُ بِإِذْنِ رَبِّهِ وَالَّذِي خَبثَ لَا يَخْرِجُ إِلَّا نَكِدا﴾ (7:58)

يحمد أمير المؤمنين إلهنا واحدا صمدا، اختار {هو} لرسالته جده محمد فأوضح به الهدى جُودا، وشرع لنا من الدين مؤيدا، وشَدَّ {هو} منبه بأخيه علي بن أبي طالب صلى الله عليه عَصْدا، فحل ببيان تأويله من لسانه عقدا، ونسأله أن يصلي علينا صلوات أبدا سرمدا، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين أقامهم {هو} لسماء الدين عمدا، وجعل {هو} في كل عصر منهم وليا مرشدا، صفوة يبيتون لربهم قياما وركعا سجدا،

End-

والحمد لله وصلواته على جدنا محمد خاتم النبيين وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين وسلامه، ﴿وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾،

59. *Sijillāt Mustanşiriyyah*, no. 4.

pp. 38-39.

450H?

مخط اليد الشريفة،

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين،

من عبد الله ووليه، معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى الأمير الأجل الأوحد أمير الأمراء تاج الدولة سيف الإمام المظفر في الدين علي بن محمد الصليحي، نصره الله وأظهره،

سلام عليك، فإن أمير المؤمنين محمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين، ويسلم تسليما،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله فاتح المغالق، وناصر أهل الحقائق، ذي الطول السابق، والوعد الصادق، والمُحل بأسه وسطوته بكل منابذ لأولياته مفارق، وبإغ عليهم منافق، الذي ﴿يَقْدِفُ بِالْحَقِّ عَلَى الْبَاطِلِ فَيَدْمَغُهُ فَإِذَا هُوَ

زاهق ﴿﴾، مدبيل الطاغين، ومزبل العاصين، وولي المؤمنين، وجاعلة ﴿العاقبة للمتقين﴾، القاضي للأئمة من
عتره رسوله عليه السلام بخير ما قضى به لأحد من أهل بيت النبئين، وعتره المرسلين، ومختصه من نعمه بما
يعجز عن وصفه الواصفون، القاتل وقوله الحق ﴿ولقد كتبنا في الزبور من بعد الذكر أن الأرض يرثها عبادي
الصالحون﴾،

يحمده أمير المؤمنين حمد من أجزل لديه صنيعته، وحفظ في آياته الطاهرين وديعته، وأعلى حربه وشيعته،
ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خير رسول نزع بامته من السمات البهيمية، وركبهم في الصور الروحانية،
وتقهم بالاسماع والابصار، وانقذهم وكانوا على شفا حفرة من النار،
صلى الله عليه وعلى أخيه أئمتنا أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب ترجمان تنزيله، وباب حكمته وتأويله،
الكاشف لحقائق الايمان، والقاطع لدابر أهل البغي والعدوان، وعلى الأئمة من أئمة الدين والشهداء
على العالمين، وسلم تسليما،

End-

والحمد لله وصلى الله على جدنا محمد رسوله خاتم النبئين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة
المهادين، ذرية النبوة، وسلم تسليما، حسبي الله ونعم الوكيل،

60. *Sijillāt Mustanṣiriyyah*, no. 5.

pp. 42-43. (455 AH).

بخط اليد الشريفة،

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين،

من عبد الله ووليه، معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى سيف الإمام المظفر في الدين علي
بن محمد الصليحي،

سلام عليك، فإن أمير المؤمنين يحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم
النبئين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، وسلم تسليما،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي أرسل سماء جوده على ساحت أمير المؤمنين مدرارا، وجعل فلکها [ب] يتضاعف عزه وإقباله دوارا، وملأتکها أعوانا لنصره وأنصارا، المنتقم من كل عدو وَلَدَ فَاجِرًا كَفَّارًا، الهاتك ستره وقد هتك لحرمة الصنيعة عنده أسارا، المدير دائرة السوء عليه أن اتخذ دار النبي على مصطنعه دارا، وسأله النعمة أن لم يحسن للمنع بها جوارا، ذلكم الله لا إله غيره ﴿الذي جعل لكم من الشجر الأخضر نارا﴾ (36:80)،

يحمد أمير المؤمنين لها واحدا قهارا، ويشكر له جزيل نعمه إعلانا وإسرارا، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده الذي بعثه من بين الأنام مختارا، محمد الداعي إلى الحق إعدارا وإنذارا، الواضع بهدياته على الخلق اغلالا وآصارا، وعلى وصيه في أمته السامي منارا، وسيف نبوته الماضي غرارا، علي بن أبي طالب العالي شرفا ومقدارا، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الحامين جارا، الزاكن نجارا، الذين جعلهم الله لمساجده غمارا، وبلغهم همهم في ملكوت السماء سفارا،

وقد كان انتهى إليك من حضرة أمير المؤمنين خبر ابن باديس اللعين في التياث أموره لما أصبح جسم طاعته للدولة ملثانا، ...

End-

والحمد لله وحده، وصلى الله على المصطفى محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين المهديين، وسلم تسليمًا، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، ونعم المولى ونعم النصير،

61. *Sijillāt Mustanşiriyyah*, no. 6.

p. 46.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين،

من عبد الله ووليه، معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى الأمير تاج الدولة سيف الإمام المظفر في الدين نظام المؤمنين علي بن محمد الصليحي،

سلام عليك، فإن أمير المؤمنين يحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على عبده (؟) محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين، وسلم تسليمًا،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله باري البرايا، وواهب الجزيل من العطايا، ونحوّل الجليل من النعمى، ومحسن الصنيع في إلهام التقوى، وحفظ نظام الحسنى، لمن ارتضاه لخلافته في الدنيا، وجعل له مقاما كريما في الدار الآخرة، ولأسلافه المنتجبين أهل بيت النبوة والهدى، مدبر الأمور، ومصرف الدهور، ومتمم السرور، لعبده الشكور، ﴿الذي له ملك السموات والأرض يخلق ما يشاء يهب لمن يشاء إناثا ويهب لمن يشاء الذكور﴾ (42:49) حمدا يسمو إلى الأحد الصمد، ويعلو مدى الدهور والأبد، وتزكو به النعمة في العقب والولد، وصلى الله على أكرم مولود، دعا إلى أعظم معبود، نطق بوصفه الكتاب الأمجد، وبشر بولادته من النبيين الأقرب والأبعد، إذ يقول تعالى مخبرا عن بشاره نبيه عيسى ﴿ومبشرا برسول يأتي من بعدي اسمه أحمد﴾، وعلى أطهر الامم فرعا واصلا، وأطيبهم مجدا ونحلا، أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب الجامع لفضائل العلوم والتقوى، القاطع حبله من محبة الدنيا، الآخذ في أموره الحزم والعزم لثواب الدار الآخرة، وعلى البررة من ولده ذرية الإمامة، وفرعها النامية إلى يوم القيامة، صلاة باقية تامة، وسلم وكرم وعظم،

وبعد، فإن المواهب إذا كان لأواخيها من النعم موطدة، وللبانيها من القسم مشيدة، لوحقائق الدين محققة، ...

End-Tahmid

والحمد لله وحده وصلى الله على جدنا محمد نبيه خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين، وسلامه، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، ونعم المولى ونعم النصير،

62. *Sijillāt Mustanşiriyyah*, no. 34.

pp. 106-107. (470 AH)

بخط اليد الشريفة النبوية صلعم،

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، والحمد لله رب العالمين،

من عبد الله ووليه، معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى الملك الأجل الأوحد المنصور العادل المكرم، عمدة الخلافة، تاج الدولة، سيف الامام، المظفر في الدين، نظام المؤمنين، عماد الملة، وغياث الأمة، شرف الايمان، ومؤيد الاسلام، عظيم العرب، سلطان أمير المؤمنين وعميد جيوشه، أبي الحسن احمد بن

الأجل الأوحـد أمير الأمراء، عمدة الخلافة، تاج الدولة، سيف الامام، المظفر في الدين، نظام المؤمنين، أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي الصليحي، ادام الله تمكينه وعلوه، وكبت حسدته وعدوه،

سلام عليك، فإن أمير المؤمنين محمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وصلى الله عليه وعلى آله الطاهرين، وسلم تسليما،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي أرسل بسماء جوده على ساحات أمير المؤمنين مدرارا، وجعل فلـكـها [ب] يتضاعف عزه وإقباله دوارا، وملـكـه أعوانا لنصره وأنصارا، المنتقم بهم من كل عدو ولد فاجرا كفارا، ذلكم الله لا إله غيره ﴿الذي جعل لكم من الشجر الأخضر نارا﴾ (36:80)،

يحمد به أمير المؤمنين إعلانا واسراراً، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده الذي بعثه من بين الأنام مختاراً، محمد الداعي إلى الحق إعدارا وإنذاراً، الواضع بهدايته عن الخلق أغلالاً وآصاراً، وعلى وصيه في أمته والقائم بفرضه وسنته السامي منارا، وسيف نبوته الماضي غواراً، علي بن أبي طالب المعلى شرفاً ومقداراً، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الحامين ذماراً، الزاكن نجاراً، الذين جعلهم الله لمساجده عماراً، وبلطاق همهم في ملكوت السماء سفاراً،

وإن لك من أمير المؤمنين عين عناية تلحظك أبداً وترمقك، ودعوة صالحة يسدك الله بها ويوفقك، . . .

63. *Sijillāt Mustanşiriyyah*, no. 40.

pp. 137-138.

بخط اليد الشريفة النبوية صلعم،

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، والحمد لله رب العالمين،

من عبد الله ووليه، معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى الأمير الأجل المكرم، شرف الأمراء، عز الملك، منجب الدولة وغرسها، ذي السيفين، أبي الحسن احمد بن الأجل الأوحـد أمير الأمراء، عمدة الخلافة، تاج الدولة، سيف الامام، المظفر في الدين، نظام المؤمنين، أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي الصليحي، سلمه الله وحفظه وأعانه ونصره،

سلام عليك، فإن أمير المؤمنين يحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين وسلم تسليما،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي بيده ملكة الإعادة والإبداء، ملحق شهداء المؤمنين برفاق الصديقين والشهداء، ومبوءهم في دار البقاء مقامات السعداء، الذين إذا خاف الناس فهم يأمنون، ويقال لهم يا عبادي لا خوف عليكم ولا أنتم تحزنون،

يحمده أمير المؤمنين على ما ساءه وسره، ويفوض إليه أمره، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده خير من استخلص من العمائر والعشائر، صاحب المآثر والمفاخر، محمد القائل "الدنيا سجن المؤمن وجنة الكافر، وعلى وصيه الرفيع المكانة والرتبة، القائل وقد وقع فيه أشقى الأمة واقع الضربة، "فزت ورب الكعبة"، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته التي أناخت بفنائهم رواحل الحن، واشتفت منهم صدور ذوي الاحن، وما زادهم الا ايمانا وتسليما، وكان فضل الله بهم على عباده عظيما،

وأنه إن مسك في والدك وأخيك رضي الله عنهما وارضاهما قرح فقد مس أمير المؤمنين به قرح مثله، فلم ير غير آي التسليم إلى الله سبحانه، . . .

64. *Sijillāt Mustanṣiriyyah*, no. 43.

pp. 145-146.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

من عبد الله ووليه احمد ابي القاسم الامام المستعلي بالله أمير المؤمنين ابن الامام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى الحرة الملكة السيدة السديدة، المصحلة المكيئة، ذخيرة الدين، عمدة المؤمنين، كهف المستجيبين، ولية أمير المؤمنين، وكافلة أوليائه الميامين، أدام الله تمكينها ونعمتها، وأحسن توفيقها ومعوتها،

سلام عليك، فإن أمير المؤمنين يحمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، صلى الله عليه وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين، وسلم تسليما،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله المتوحد بعلو الشأن، وسمو السلطان، المتعالي في ملكوته عن تحديد المكان، وإدراك العيان، الجزيل عطاؤه قبل وجوب الجزاء، الشديد عقابه بعد تناهي الإملاء، الحكيم العادل، المفرق بين الحق والباطل، جاعل ﴿العاقبة للمتقين﴾، ومحقق دائرة السوء بالمجرمين، وقاصم الطغاة ومذل المتكبرين، ومدير الخلق كلهم أجمعين، الذي كفل لدينه بالإعلاء والتمهيد، وأمد أوليائه بالعصمة والتأييد، وشفع النعم عندهم بالسبوغ والمزيد، وأظهر حججهم وبرهانهم في القريب والبعيد، فما يحجدهم جاحد إلا أذاقه وبال أمره، ولا يعاندهم معاند إلا أحاق به سيء مكروه، ولا يخلع طاعتهم خالع إلا كان صريع بغيه وكفره، ليبين فضل المستبصرين والشاكرين، ويم الشقاء على المبطلين والخاسرين، ويحق الله ﴿الحق بكلماته ويقطع دابر الكافرين﴾،

وصلى الله على من اختصه برسالته، واختاره لوصيته وأمانته، وجعله إماماً لأهل طاعته، وداعياً إلى رضوانه وجنته، ومخذراً من عذابه وسطوته، وابتعثه بشيراً ونذيراً إلى كافة بريته، محمد جدنا خاتم النبيين، وعلى أخيه وأبنينا علي أمير المؤمنين، الذي زعزع الله به قواعد الشرك وأباد بسيفه ذوي الضلال والإفك، واطلع بنصرتهم كواكب الحق، وأظهر بحكمته سرائر التوحيد للخلق، وعلى الأئمة من ذريتهما الناهضين بأثقال الفضل، القائمين بأحكام العدل، مصابيح اليقين، وحجج الله على العالمين، وسلم عليهم أجمعين،

والحمد لله الذي كرم أمير المؤمنين بخلاقته، واسترعاة أمور خلقه وشريعته، وتولاه من نصره وإسعاده، بأحسن ما تولى به الخلفاء الراشدين من آبائه وأجداده، وأجزل حظه من التمكين والتأييد، وقرن آراءه بالأصالة والنجاح فيما يبدئ ويعيد، واتجبه لمنار الإسلام رافعا ومقيما، واختاره لكافة الأنام راعيا وزعيما، وجعل الحق في أيامه مرفوع الاعلام، والباطل مرفوض الاحكام، والملك مسعود الكواكب، منصور الكنائس، والأولياء موسومين بالعزيز الراتب، والأعداء مقصودين بسهام الحوادث والنواب، واليه يرغب أمير المؤمنين في توفيقه لما يسعى له من مصالح العالمين، ويدأب فيه من مرشد الدنيا والدين، وحسب أمير المؤمنين الله ونعم الوكيل،

65. *Sijillāt Mustansiriyyah*, no. 56.

p. 182.

The following Fatimid Tahmīd is presented in a manner that highlights its sight and sound patterns. It boasts a single rhyme throughout the Tahmīd. The rhyme not only binds the Tahmīd together, gluing the different themes and components and presenting an ordered outlook, but the effect of the repeated sound on the mind is hypnotizing. The rhyme becomes almost like a consistent musical drum beat. Through *chance*, this rhyme is able to include a number of duals such as *‘ulwiyy-sufliyy*, *jaliyy-khafiyy*, *insiyy-qudsiyy*, *sa‘īdun taqiyy-ghawiyyun shaqiyy*, insinuating the underlined bipolar perspective of existence.

بخط اليد الشريفة النبوية صلعم،

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، الحمد لله رب العالمين،

من عبد الله ووليه معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى الملك الأجل الأوحد المنصور العادل
المكرم، عمدة الخلافة، تاج الدولة، سيف الإمام المظفر في الدين، نظام المؤمنين، عمدة الملة، وغيث الأمة، شرف
الإيمان ومؤيد الإسلام، عظيم العرب، سلطان أمير المؤمنين وعميد جيوشه، أبي الحسن أحمد بن الأجل الأوحد
أمير الأمراء، عمدة الخلافة، شرف المعالي، تاج الدولة، سيف الامام، المظفر في الدين، نظام المؤمنين، علي بن
محمد الصليحي، أدام الله تمكينه وعلوه، وكبت حسدته وعدوه،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي [من]

صنّاه جَلِيٌّ وَخَفِيٌّ،

وخلّاه غُلُوِيٌّ وَسُفْلِيٌّ،

وهو عن سِمَاتِهَا بَرِيٌّ،

فجميع ما يَلِيْقُ بالمَصْنُوعَاتِ مِنَ الصِّفَاتِ فَهُوَ عَنْ صَانِعِهَا مَنِيٌّ،

يَحْمَدُهُ أميرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ حمدَ مَنْ لَهُ

بِمَجْدِ الْإِمَامَةِ أَفْ حَمِيٌّ،

وَجَنَابٌ مِنْ مَنْصِبِ الْخِلَافَةِ حَمِيٌّ،

وَسَأَلَهُ أَنْ يُصَلِّيَ عَلَى خَيْرِ نَبِيٍّ،

وَجَهَ الْهُدَى بِإِرْسَالِهِ وَضِيٍّ،

وَرَبْعَ التَّقَى بِنُورِ إِرْشَادِهِ مُضِيٍّ،

مُحَمَّدٍ الْمُصْطَفَى الَّذِي جَسَمَهُ إِنْسِيٍّ

وَرُوحَهُ قُدْسِيٍّ،

وَعَلَى وَصِيهِ سَمَاءِ الْحِكْمَةِ الَّتِي كَوَّنَهَا دُرِّيٍّ،

وَأَسَدِ اللَّهِ الَّذِي رَكُنَ الْإِسْلَامَ بِنَاسِهِ قَوِيٍّ،

عَلِيِّ بْنِ أَبِي طَالِبٍ الَّذِي وَلَّيْهِ رَفِيعٌ عَلِيٍّ،

وَعَلَى الْأَثَمَةِ مِنْ أَبْنَائِهِ الَّذِينَ كُلٌّ مِنْهُمْ فِي زَمَانِهِ هَادٍ مَهْدِيٍّ،

وَالْمُهْتَادِي بِهْدَاهُمْ سَعِيدٌ تَقِيٍّ،

وَالْحَائِدُ عَنْ قَصْدِ السَّبِيلِ بِمُخَالَفَتِهِمْ غَوِيٌّ شَقِيٍّ،

66. *Sijillāt Mustanşiriyyah*, no. 58.

pp. 190-191.

من عبد الله ووليه معد أبي تميم الإمام المستنصر بالله أمير المؤمنين، إلى الملك الأجل الأوحد المنصور العادل المحكم، عمدة الخلافة، تاج الدولة، سيف الإمام، المظفر في الدين، نظام المؤمنين، عماد الملة، وغيث الأمة، شرف الإيمان، ومؤيد الإسلام، عظيم العرب، سلطان أمير المؤمنين وعميد جيوشه، أبي الحسن أحمد بن الأجل الأوحد، أمير الأمراء، عمدة الخلافة، شرف

المعالي، تاج الدولة، سيف الإمام، المظفر في الدين، نظام المؤمنين، أبي الحسن علي بن محمد بن علي الصليحي، أدام الله تمكينه وعلوه، وكبت حسدته وعدوه،

سلام عليكم، فإن أمير المؤمنين محمد إليك الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين، وسلم تسليما

(1a) أما بعد، (i) فالحمد لله الذي له ما سكن في الليل والنهار، (ii) جاعل الدنيا دار المزاج جمعا بين الصفو والأكدار، (iii) وتأليفا للأبرار والفجار، (iv) ومداول أيامها بين الأخيار والأشرار، (v) ومستخلص نعيم الدار الأخرى لأولياته الأطهار، (vi) الذين قال سبحانه فيهم ﴿إِنَّا أَخْلَصْنَاهُمْ بِخَالِصَةٍ ذِكْرَى الدار﴾ (38:46)،

(1b) (i) والجرمون عما أعد لهم من أليم العذاب عمون، (ii) فهم في جهلهم وضلالهم يعمهون، (iii) وليوم حياتهم الدنيا يغمنون، (iv) وللحكم بعد الأمل فيما مشتهم أنفسهم يحكمون، (v) قال الله سبحانه في شأن أمثالهم مخاطبا لجدنا محمد، صلى الله عليه وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين بهداهم يهتدي المسلمون، (vi) ﴿ذُرِّهِمْ يَأْكُلُوا وَلِيْلَهُمْ الْأَمَلُ فَسَوْفَ يَعْلَمُونَ﴾ (15:3)،

(2) (i) يحمد أمير المؤمنين أن استخلصه في مغرس الإمامة من أزكى الغراس، (ii) وألبسه من التقوى أضفى اللباس، (iii) وعمر بقيامه بيتا قال الله سبحانه فيه ﴿جَعَلَ اللَّهُ الْكعبةَ الْبَيْتَ الْحَرَامَ قِيَامًا لِلنَّاسِ﴾ (5:97)،

(3) (i) ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد الذي أنزل عليه الفرقان ليكون للعالمين نذرا^(25:1)، (ii) وأيده بأبينا علي بن أبي طالب فأحله منه محل هارون من موسى شريكا ووزيرا، (i) وجعلهما ضياء ونورا، (ii) كما ﴿جَعَلَ الشَّمْسُ ضِيَاءً وَالْقَمَرُ نُورًا﴾ (10:5)،

(4) (i) وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين هم أعلام الساعة، (ii) والأئمة المفترضون الطاعة، (iii) والمتعلقون بولائهم هم أهل السنة والجماعة¹¹،

¹¹ The author of this *sijill* is unknown, however, the style is very similar to that of the Fatimid Dā'ī al-Mu'ayyad fi al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, who was appointed to the *Diwān al-Inshā'* in 443/1051. The *sijill* is dated 468/1076, two years prior to al-Mu'ayyad's death.

67. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī Fatimid Taḥmīd in context of death of al-Mustaʿlī.

Qtd. in al-Qalqashandī (p. 1357).

الحمد لله المتوحد بالبقاء، القاضي على عباده بالفناء، الذي تجدد بالأزل والقدم، وتفرد بالوجود وتنزه عن
العدم، وجعل الموت حتماً مقضياً على جميع الأمم. يحمدُه أمير المؤمنين على ما خصه به من الإقامة التي
قمصه سراها، وورثه فخرها وجمالها، حمد شاكر على جزيل العطية، صابر على جليل الرزية، مسلم إليه
في الحكم والقضية، ويسأله أن يُصليَ على جدِّه محمد الذي ثبَّتْ حُجَّتُهُ، ووضَّحَتْ مَحَجَّتُهُ، وعلَّتْ
كَلِمَتَهُ، واناقتْ على دَرَجِ الأنبياء دَرَجَتَهُ، صلى الله عليه وعلى أخيه وابن عمِّه أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي
طالب الذي جعل الله الإمامة كلمةً في عَقِبِهِ نَاقِيَةً^(43:28)، وَحُبُّهُ جَنَّةٌ يَوْمَ الْفَرَجِ الْأَكْبَرِ وَاقِيَةٌ، وعلى الأئمة من
ذريتهما الطاهرين، صلاة دائمة إلى يوم الدين.

68. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī Fatimid Taḥmīd in context of al-Mustaʿlī's death.

Qtd. in Shayyāl (1958, no. 1, p. 184).

The original source is *Husn al-Muḥāḍarah*, the author of which, al-Suyūṭī, states that it was written by the *kātib* Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (the author of the manual of writing *Qanūn Diwān al-Rasā'il*).

من عبد الله ووليه أبي علي الأمر بأحكام الله أمير المؤمنين ابن الإمام المستعلي بالله، إلى كافة أولياء الدولة
وأمرائها وقوادها وأجنادها ورعاياها، شريفهم ومشروفهم وأمرهم وأمورهم مغربهم ومشرقهم أحرهم
وأسودهم كبيرهم وصغيرهم، بارك الله فيهم،
سلام عليكم، فإن أمير المؤمنين محمد الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد خاتم النبيين،
صلى الله عليه وعلى آله الطيبين الطاهرين، وسلم تسليمًا

(1) أما بعد، فالحمد لله المنفرد بالثبات والدوام، الباقي على تصرم الليالي والأيام، القاضي على أعمار خلقه
بالتقضي والانصرام، الجاعل نقض الأمور معقوداً بكلام الإتمام، جاعل الموت حكماً يستوي فيه جميع الأنام،
ومنهلاً لا يعتصم من ورده كرامة نبي ولا إمام، والقاتل مُعَزِّياً لِنَبِيِّهِ وَلِكَافَةِ أُنْتِهِ ﴿كُلُّ مَنْ عَلَيْهَا فَانٍ، وَيَبْقَى
وَجْهَ رَبِّكَ ذُو الْجَلَالِ وَالْإِكْرَامِ﴾ (55: 26-27)،

(2) الذي استرعى الأئمة هذه الأمة، ولم تحل الأرض من أنواره لطفاً بعباده ونعمة، وجعلهم مصابيح الشبه
إذا غدت داجية مدلهمة، لتضيء للمؤمنين سبل الهداية ولا يكون أمرهم عليهم غمة،

(3) يحمدہ أمير المؤمنين حمد شاکر علی ما نقله فيه من درج الإنافة، ونقله إليه من ميراث الخلافة، صابر علی الرزية التي أطار هجومها الألباب، والفجیعة التي أطار طروقها الأسف والاکتاب،

(4) ويسأله أن يصلي علی جده محمد خاتم أنبيائه، وسيد رسله وأمنائه، ومجلي غياهب الكفر ومكشف عماته، الذي قام بما استودعه الله من أماته، وحمله من أعباء رسالته، ولم يزل هاديا إلى الإيمان، داعيا إلى الرحمن، حتى أذعن المعاندون، وأقر الجاحدون، ﴿وجاء الحق وظهر أمر الله وهم كارهون﴾ (9:48)، فحينئذ أنزل الله عليه إتماما لحكمته التي لا يعترضها المعترضون، ﴿ثم إنكم بعد ذلك لميتون، ثم إنكم يوم القيامة تبعثون﴾ (16-15:23)،

(5) صلى الله عليه وعلى أخيه وابن عمه أبينا أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب، الذي أكرمه الله بالمنزلة العلية، وانتخبه للإمامة رافة بالبرية، وخصه بغوامض علم التنزيل، وجعل له مبرة التعظيم ومزية التفضيل، وقطع بسيفه دابر من زل عن القصد وضل سواء السبيل،

(6) وعلى الأئمة من ذريتهما، العترة الهادية من سلالتهما، آبائنا الأبرار، المصطفين الأخيار، ما تصرف الأقدار، وتوالى الليل والنهار،

69. Fatimid *Tahmīd* Template in context of Imam's death.

Qtd. in Shayyāl (1958, no. 8, pp. 269-272).

Shayyāl quotes it from al-Qalqashandī who presents it as a template for a *kitāb* to be sent following the death of an Imam. Notice that the name of the Imam in the address is simply given as '*fulān b. fulān...*'. Shayyāl speculates that it was written by the *kātib* Abū al-Ḥajjāj Yusuf b. Muhammad b. al-Khilāl in the time of al-Zāfir in the year 544H. Also note that it is addressed to all those who reside in the empire, which suggests that it was surely to be read aloud, and was thus a 'hybrid' document.

من عبد الله ووليه (أبي فلان، فلان بن فلان) الإمام . . . بأمر الله تعالى أمير المؤمنين،

إلى من يضمه نطاق الدولة العلوية من أمرائها وأعيانها وكبرائها وأوليائها، على اتساع شعوبهم، وعساكرها على اختلاف ضروبهم، وقبائل عربها القيسية واليمينية، وكافة من تشمله أقطارها من أجناس الرعية، الأمير منهم والمأمور، والمشهور منهم والمغمور، والأسود والأحمر، والأصغر والأكبر، وفقهم الله وبارك فيهم،

سلام عليكم، فإن أمير المؤمنين يحمد إليكم الله الذي لا إله إلا هو، ويسأله أن يصلي على محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، صلى الله عليه وعلى آله الطاهرين، الأئمة المهديين، وسلم تسليما،

الحمد لله مولي المنّ الجسيم، ومبدي الطول العميم، ومناخ جزيل الأجر بالصبر العظيم، مفيد النعم المستعبة الفنون، ومدني المهج المتعالية لتناول المنون، ومبيد الأعمار ومغنيها، وناشر الأموات ومحييها، والفتاح إذا استغفلت الأبواب، والقاتل ﴿لِكُلِّ أَجَلٍ كِتَابٌ﴾، الذي لا يغير ملكه مرور الغير، ولا يصرف سلطانه تصرف القدر، ولا يدرك قدمه وأزليته ولا ينفذ بقاؤه وسرمديته، مسلم الأنام للحمام، ومصفي الأنفس بههام الاخترام، ومورد البشر من المنية منهلا ما برحوا في رفته يكرعون، ولمره المشرق يتجرعون، ومعزز ذلك بقوله ﴿كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ وَنَبْلُوكُم بِالشَّرِّ وَالْخَيْرِ فِتْنَةٌ وَالْبَاطِلُ تَرْجَعُونَ﴾،

والحمد لله الذي نصب الأنبياء لمراشده أعلاما، وحفظ بيعتهم من الحق والهدى نظاما، وجعل نبوة جدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم لنبواتهم ختامًا، وعضد [هـ] بوصيه أبينا أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب كمالا للدين وإتمامًا، واستخلص من ذريتهما أئمة هادين إتقانًا لصنعيته وإحكامًا، وأقام الحجة على الأمم بأن أقام لكل زمان منهم إمامًا، وعاقب بين أنوار الإمامة فإذا انقبض نور انبسط نور، وتابع ظهور بدوره ليشرق طالع إثر غارب يغور، رحمة شاملة للعالمين، وحكمة تامة حتى يرث الله الأرض ومن عليها وهو خير الوارثين، ولم يحل نبيا مع ما شرفه به من تناول وحيه وتلقيه، ولا عصم إماما مع اختصاصه بفروع منصب الإمامة وترقيه من لقاء المنية، ووداع الأمنية، بل أجل لكل منهم اجلا مكتوبا، وفسح له أمدا محصورا محسوبا، لا يصفه عن رسوله فضيلة، ولا يصل إلى تجاوزه بقوة ولا حيلة، قدرة محكمة الأسباب، وعبرة واضحة لأولي الأبواب، وقضية أوضحها فرقانه الذي أقر بإعجازه الجاحدون، إذ يقول مخاطبا لنبيه ﴿وَمَا جَعَلْنَا لِبَشَرٍ مِنْ قَبْلِكَ الْخُلْدَ أَفَإِنْ مِتَ مِنْهُمْ الْخَالِدُونَ﴾،

والحمد لله الذي منح أمير المؤمنين من خصائص الإمامة وأنوارها، وحاز له من ذخائرها وأودعه من أسرارها، ما خوله فاخر تراثها، وأصار له شرف ميراثها، وجعله القائم بحقه، والمرشد لخلقها، والمأحيي بهداه ليلا من الضلال بهيما، والحاوي بخلافته مجدا لا يزال ثناؤه عظيما، ﴿ذلك الفضل من الله وكفى بالله عليما﴾،

يحمد أمير المؤمنين على أن أوضح بآبائه الأئمة سبل الحقائق، فأصبحوا خلفاء الخالق وأئمة الخلاق وخوله ما اختصهم به من الإمامة، ورفع بهما إلى أشمخ منازل الملا وأرفع مواطن الكرامة، ويستمد شكرا يوازي النعم التي أثبتت له على سرير الخلافة وسرها قدما، وصبرا يوازن الفجيعة القبيحة التي قل لها فيض المدامع دما،

ويسأله أن يصلي على جده محمد الذي فض بجهاذه جموع الإلحاد، وحصد باجتهاده من مال عن الهدى وحاد، وصدع بما أمر به حتى عم التوحيد ودانت لمعجزاته الأمم وقد دعاها وهو المفرد الوحيد، ولم يزل مبالغا في مرضاة ربه، حريضا على إظهار دينه بيده ولسانه وقلبه، حتى استأثر به وقبضه، وبذله من الدنيا شرف جواره وعوضه، وأصاره إليه أفضل نبي بصر وبشر، وأحبا دين الله وأنشر، وعلى أبيه أمير المؤمنين علي ابن أبي طالب إمام الأمة، وأبي الأئمة، وقدوة السعداء، وسيد الشهداء، وعاضد الدين بذوي الفقار، ومن لم يزل الحق إلى ذبه شديد الافتقار، صلى الله عليه وعلى آبائه والأئمة من ذريتهما الذين أيقظوا العقول بإرشادهم من السنة، وأفاضوا من العدل والإحسان ما ألهج بتمجيدهم الألسنة، ...

70. Fatimid *Tahmīd* Template announcing the appointment of a successor.

Qtd. in Shayyāl (1958, no. 10, pp. 285-287).

Shayyāl quotes it from al-Qalqashandī who presents it as a template for a *kitāb* announcing the appointment of a successor. Notice that the name of the Imam in the address is simply given as '*fulān b. fulān...*'. Shayyāl speculates that it was written by the *kātib* al-Qāḍī al-Fāḍil °Abd al-Rahīm b. °Alī al-Baysanī in the time of al-°Adid in the year 560H.

من عبد الله ووليه (أبي فلان، فلان بن فلان) الإمام ... إلى فلان الفلاني،

أما بعد، فالحمد لله الذي استحق الحمد بفضله، وأجرى القضاء، ووسع الجرائم بعفوه وعدله، وصرف المراحم بين قوله وفعله، وأعلى منار الحق وأرشد إلى أهله، واختار الإسلام دينا وعصم المتعلقين بحبله، وأوضح سبل التجارة بما أوضح لسالكيه من سبله، وتعالى علاه إلى الصفات، فلم يوصف بمثل قوله ﴿ليس كمثله﴾ وتنزه عن اشتراك التشبيهات، في كل جليل الوصف مستقلة وغير مستقلة، علم ما اشتملت عليه خطرات الأسرار، وأشارت إليه

نظرات الأبصار، وانفجرت عنه غمرات الأخطار، وأخفته سترات الظلماء وباحت به جهرات الأنوار، ﴿سواء منكم من أسر القول ومن جهر به ومن هو مستخف بالليل وسارب بالنهار﴾،

والحمد لله الذي جعل الدين عنده الإسلام، فمن ابتغى غيره ضل المنهج، وأبعد المعرج، واستلحق المخرج، وغلط المخرج، وفارق النور الأبلج، وركب الطريق الأعوج، وأتى يوم القيامة باللسان الملجلج، ومن أسلم وجهه إليه فاز بالسعي النجيج، وحاز المتجر الربيع، وورد المورد الأحمد، ونعم القصد الأقصد، ووجد الجد الأسعد، وسلك المنهج الأرشد، فهو العروة الوثقى، والطريقة المثلى، والدرجة العليا، وأمر به خير المرسلين، المنعوت في سير الأولين، المبعوث بالحق المبين، والقائم رسولا في الأميين، والهادي إلى الحق وإلى طريق مستقيم، والداعي الذي من أجابه وأمن به غفر له ما تقدم من ذنبه وأجير من عذاب أليم، والمستقل بالعبء العظيم، بفضل ما منح من الخلق العظيم، والممدوح بقوله ﴿لقد جاءكم رسول من أنفسكم عزيز عليه ما عنتم حريص عليكم بالمؤمنين رؤوف رحيم﴾،

والحمد لله الذي وصل النبوة بالإمامة، ﴿وجعلها كلمة باقية في عقبه﴾ إلى يوم القيامة، وخصها بالخصائص التي لا تنبغي إلا لآل الكرامة، وأجار بها خلقه من متآلف الطامة وبوادي الندامة، وهدى بشرق مقامه إلى دار المقامة، واسترد بأنوار تديره من ظلام الباطل الظلامه، وأحسن بما أجراه من نظره النظر للخاصة والعامة ﴿إن هذا هو الفضل المبين﴾،

يحمد أمير المؤمنين أن رفعه إلى ذلك الحل المنيف، واستعمر به المقام الشريف، وأظهر كلمة الدين الحنيف، ونفى عنه تغالي التعمق وتجديف التحريف، وبين بموافقة توفيق هديه طريق التكليف، وأمدّه بمواد إلهية، تشتهر فتستغنى عن التعريف، وتصل فتقطع مواد التكليف،

ويسأله أن يصلى على جده محمد الذي نسخ بشريعته الشرائع، وهذب بهدياته المشاريع، وأيده بالحجج القواطع، والأنوار السواطع، وجعل من ذريته جبال الله القوارع، ومن مشكاته نجوم الهدى الطوالع، وعرفت صنائعه بالله إذا افتخرت المنعمون بالصنائع،

وعلى أخيه وأبنا أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب المخصوص بأخوته، وأبي الثقلين من عترته، والسابق إلى الإسلام فهو بعده أبو عذرته، وإلى تفرج الكرب عن وجهه في الحرب فهو ابن بجدته،

وعلى الأئمة من ذريتهما مصاح الظلمات، ومفاتيح الشكوك المبهمة، والمنوحين من شرف السمات ما جل عن
المسامات، والمدوحين بفضل الجاه في الأرضين والسموات،

71. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *bāb fī al-Taḥmīdāt* in his chancery manual *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (5th/11th century),
(pp. 50-51)

The following Fatimid Taḥmīd is presented in a manner that highlights its sight and sound patterns. It is discussed in chapter-IV (p.131).

[1] الحمد لله العادل حَكْمُهُ،

الواسع جَلْمُهُ،

[2] حَافِظُ أَوْلِيَانِهِ وَعَاصِمُهُم، وَغَالِبُ أَعْدَائِهِ وَقَاصِمُهُم،

وَمُعِزُّ الْحَقِّ وَرَافِعُهُ، وَمُنْزِلُ الْبَاطِلِ وَوَاضِعُهُ،

وَمُظْهِرُ الدِّينِ وَنَاصِرُهُ، وَقَامِعُ الْكُفْرِ وَقَاهِرُهُ،

مُجَلِّ بِأَمْرِهِ بَنَ خَرَجَ عَنْ أَمْرِهِ، وَمُنْزِلُ سَطْوَتِهِ بَيْنَ عِنْدَ عَنْ طَاعَتِهِ،

[3] الَّذِي جَعَلَ النَّاسَ ضُرُوبًا بَيْنَ:

رَشِيدٍ وَغَوِيٍّ،

وَسَعِيدٍ وَشَقِيٍّ،

وَأَرِيبٍ وَغَبِيٍّ،

وَمُطِيعٍ وَعَصِيٍّ،

[4] وَوَفَّى كُلَّ فَرِيقٍ مِنْهُمْ اسْتِحْقَاقَهُ مِنْ نَعِيمِهِ وَعَذَابِهِ،

ثَوَابِهِ وَعِقَابِهِ،

[5] غَيْرَ عَادِلٍ بِهِمْ عَمَّا أَكْسَبُوهُ،

وَلَا نَاقِصٍ لَهُمْ مِمَّا اسْتَوْجَبُوهُ،

وَلَا مَانِعٍ لَهُمْ مَعَ ذَلِكَ مِنْ مُورِدِ عَفْوِهِ،

وَلَا رَادٍّ لَهُمْ عَنْ بَابِ صَفْحِهِ،

[6] مَا لَجَأُوا إِلَى الْإِقْصَارِ،

وَرَجَعُوا عَنِ الْإِصْرَارِ،

وَعَاذُوا بِالْإِسْتِغْفَارِ،

وَأَقْلَعُوا عَنِ التَّمَادِي وَالِاسْتِمْرَارِ.

72. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *bāb fī al-Taḥmīdāt* in his chancery manual *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (5th/11th century),
(p. 56)

الحمد لله الذي جعل أوليائه ظاهرين، وأعداءه داخرين، وحزبه منصورين، وحربه مهزومين، حمداً يكون للحق رافعا، وللباطل قامعا، وللدن حائطا، وللنكر داحضا، حتى تكون راية الاسلام مسجلة، ويده مسئولة، وأعلامه منشورة، ودعائمه مشدودة، ودعوته قائمة، وأحكامه باقية،

73. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *bāb fī al-Taḥmīdāt* in his chancery manual *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (5th/11th century),
(p. 57)

الحمد لله واصل الحبل، وناظم الشمل، وجامع الكلمة، ومنزل الرحمة، الأمر بالأنفة، المانع من الفرقة، الذي أحسن التدبير، وأحكم التقدير، ودعا إلى التبار والتواصل، ونهى عن التعادي والتقاطع.

أحمده على ما أجمل من الصنع، وأجزل من النفع، وأوضح من الطريق، وقبض من التوفيق، وأسبغ من
النعمة، ووهب من العصمة، وصرف من الخيرة، وأزال من الشبهة، حمدا قاضيا للحق، ومؤديا للفرض،
ومدرا للمادة، وموجبا للزيادة،

74. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *bāb fī al-Taḥmīdāt* in his chancery manual *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (5th/11th century),
(p. 57)

Analyzed in Ch.IV (p. 144ff)

[1] الحمد لله جامع الشمل بعد اتشاره،

وجابر العظم بعد انكساره،

وواصل الخبل بعد انقطاعه،

ورافع الخرق بعد اتساعه،

[2] الذي جعل —

أقداره جارية بالصلاح،

وواعدة بالإصلاح،

وآدابه ذاعية إلى الفلاح،

وعائدة بالنجاح،

[3] حمدا ضامنا للقبول،

وبلوغ المأمول،

وكافلا بأدراك الأمر المرصود،

والمرام المقصود،

75. Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *bāb fī al-Taḥmīdāt* in his chancery manual *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (5th/11th century),
(pp. 64-66)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي بعث محمدا رسولا أميناً، ونبياً مبيناً، فدعا إلى معرفته، وحدا على عبادته، وأهاب إلى طاعته، ونهى عن معصيته، وأزال ما كان مستولياً من الشك فيه، وأذل ما كان مستعلياً من الشرك به، ونصر ما كان مغلوباً من الحق بالإعراض عنه، وقهر ما كان قاهراً من الكفر بالإجماع عليه، ثم خلفه من أصحابه المنتجبين المتخيين، زعماء الدين، وأمرء المؤمنين، رحمة الله على السلف الصاحب منهم أجمعين، من أقام معاملته، وثبت دعائمه، واقتفى آثاره، واقتدى آدابه، فلما جرت بعدهم الهبات التي عرض بها التخالف والتنازع، واستمر عنها التجاذب والدفاع، اختلط من الأمر ما كان مضبوطاً، واقترب من الشمل ما كان مجموعاً، وانحل من النظام ما كان محروساً، وحدث من الانتشار ما كان محبوساً، فكشف الله تلك الغمم المطبقات، وصرف تلك الخطوب الطارقات، وسكن تلك الفتن الملتحمت، وأطفأ تلك النواثر المحترقات، بالائمة الراشدين من بني العباس بن عبد المطلب، اعلام الهدى، ومعادن النهى، ومصابيح الدجى، ومقار الحجبى، رضوان الله على أمرء المؤمنين الذين ضموا من الأمر ما كان منتشراً، ودفعوا من الاضطراب ما كان مشتتاً، وسدوا من الثغور ما كان منشغراً، وبردوا من الصدور ما كان متوغراً، ورفعوا من منار الحق ما كان مخفوضاً، وشدوا من مرائر الدين ما كان منقوضاً، وأناروا من سبل العدل ما كان ممتدبهاً، وأزالوا من سنن الظلم ما كان مستحكماً، فأصبحت الدنيا بهم طالعة الشمس، رافعة الرؤوس، غالبة الدهود، غائبة النحوس،

76. *Risālah* written in Damascus following earthquake 12th/18th century.
Qtd. in Taher (1974, p. 61).

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم —وبه نستعين— الحمد لله المنزل إيقاظاً وتكليفاً، ﴿وما نرسل بالآيات إلا تخويفاً﴾، والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد الذي كان بالمؤمنين رؤوفاً، وعلى آله وأصحابه والتابعين وكل من كان حنيفاً،

iii-Tahmīds from Other Sources (*Ummahāt al-kutub*)77. Al-Shāfiʿī, *Risālat al-Shāfiʿī* (early 3rd/9th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الربيع بن سليمان قال : بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أخبرنا أبو عبد الله محمد بن إدريس بن العباس بن عثمان بن شافع بن السائب بن عبید بن عبد يزيد بن هاشم بن المطلب بن عبد مناف المطلبی، ابن عم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم:

الحمد لله الذي خلق السماوات والأرض، وجعل الظلمات والنور، ثم الذين كفروا بربهم يعدلون.

الحمد لله الذي لا يؤدي شكر نعمة من نعمه إلا بنعمة، إلا بنعمة منه، توجب مؤدى ماضي نعمة بأدائها: نعمة حادثة يجب عليها شكره بها، ولا يبلغ الواصفون كنه عظمته، الذي هو كما وصف نفسه، وفوق ما يصفه به خلقه،

أحمده حمداً كما ينبغي لكرم وجهه وعز جلاله، وأسعيتنه استعانة من لا حول له ولا قوة إلا به، واستهديه بهداه الذي لا يضل من أنعم به عليه، وأستغفره لما أزلت وأخرت، استغفار من يقر بعبوديته، ويعلم أنه لا يغفر ذنبه ولا ينجي منه إلا هو.

وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأن محمداً عبده ورسوله، بعثه والناس صنفان: أحدهما: أهل كتاب، بدلوا من أحكامه، وكفروا بالله، فافتعلوا كذباً صاغوه بالسنتهم، فخلطوه بحق الله الذي أنزل إليهم، فذكر تبارك وتعالى لنبيه من كفرهم، فقال ﴿وإن منهم لفرقة يلون بالسنتهم بالكتاب لتحسبوه من الكتاب، وما هو من الكتاب، ويقولون هو من عند الله، وما هو من عند الله ويقولون على الله الكذب وهم يعلمون﴾ ثم قال ﴿فويل للذين يكتبون الكتاب بأيديهم ثم يقولون هذا من عند الله ليشتروا به ثمناً قليلاً، فويل لهم مما كتبت أيديهم، وويل مما يكسبون﴾.

وقال تبارك وتعالى ﴿وقالت اليهود عزيز ابن الله، وقالت النصارى المسيح ابن الله، ذلك قولهم بأفواههم، يضاهئون قول الذين كفروا من قبل قاتلهم الله أنى يؤفكون﴾ ﴿اتخذوا أحيارهم وورهبانهم أرباباً من دون الله والمسيح ابن مريم وما أمروا إلا ليعبدوا لها واحداً لا إله إلا هو سبحانه عما يشركون﴾ وقال تبارك

وتعالى ﴿ألم تر إلى الذين أتوا نصيباً من الكتاب يؤمنون بالجبت والطاغوت ويقولون للذين كفروا هؤلاء أهدى من الذين آمنوا سبيلاً، أولئك الذين لعنهم الله، ومن يلعن الله فلن تجد له نصيراً﴾ وصنّف كفروا بالله فابتدعوا ما لم يأذن به الله، ونصبوا بأيديهم حجارة وخشباً وصوراً استحسنوها، ونبزوا أسماء افتعلوها ودعوا آلهة عبدها فإذا استحسنوا غير ما عبدوا منها آتوه ونصبوا بأيديهم غيره فعبدوه: فأولئك العرب وسلكت طائفة من العجم سبيلهم في هذا وفي عبادة ما استحسنوا من حوتٍ ودايةٍ ونجمٍ ونارٍ وغيره .

فذكر الله لنبية جواباً من جواب بعض من عبد غيره من هذا الصنف، فحكى جل ثناؤه عنهم قولهم ﴿إنا وجدنا آباءنا على أمة وإنا على آثارهم مقتدون﴾ .

وحكى تبارك وتعالى عنهم ﴿لا تذرني آلهكم ولا تذرني وداً ولا سواعاً ولا يغوث ويعوق ونسراً، وقد أضلوا كثيراً﴾ وقال تبارك وتعالى ﴿واذكر في الكتاب إبراهيم إنه كان صديقاً نبياً إذ قال لأبيه يا أبت لم تعبد ما لا يسمع ولا يبصر ولا يغني عنك شيئاً﴾ ،

وقال ﴿واتل عليهم نبأ إبراهيم نياً إبراهيم إذ قال لأبيه وقومه ما تعبدون قالوا نعبد أصناماً فنظل لها عاكفين، قال هل يسمعونكم إذ تدعون أو ينفعونكم أو يضرون﴾ ، وقال في جماعتهم، يذكرهم من نعمه، ويختبرهم ضلالتهم عامةً ومنه على من آمن منهم، ﴿واذكروا نعمة الله عليكم إذ كنتم أعداءً فألف بين قلوبكم فأصبحتم بنعمته إخواناً، وكنتم على شفا حفرة من النار فأنقذكم منها . كذلك يبين الله لكم آياته لعلكم تهتدون﴾ قال فكانوا قبل إيقاظه إياهم بمحمد صلى الله عليه: أهل كفرٍ في تفرقهم واجتماعهم، يجمعهم أعظم الأمور: الكفر بالله، وابتداع ما لم يأذن به الله . تعالى عما يقولون علواً كبيراً، لا إله غيره وسبحانه ومجده رب كل شيء وخالقه، من حي منهم فكما وصف حاله حياً عاملاً قائلاً بسخط ربه، مزداداً من معصيته . ومن مات فكما وصف قوله وعمله، صار إلى عذابه، فلما بلغ الكتاب أجله، فحق قضاء الله بإظهار دينه الذي اصطفى، بعد استعلاء معصيته التي لم يرض فتح أبواب سماواته برحمته، كما لم يزل يجري في سابق علمه عند نزول قضائه في القرون الخالية قضاؤه . فإنه تبارك وتعالى يقول ﴿كان الناس أمةً واحدةً فبعث الله النبيين مبشرين ومنذرين﴾ ، فكان خيرته المصطفى لوحيه، المنتخب لرسالته ، المفضل على جميع خلقه، بفتح رحمته، وختم نبوته، أعم ما أرسل به مرسل قبله، المرفوع ذكره مع ذكره في الأولى، والشافع المشفع في

الأخرى، أفضل خلقه نفساً، وأجمعهم لكل خلقٍ رضيهِ في دينٍ ودنيا، وخيرهم نسباً وداراً: محمداً عبده ورسوله، وعرفنا وخلقه نعمة الخاصة، العامة النفع في الدين والدنيا .

فقال ﴿لقد جاءكم رسول من أنفسكم عزيز عليه ما عنتم حريص عليكم بالمؤمنين رؤوف رحيم﴾ . وقال ﴿لتنذر أم القرى ومن حولها﴾ . وأم القرى: مكة وفيها قومه . وقال ﴿وانذر عشيرتك الأقربين﴾ . وقال ﴿وانه لذكر لك ولقومك، وسوف تسألون﴾ .

78. Ibn Qutaybah, *Adab al-Kātib* (3rd/9th century)[Chancery Manual]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

رب يسر

قال ابو محمد عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة رحمه الله تعالى،

أما بعد حمد الله بجميع محامده، والثناء عليه بما هو أهله، والصلاة على نبيه المصطفى وآله،

فإني رأيت أكثر أهل زماننا هذا عن سبيل الأدب ناكبين، ومن اسمه مطيرين، ولأهله كارهين

79. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II, end-Tahmīd 20th *Risālah* (4th/10th century)
(p.149)

تمت الرسالة، والحمد لله كما هو أهله، وصلى الله على محمد رسول الله وآله الأئمة الطاهرين، وسلم تسليماً وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، نعم المولى ونعم النصير، ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم، تمت رسالة ماهية الطبيعة، وتلوها رسالة اجناس النبات،

80. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II, 28th *Risālah* (4th/10th century)

Nearly all the of the fifty-two *risālahs* that constitute the *Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā'* begin in this manner.

(p.250)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

﴿الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصطفى، الله خير اما يشركون﴾ . اعلم ايها الاخ . . .

81. *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II,
Speech of a *khaṭīb* from Banū al-°Abbās in the Case of Animals against
Humans in the court of the Jinn-28th *Risālah* (4th/10th century)

These are the speeches of the Humans and the Animals presented in from of the King of the Jinns. The animals complained to the king that humans were exploiting them which was unjust. The King summoned speakers from both groups who testified one after the other. Most of the speeches begun with a *Tahmīd*! It is in the *Tahmīd* of the first speech delivered by one of the humans (this *Tahmīd*) that the clue to the resolution of the case resides. Only a selection of the speeches and *Tahmīds* is presented in this appendix. The speakers for the humans include a speaker from the sons of al-°Abbās, a Qurayshite, a °Ibrānī, an Indian, and a Greek among others. The speakers for the animals includes the muel, the cockroach, the parrot, the bees, among others.

(p.263)

فقام الخطيب من الإنس من أولاد العباس ورقى المنبر وخطب الخطبة وقال:

﴿الحمد لله رب العالمين﴾ ، ﴿والعقبة للمتقين﴾ ، و﴿لا عدوان إلا على الظالمين﴾ ، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد خاتم النبيين وإمام المرسلين، وصاحب الشفاعة يوم الدين، وصلوات الله على ملائكة المقرئين، وعلى عباده الصالحين من أهل السموات والأرضيين من المؤمنين والمسلمين، وجعلنا وإياكم منهم برحمته وهو أرحم الراحمين.

الحمد لله الذي ﴿خلق من الماء بشراً﴾ ، فجعله نسباً وصهراً ، وخلق منه زوجة، وبث منهما رجالاً كثيراً ونساءً، وأكرم ذريتهما، وحملهم في البر والبحر، ورزقهم من الطيبات.

قال الله عز وجل: ﴿والأنعام خلقها لكم فيها دَفءٌ ومنافع ومنها تأكلون، ولكم فيها جمال حين تريحون وحين تسرحون﴾ وقال تعالى: ﴿وعليها وعلى الفلك تحملون﴾ وقال: ﴿وتحمل أثقالكم إلى بلد لم تكونوا بالغيه إلا بشق الأنفس، إن ربكم لرؤوفٌ رحيم﴾ وقال: ﴿والخيل والبغال والحمير لتركبوها، وزينة﴾ وقال: ﴿تستووا على ظهوره، ثم تذكروا نعمة ربكم إذا استويتم عليه﴾ وآيات كثيرة في القرآن والتوراة والإنجيل تدل على أنها خلقت لنا ومن أجلنا، وهي عبيدٌ لنا ونحن أربابها، وأستغفر الله لي ولكم،

82. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II,
Speech of the 'baghl' (muel) in the Case of Animals against Humans-28th
Risālah (4th/10th century)
(p.263)

فقام عند ذلك زعيمها وهو البغل

فقال: الحمد لله الواحد الأحد الفرد الصمد القديم السرمد الذي كان قبل الأكوان بلا زمان ولا مكان . ثم قال كُنْ فكان نوراً ساطعاً أظهره من مكنون غيبه . ثم خلق من النور بجراً من النار أجاجاً، وبجراً من الماء رجراجاً، ذا أمواج . ثم خلق من الماء والنار أفلاكاً ذوات أبراج، وشهاباً وهاجاً، والسماء بناها، والأرض دحاها، والجبال أرساها، وجعل أطباق السموات مسكن العليين، وفسحة الأفلاك مسكن الملائكة المقربين، ﴿ والأرض وضعها للأنام ﴾، وهو النبات والحيوان، ثم خلق الجن من نار السموم، وخلق الإنسان من طين، ثم جعل نسله من سلالة من ماء مهين في قرار مكين، وجعل ذريته في الأرض يخلفون ليعمروها ولا يخرّبوها . ويحفظون الحيوانات ويتنعمون بها، ولا يظلمونها ولا يجورون عليها، أستغفر الله لي ولكم . . .

83. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II,
Speech of the 'sarṣar' (cockroach) in the Case of Animals against
Humans-28th *Risālah* (4th/10th century)
(p.288)

فلما رأى الصرصر ما أصاب الثعبان من التحنن والرافة والرحمة على رعيته وجنوده وأعدائه وأبناء جنسه، ارتقى إلى حائط بالقرب منه، وحرك أوتاره، وزمر بمزمارة، وترنم بأصوات وألحان، ونغمة لذيذة بالتحميد لله والتوحيد له، فقال:

الحمد لله نحمده ونستعين ونشكره على نعمائه السابغة والآله الدائمة، فسيحان الله الحنان والمتان والديان؛ سبحان الواحد الأحد، سُبُّوحٌ قُدُّوسٌ، رب الملائكة والروح الحي القيوم، ذو الجلال والإكرام والأسماء العظام، والآيات والبرهان، قبل الأماكن والأزمان، والجواهر وذوات الكيان، لا هواء ولا ماء تحته، محتجباً بنوره، متوحداً بوحدايته وأسرار غيبه، حين لا سماء مبنية، ولا أرض مدحية . فسيحان الظاهر بالنسبة إلى ذاته لكل شيء، والخفي بالنسبة إلى ذاته عن كل شيء، ثم قضى ودبر، وقدر كما شاء قدر، وأراد ثم أبدع نوراً بسيطاً لا من هبولى متهية، ولا من صورة متوهمة، بل بقوله: كن فكان، فهو العقل الفعال ذا العلم والأسرار، خلق الخلاق لا لوحشة كانت وحدته، ولا لاستعانة بها على أمر من أموره، ولكن يفعل ما يشاء، ويحكم ما يريد، لا معقب لحكمه، ولا مرد لقضائه، وهو السريع الحساب،

84. *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II,
Speech of 'hakīm al-jinn (wise-man of the jinn) in the Case of Animals
against Humans-28th Risālah (4th/10th century)
(pp.291-292)

ثم قام حكيم الجن فخطب وحمد الله وأثنى عليه فقال:

الحمد لله خالق المخلوقات، وبارئ المبروات، ومبدع المبدعات، ومخترع المصنوعات، ومقلب الأزمان والدهور والأوقات، ومنشئ
الأملاك والجهات، مدبر الأفلاك، وموكل الأملاك، ورافع السبع السموات، وباسط الأرضين المدحوات من تحت كباقي السموات،
ومصور الخلاق ذوي الأوصاف المختلفة، والألوان واللغات، هو المنعم بأنواع العطايا وفنون الروايات، ﴿خلق فسوى، وقدر
فهدى﴾، وأمات وأحيا. وهو بالنظر الأعلى، وهو القريب البعيد، بعيد من إدراك الحواس المدركات، قريب في الخلوات من ذوي
المناجاة. فسبحان الذي جعل الطيبين للطيبات، وجعل الخبيثين للخبيثات. وسبحان الذي خلق المؤمنين والمؤمنات، وأوجد
المسلمين والمسلمات، وأظهر العابدين والعبادات، وألم القائمين والقائمات، وأعان الصائمين والصائمات، وهدى التائبين والتائبات،
وأنطق الذاكرين والذاكرات، لا تدركه الأبصار، ولا تمتلئه الأخبار. كَلَّتْ ألسن الواصفين له بكنه الصفات، وتحيّرت عقول ذوي
الآبَاب بالفكرة في جلال عظمت، وعز سلطانه، ووضح آياته برهانه. فلا القوة العقلية تدركه، ولا القوة النطقية تصفه. وهو الله
الواحد القهار، العزيز الغفار، الذي خلق الجن قبل آدم من نار السموم أرواحاً خفية، وأشباحاً لطيفة، صوراً عجيبة، وحركات
سريعة، تسبح في الجوكيف تشاء، بلا كدر ولا عناء. وذلك من فضل الله علينا، وهو الذي خلق أصناف الخلاق من الجن والإنس
والملائكة والحوانات البرية والبحرية، أصنافاً مختلفة الأشكال والصور، ورتبها أصنافاً كما شاء. فمنها ما هي مراتبها في أعلى
عليين، وهم الملائكة المقربون، وعبادته المصطفون، خلقهم من نور عرشه فهم حملة. ومنها ما هي في أسفل السافلين، وهم مردة
الشياطين، وإخوانهم من الكافرين والمنافقين والحاسدين والمنكرين لمصنوعاته من الجن والإنس أجمعين. ومنها ما بين ذلك، وهم
عباده الصالحون من المؤمنين والمؤمنات، والمسلمين والمسلمات،

فالحمد لله الذي أكرمنا بالإيمان، وهدانا إلى الإسلام، وجعلنا خلفاء في الأرض كما قال تعالى: ﴿لننظر كيف تعملون﴾.

والحمد لله الذي خص ملكنا بالعلم والحلم والإحسان والعدل والإنصاف، وذلك من فضل الله علينا. فاسمعوا وأطيعوا، إن كنتم
تعقلون. أقول قولي هذا، وأستغفر الله لي ولكم،

85. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II,
Speech of 'al-hindī' (the Indian) in the Case of Animals against Humans-
28th Risālah (4th/10th century)

(p.293)

الحمد لله، الواحد الأحد، الفرد الصمد، القديم السرمد، الذي قبل الدهور والأزمان والجواهر والأكوان. ثم أنشأ بحراً من النور عجاجاً، فركب فيه الأفلاك وأدارها، وصور الكواكب فسيرها، وقسم البروج فأطلعها، ووسط الأرض فأسكنها، وخط الأقاليم، وحفر البحار، وأجرى الأنهار، وأرسى الجبال، وفسح الفلوات، وأخرج النبات، وكَوَّن الحيوان، وخصنا بأوسط البلاد مكاناً، وأعد لها زماناً، حيث يكون الليل والنهار متساويين والشتاء والصيف معتدلين، والحر والبرد غير مُفرطين، وجعل تربة بلادنا أكثر معادن، وأشجارها طيباً، ونباتها أدويةً، وحيوانها قيلةً، ودوحها ساجاً، وقصبها قنباً، وعكرشها خبزاً، وحصاها ياقوتاً وزبرجداً، جعل مبدأ كون آدم، عليه السلام، هناك وهكذا حكم سائر الحيوانات، بدأ كونها تحت خط الاستواء،

86. Ikhwān al-Ṣafā', *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' wa khillān al-wafā'*, vol.II,
Speech of 'al-qurayshī' (the Qurayshite) in the Case of Animals against
Humans-28th Risālah (4th/10th century)

(pp.294-295)

الحمد لله الواحد الصمد، الفرد الذي ﴿لم يلد ولم يولد، ولم يكن له كفواً أحد﴾. ﴿هو الأول والآخر، والظاهر والباطن﴾، الأول بلا ابتداء، والآخر بلا انتهاء، الظاهر على كل شيء قُدرةً وسلطاناً، والباطن في كل شيء علماً ومشيئةً ونفاذاً وإدادةً. وهو العظيم الشأن، والواضح البرهان، الذي كان قبل الأماكن والأزمان والجواهر ذوات الكيان. ثم قال له: كن فيكون، فسوى وقدر، فهدى وهو المنظر الأعلى، الذي رفع السماء بغير عمد، وبنائها و﴿رفع سمكها فسواها، وأغطش ليلها وأخرج ضحاها، والأرض بعد ذلك دحاها، أخرج منها ماءها ومرعاها، والجبال أرساها مآعاً لكم ولأنعامكم﴾. ﴿وما كان معه من إله إذا لذهب كل إله بما خلق ولعلا بعضهم على بعض سبحانه الله عما يصفون﴾، كذب العادلون بالله، وضلوا ضلالاً بعيداً، وخسروا خسراً مُبيناً.

﴿هو الذي أرسل رسوله محمداً بالهدى ودين الحق، ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون﴾، وصلى الله عليه، وعلى آله وأصحابه وعترته، وعلى ملائكته المقربين وأنبيائه المرسلين، وعلى عباده الصالحين من أهل السموات وأهل الأرضين والمسلمين، وجعلنا وإياكم منهم برحمته، إنه أرحم الراحمين.

والحمد لله الذي خصنا بنجى الأديان، وجعلنا من أمة صاحب الفرقان، وأكرمنا بتلاوة القرآن، وصوم شهر رمضان، والطواف حول بيته الحرام والركن والمقام، وأكرمنا بليلة القدر، والعرفات، والزكاة، والطهارة، والصلوات، والجماعات، والأعياد، والمنابر، والخطب، وفقه الدين، وعلم سُنن النبيين، وسيرة الرُبانيين.

وعرفنا أخبار وأحوال الأولين والآخرين، وحساب يوم الدين، ووعدنا ثواب النبيين والشهداء والصالحين في دار النعيم، أبد الآبدين ودهر الدهرين. والحمد لله رب العالمين، وصلى الله على محمد خاتم النبيين، وإمام المرسلين. ولنا فضائل أخرى يطول شرحها، تركنا ذكرها مخافة التويل، وأستغفر الله لي ولكم،

87. Ibn Wahab al-Kātib, *al-Burhān fī Wujūh al-Bayān* (formerly published as *Naqd al-Nathr*) (4th/10th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

رب يسر برحمتك

إن أولى ما أفتح به اللبيب كتابه، وأبدأ به الأديب خطابه ما أفتح الله عز وجل به القرآن، وجعله آخر دعوى أهل الإيمان، والحمد لله شكراً واعترافاً بمنته، وصلى الله على محمد وعترته، والأوصياء من ذريته، أما بعد، فإنك كنت ذكرت لي وقوفك على كتاب الجاحظ الذي سماه كتاب البيان والتبيين...

88. Al-‘Askarī, Abū Hilāl al-Hasan b. ‘Abd-Allāh, *Kitāb al-sinā‘atayn al-kitābah wa al-shi‘r* (4th/10th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله ولي كل نعمة، وصلواته على نبيه الهادي من كل ضلالة، وعلى آله المنتجبين الأخيار، وعترته المصطفين الأبرار، قال أبو هلال...

89. Al-Ṣūfī, Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā *Adab al-kuttāb* (4th/10th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه الاعانة،

الحمد لله الذي علمنا الحمد وهدانا له، واثابنا عليه، وجعله مادة لزيادته، ووسيلة اليه في عفوه ورحمته، وصلى الله على محمد عبده ورسوله، وحبيبه وخيرته من خلقه، وأمينه على وحيه، وعلى آله الفاضلين عملا، الطيبين نسبا، المختارين أما وأبا، وسلم كثيرا،

هذا كتاب ألفناه فيما يحتاج اليه أعلى الكتاب درجة، وأقلهم فيه منزلة، وجعلته جامعا لكل ما يحتاج الكاتب اليه، حتى لا يعول في جميعه الا عليه، . . .

90. Al-Khawārizmī, *Kitāb al-Jabr wa al-Muqābalah* (4th/10th century)
[algebra]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا كتاب وضعه محمد بن موسى الخوارزمي، افتتحه بأن قال:

الحمد لله على نعمه بما هو أهله من محامده التي بأداء ما افترض منها على من يعبد من خلقه يقع اسم الشكر ويستوجب المزيد ويؤمن؟ من الغير اقرارا برؤيته، وتذلا لعزته، وخشوعا لعظمته. بعث محمدا صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم بالنبوة على فترة من الرسل، وتكر من الحق ودروس من الهدى فبصر به من العمى واستنقذ به من الهلكة، وكثر بعد القلة، وألف به بعد الشتات. تبارك الله ربنا وتعالى جده، وتقديست اسماءه، ولا إله غيره، وصلى الله على محمد النبي وآله وسلم.

91. Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh al-Ṭabarī*, (4th/10th century) [history]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خطبة الكتاب

الحمد لله الأول قبل كل أول، والآخر بعد كل آخر، والدائم بلا زوال، والقائم على كل شيء بغير انتقال، والخالق خلقه من غير أصل ولا مثال، وهو الفرد الواحد من غير عدد، وهو الباقي بعد كل أحد، إلى غير

نهاية ولا أمد، له الكبرياء والعظمة، والبهاء والعزة، والسلطان والقدرة، تعالى عن أن يكون له شريك في سلطانه أو في وحدانيته نديد، أو في تديره معين أو ظهير، أو أن يكون له ولد، أو صاحبة أو كء أحد، لا تحيط به الأوهام، ولا تحويه الأقطار، و﴿لا تدركه الأبصار، وهو يدرك الأبصار، وهو اللطيف الخبير﴾.

أحمد على آلائه، وأشكره على نعمائه، حمد من أفرد بالحمد، وشكر من رجا بالشكر منه المزيد وأستهديه من القول والعمل لما يقربني منه ويرضيه، وأؤمن به إيمان مخلص له التوحيد، ومفرد له التمجيد.

وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، وأشهد أن محمدا عبده النجيب، ورسوله الأمين، اصطفاه لرسالته، وابتعثه بوحيه، داعيا خلقه إلى عبادته، فصعد بأمره، وجاهد في سبيله، ونصح لأمة، وعبده حتى أتاه اليقين من عنده، غير مقصر في بلاغ، ولا وان في جهاد، صلى الله عليه أفضل صلاة وأزكاها، وسلم.

أما بعد، فإن الله جل جلاله وتقدست أسماؤه، خلق خلقه من غير ضروره كانت به إلى خلقهم، وأنشأهم من غير حاجة كانت به إلى إنشائهم، بل خلق من خصه منهم بأمره ونهيه، وامتنحه لعبادته...

92. Al-Shaykh al-Şudūq Abī Jaʿfar Muhammad b. ʿAlī b. al-Husayn b. Babawayh al-Qummī, *Man lā yaḥḍuruhū al-faqīh* (4th/10th century) [jurisprudence/twelve Shiite]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خطبة الكتاب

اللهم إني أحمدك، وأشكرك، وأومن بك، وأتوكل عليك، وأقر بذنبي إليك وأشهدك أنني مقر بوحدانيتك، ومنزهك عما لا يليق بذاتك مما نسبك إليه من شبهك، وألحد فيك وأقول: إنك عدل فيما قضيت، حكيم فيما أمضيت لطيف لما شئت لم تخلق عبادك لفاقة، ولا كلفتهم إلا دون الطاقة، وإنك ابتدأتهم بالنعيم رحما، وعرضتهم للاستحقاق حكما، فأكملت لكل مكلف عقله، وأوضحت له سبيله ولم تكلف مع عدم الجوارح مالا يبلغ إلا بها، ولا مع عدم المخبر الصادق مالا يدرك إلا به.

فبعثت رسلك مبشرين ومنذرين، وأمرتهم بنصب حجج معصومين، يدعون إلى سبيلك بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة، لئلا يكون للناس عليك حجة بعدهم، وليهلك من هلك عن بينة ويحيى من حي عن بينة، فعضمت

بذلك منتك على برتك، وأوجبت عليهم حمدك، فلك الحمد عدد ما أحصى كتابك، وأحاط به علمك،
وتعاليت عما يقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا

93. Al-Ṣābi', Hilāl, *Ghurar al-Balāghah* (5th/11th century), [chancery manual]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الأول بلا ابتداء، الآخر بلا انتهاء، الخالد بلا انقضاء، الخالق بلا اقتداء، الباري من غير اقتفاء
لصانع، الباني من غير احتذاء لواضع، الذي أعطى الإنسان بفضيلة النطق، مزية السبق، وأوجب له
بشهادة العلم، قضية الحكم، وجعل له من العقل الصحيح، واللسان الفصيح، منبأ عن نفسه، ومخبرا
عما وراء شخصه، فاضحى بذلك قويا على استنباط المستنبطات، واتهاج الطرقات الواضحات،
واذخار الباقيات الصالحات، فخلد من ذكره ما لم يخلد من جسمه، وبقي من اسمه ما لم يبق من عينه،
إظهارا من الله تعالى فيه لقدرته القاهرة، وحكمته الباهرة، وإتماما لكلمته البالغة، ونعمته السابغة،
ومميزا لهذا التركيب الواهي الضعيف، بالحل السامي المتين، وإحسانا إليه، بأفضل ما استحق الشكر
عليه، تبارك الله ذو العرش العظيم، والفعل الكريم، وصلى الله على أطيب البرية محمدا، وأظهرهم مولدا،
وأصلبهم معجما، وأظهرهم معجرا، محمد ذي الخلاق العظيمة، والطرائق القويمة، والمسالك النقية،
والصحاف النقية، الذي أمرنا بإقتفاء سنته، وإتباع سنته، وقبول وصاته، والصلاة عليه في حياته ومماته.
فَقَالَ تَعَالَى ﴿ مَا آتَاكُمْ الرَّسُولُ فَخُذُوهُ وَمَا نَهَاكُمْ عَنْهُ فَانْتَهُوا ﴾ . ثُمَّ قَالَ ﴿ إِنَّ اللَّهَ وَمَلَائِكَتَهُ يُصَلُّونَ عَلَى
النَّبِيِّ يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا صَلُّوا عَلَيْهِ وَسَلِّمُوا تَسْلِيمًا ﴾ .

94. Al-Ṣābi', Hilāl, *Rusūm Dār al-Khilāfah* (5th/11th century), [chancery manual]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

بعد حمد الله الذي به ترعى النعمة وتسبى، وتبغى الرحمة وتسدعى، ويؤدى الحق ويقضى، ويمتري المريد
ويستقضى، والصلاة على محمد رسوله بإخلاص من السرائر، واستغراق الاجتهاد في الابتهاال، والدعاء

للموقف الاعظم النبوي، والمقام الاظهر الزكي، باطالة البقاء، وادامة العلاء، وأكبار القدر، واغزار النصر،
وحراسة الحوزة، وحياطة الدعوة، وتثبيت الوطأة، وتوطيد الدولة، . . .

95. Al-Ṣābi', Hilāl, *al-Wuzarā'* (5th/11th century),
[chancery manual]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

أما بعد، فإن أول ما افتتح به القول فأفلحت مصادره، وأعمل به النطق فأنجحت مقاصده، وتوخي به الخير
فأصاب مواضعه، وتزجى فيه الحظ فأرجمت بضائعه، حمد الله ذي الحول القاهر، والطول الباهر، والنعمة
السابقة، والحجة البالغة، الذي ابتدأ الصنعة وأحكمها، وابتدع الحكمة وعلمها، وخص الإنسان منها بما
عرف به مسالك حظه ورشده، ومواقع خيره وشره، فصار معه محجوباً في أسباب فعله، ومحجوباً عن البواب
عذره، مخيراً في مجاري سعيه، ومخلي مع دواعي نفسه،

وصلى الله على من اصطفى من خلقه، وارضى لإقامة حقه، محمد ذي الأصل الشامخ، والفخر الباذخ،
والقول الناصح، والعمل الصالح، الذي هدانا من الضلالة بما أوردنا من الدلالة، وأنقذنا من الجهالة بما بلغنا من
الرسالة، فقال له ربه تبارك وتعالى اسمه، ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا النَّبِيُّ إِنَّا أَرْسَلْنَا شَاهِدًا وَمُبَشِّرًا وَنَذِيرًا، وداعياً إلى الله
وسراجاً منيراً﴾

ولما رأيت المتقدمين من أهل المعرفة قد أشركوا من بعدهم فيما وصلوا إليه من الفائدة بعلوم أدركوها
قبلهم . . .

96. Al-Iṣfahānī, *Hilyat al-Awliyā' wa Ṭabaqāt al-Aṣfiyā'*, (5th/11th century),
[history/biography]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الشيخ الامام الحافظ أبو نعيم أحمد بن عبد الله بن أحمد بن اسحاق ابن موسى بن مهران الأصبهاني
رحمه الله:

الحمد لله محدث الأكوان والأعيان، ومبدع الأركان والأزمان، ومنشئ الأبواب والأبدان، ومنتخب الأحباب والخلان، منور أسرار الأبرار بما أودعها من البراهين والعرفان، ومكدر جنات الأشرار بما حرمهم من البصيرة والإيقان، المعبر عن معرفته المنطق واللسان، والمترجم عن براهينه الأكف والبنان، بالموافق للنزول والفرقان، والمطابق للدليل والبيان، فالزم بالحجة بالقادة من المرسلين، وأبهج المنهج بالسادة من المحققين، الذين جعلهم خلفاء الأنبياء، وعرفاء الأصفياء، المقربين إلى الرتب الرفيعة، والمنزهين عن النسب الوضيعة، والمؤيدين بالمعرفة والتحقيق، والمقومين بالمطابقة والتصديق، معرفة تعقب معرفتهم موافقة، وتوجب لحكم نفوسهم مفارقة، وتلزم لخدمة مشهودهم معاقبة، وتحقق لشرقة رسولهم مرافقة.

والصلاة على من عنه بلغ وشرع، وبأمره قام وصدع، ولتبعية غرس وزرع، محمد المصطفى المصطنع، وعلى إخوانه من النبيين والمرسلين، وعلى آله وصحابة المنتخبين وسلم.

أما بعد، أحسن الله توفيقك فقد استعنت بالله عزوجل وأجبتك الى ما ابتغيت من جمع كتاب يتضمن أسامي جماعة وبعض أحاديثهم وكلامهم...

97. Al-Ma'arri, *Risālat al-Ghufrān* (5th/11th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

استفتاحاً باسمه، واستنتاجاً ببركته

والحمد لله المبتدئ بالنعم، المنفرد بالقدم، الذي جل عن شبه المخلوقين، وصفات الحداث، ولي الحسنات، المبرء من السيئات، العادل في أفعاله، الصادق في أقواله، خالق الخلق ومبديه، ومبقيه ما شاء ومفنيه،

وصلواته على محمد وأبرار عترته وأهليه، صلاة ترضيه، وتقربه وتدنيه، وتزلفه وتحظيه، كتابه، أطال الله بقاء مولاي الشيخ الجليل، ومد مدته، وأدام كفايته وسعادته، وجعلني فداءه، وقدمني قبله على الصحة والحقيقة، وبعد القصد والعقيدة، وليس على مجاز اللفظ ومجري الكتابة، ولا على تنقص وخلاصة، وتحجب ومساحة...

98. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Qānūn Diwān al-Rasā'il* (6th/12th century)[chancery manual]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق الانسان ابتداء منه بالاحسان اليه، وبصره مراشده تميما للنعمة عليه، وعلمه البيان ليهدي به الى طريق الصواب، وأرسل اليه الرسل بالاعذار والانتذار لتكون الحجة عليه مكملّة الايجاب، وتكفل له بادار الارزاق، وأتاه من فوق الاستحقاق، ووعدّه عن الحسنى بعشر توسعا في الفضل، وتوعدّه عن السيئة مثالا بمثل،

وصلى الله على أفضل الانبياء دينا وملة، وخيرهم شريعة وقبله، محمد خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، الذي ابتعثه الى الناس اجمعين، وخصه باللسان العربي المبين، ومنحه القرآن الذي دحض به صاحته حجج المضلين، وأخضع ببلاغته أروس المشركين، وأظهر له بعجزهم عنه فضلا كبيرا، وتحداهم به فقال ﴿لئن اجتمعت الانس والجن على ان يأتوا بمثل هذا القرآن لا يأتون بمثله ولو كان بعضهم لبعض ظهيرا﴾، وعلى أخيه وابن عمه أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب الذي كان له أخا ووزيرا، ومعينا في الشدائد وظهيرا، وحل من الاختصاص بشرف الامامة محلا نفيسا، وقال فيه رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله "انت مني بمنزلة هرون من موسى"، وعلى الأئمة من ذريتهما الاطهار، المعصومين من المآثم والاوزار، النافع ولاؤهم يوم تمنى الجنة ويفرق من النار، الذي لا تخلو الدنيا منهم طرفة عين، ولا ينكر فضلهم الا من رغب عن الصدق الى المين، وسلم عليهم أجمعين تسليما، وزادهم الى يوم القيامة تشريفا وتعظيما،

99. Ibn al-Ṣayrafī, *Lumaḥ al-mulaḥ in al-Afdaliyyāt* (6th/12th century)[chancery manual]

(p. 101)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي كسب على نفسه الرحمة لأهل طاعته، وفرض الزلفة لمن أنضى فيها مطايا استطاعته، ووسع طرق الاعمال فيما يجازي عليه بالحسنى، ووفق المخلصين لما يتألون به شرف الحظ الأسنى، وأيدهم بروح منه، فوجب لهم الاجر الكريم، ووعدهم خلود جنات لهم فيها نعيم مقيم، ﴿فضلا من الله ونعمة والله عليم حكيم﴾،

وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد نبيه الذي أيده بعزیز نصره، واختصه من الفضل بما يعجز ذوو العقول عن حصره، وأبان باصطفائه إياه عن رفيع منزلته وشرف قدره، وجعله رحيمًا بالمؤمنين، رؤوفًا بالمستضعفين، وناهيا عن القنوط للجائنين على أنفسهم والمسرفين، فقال تعالى على ما نطق به كتابه الكريم، ﴿**قل يا عبادي الذين اسرفوا على أنفسهم لا تقنطوا من رحمة الله إن الله يغفر الذنوب جميعا إنه هو الغفور الرحيم**﴾،

وعلى اخيه وابن عمه امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب المشهور بالشرف الخالص، والحبو بالمآثر والخصائص، والجموع فيه ما تفرق في غيره من الفضائل الجمّة، والمنصوص على علمه بما جاء في الحديث من كونه اقضى هذه الأمة،

وعلى آلهما الأئمة الاطهار، الذين تجلت بأضوائهم ظلم الشكوك، ووضحت حجّتهم بهم حجة كفاتهم من العظماء والملوك، وسلم ومجد، وأجرى على افضل ما عوّد، والحمد لله الذي اطلع من ملوك الارض شموسا لا تتم المصلحة الا بهم، وحفظ اسلافهم مذ تنقلوا انوارا في ظهورهم واصلاهم، وارشد بهم من الضلالة، وجعل آيتهم مبصرة، ووضح المعذرة لمن كانت قوته في صفاتهم مقصرة، وحض على طاعتهم شعوب الامم وفرقهم، وفضلهم على كثرة بريته ولذلك خلقهم، وجعل هذا العصر مخصوصا بارفعهم لديه رتبة، وواجههم عنده قرينة، وأكثرهم عادة في المراحم ودربة، والمجئى لحياطة الامّة، فكّم كشف غمة، وفرج كربة، مولانا الملك السيد الاجل الافضل امير الجيوش سيف الاسلام...

100. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—*khutbat al-kitāb*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أحيا علوم الدين فأينعت بعد اضمحلالها، وأعيا فهم الملحدّين عن دركها فرجعت بكلالها، أحمده وأسكنين له من مظالم أنقضت الظهور بأنقالها، وأعبدته وأسعين به لعصام الأمور وعضالها، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادة وافية بحصول الدرجات وظلالها، واقية من حلول الدركات وأهوالها، وأشهد أن محمدا عبده ورسوله الذي أطلع به فجر الإيمان من ظلمة القلوب وضلالها،

وأسمع به وقر الآذان وجلا به رين القلوب بصقائها، صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم صلاة لا قاطع لاتصالها،

وبعد، فلما وفق الله تعالى لإكمال الكلام على أحاديث "إحياء علوم الدين" في سنة إحدى وخمسين تعذر الوقوف على بعض أحاديثه فأخرت تبليغه إلى سنة ستين، فظفرت بكثير مما عزب عني علمه، ثم شرعت في تبليغه في مصنف متوسط حجمه وأنا مع ذلك متباطئ في إكماله... ولكني اختصرته في غاية الاختصار ليسهل تحصيله وحمله في الأسفار... وسميته: المغني عن حمل الأسفار في الأسفار: في تخرج ما في الإحياء من الأخبار(?)

101. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on 'al-qawā'id wa al-'aqā'id'
(p.96)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

فنقول وبالله التوفيق: الحمد لله المبدئ المعيد الفعال لما يريد ذي العرش المجيد والبطش الشديد الهادي صفوة العبيد إلى المنهج الرشيد والمسلك السديد المنعم عليهم بعد شهادة التوحيد بجراحة عقائدهم عن ظلمات التشكيك والترديد السالك بهم إلى اتباع رسوله المصطفى واقتفاء آثار صحبه الأكرمين المكرمين بالتأييد والتسديد المتجلي لهم في ذاته وأفعاله بمحاسن أوصافه التي لا يدركها إلا من ألقى السمع وهو شهيد المعروف إياهم أنه في ذاته واحد لا شريك له فرد لا مثل له صمد لا ضد له منفرد لا ند له وأنه واحد قديم لا أول له أزلي لا بداية له مستمر الوجود لا آخر له أبدي لا نهاية له قيوم لا انقطاع له لم يزل ولا يزال موصوفاً بنعوت الجلال لا يقضى عليه بالانقضاء والانفصال بتصرم الآباد واقتراض الآجال بل ﴿هو الأول والآخر والظاهر والباطن وهو بكل شيء عليم﴾.

102. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on 'asrār al-tahārah'
(p.136)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي تلتطف بعباده فتعبدهم بالنظافة، وأفاض على قلوبهم تزكية لسرائرهم أنواره وألطافه، وأعد لظواهرهم تطهيراً لها الماء المخصوص بالركة واللطافة، وصلى الله على النبي محمد المستغرق بنور الهدى أطراف العالم وأكفافه، وعلى آله الطيبين الطاهرين صلاة تنجيننا بركاتها يوم المخافة، وتتنصب جنة بيننا وبين كل آفة. أما بعد. فقد قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم "بني الدين على النظافة" وقال صلى الله عليه وسلم "مفتاح الصلاة الطهور" وقال الله تعالى ﴿فِيهِ رَجَالٌ يُحِبُّونَ أَنْ يَتَطَهَّرُوا وَاللَّهُ يُحِبُّ الْمُطَهَّرِينَ﴾ وقال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم "الطهور نصف الإيمان" وقال الله تعالى ﴿مَا يَرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيَجْعَلَ عَلَيْكُمْ مِنْ حَرَجٍ وَلَكِنْ يُرِيدُ لِيُطَهِّرَكُمْ﴾.

103. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on 'asrār al-salāt'
(p.155)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي غمر العباد بلطائفه، وعمر قلوبهم بأنوار الدين ووظائفه التي تنزل عن عرش الجلال إلى السماء الدنيا من درجات الرحمة إحدى عواطفه فارق الملوك مع التفرد بالجلال والكبرياء بترغيب الخلق في السؤال والدعاء فقال: هل من داع فاستجب له وهل من مستغفر فأغفر له؟ وبأين السلاطين بفتح الباب، ورفع الحجاب فرخص للعباد في المناجاة بالصلوات كيفما تقلبت بهم الحالات في الجماعات والخلوات ولم يقتصر على الرخصة بل تلتطف بالترغيب والدعوة وغيره من ضعفاء الملوك لا يسمح بالخلوة إلا بعد تقديم الهدية والرشوة فدبحجانه ما أعظم شأنه وأقوى سلطانه، وأتم لطفه، وأعم إحسانه؛ والصلاة على محمد نبيه المصطفى ووليه المجتبي وعلى آله وأصحابه مفاتيح الهدى ومصابيح الدجى وسلم تسليماً. أما بعد: فإن الصلاة عماد الدين، وعصام اليقين،

104. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*asrār al-zakāt*'
(p.217)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أسعد وأشقى وأمات وأحيا وأضحك وأبكى وأوجد وأفنى وأفقر وأغنى وأضر وأقنى الذي خلق الحيوان من نقطة تمني، ثم تفرد عن الخلق بوصف الغنى، ثم خصص بعض عبادته بالحسنى فأفاض عليهم من نعمه ما أيسر به من شاء واستغنى وأحود إليه من أخفق في رزقه وأكدى إظهاراً للامتحان والابتلاء. ثم جعل الزكاة للدين أساساً ومبنى وبين أن بفضلته تركى من عبادته من تركى ومن غناه زكى ماله من زكى والصلاة على محمد المصطفى سيد الورى وشمس الهدى وعلى آله واصحابه المخصوصين بالعلم والتقوى،

105. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*asrār al-sawm*'
(p.242)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أعظم على عبادته المنه، بما دفع عنهم كيد الشيطان وفنه، ورد أمله وخيب ظنه، إذ جعل الصوم حصناً لأولياته وجنة، وفتح لهم به أبواب الجنة، وعرفهم أن وسيلة الشيطان إلى قلوبهم الشهوات المستكنة، وإن بقمعها تصبح النفس مطمئنة ظاهرة الشوكة في قصم خصمها قوية المنه، والصلاة على محمد قائد الخلق ومهد السنة وعلى آله وأصحابه ذوي الأبصار الثاقبة والعقول المرحجة وسلم تسليماً كثيراً،

106. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*asrār al-hajj*'
(p.249)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل كلمة التوحيد لعباده حرزاً وحصناً. وجعل البيت العتيق مثابة للناس وأمناً، وأكرمه بالنسبة إلى نفسه تشريفاً وتحصيناً ومناً، وجعل زيارته والطواف به حجاباً بين العبد وبين العذاب ومجناً، والصلاة على محمد نبي الرحمة وسيد الأمة وعلى آله وصحبه قادة الحق وسادة الخلق وسلم تسليماً كثيراً.

أما بعد: فإن الحج من بين أركان الإسلام ومبانيه عبادة العمر وختام الأمر وتمام الإسلام وكمال الدين. فيه أنزل الله عز وجل ﴿اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الإسلام ديناً﴾،

107. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*al-adhkār wa al-dā'awāt*'
(p.304)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الشاملة رآته العامة رحمته الذي جازى عباده عن ذكرهم بذكرهم فقال تعالى ﴿فاذكروني أذكركم﴾ ورغبهم في السؤال والدعاء بأمره فقال ﴿ادعوني أستجب لكم﴾ فاطمع المطيع والعاصي والداني والفاصي في الانبساط إلى حضرة جلاله برفع الحاجات والأمانى بقوله ﴿فإني قريب أجيب دعوة الداع إذا دعان﴾ والصلاة على محمد سيد أنبيائه وعلى آله وأصحابه خيرة أصفياه وسلم تسليمًا كثيرًا.

108. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*tafsīl al-awrād wa tartīb iḥyā' al-layl*'
(p.331)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

نحمد الله على آلائه حمداً كثيراً ونذكره ذكراً لا يغادر في القلب استكباراً ولا نفوراً، ونشكره إذ جعل الليل والنهار ﴿خلفه لمن أراد أن يذكر أو أراد شكوراً﴾، ونصلي على نبيه الذي بعثه بالحق بشيراً ونذيراً وعلى آله الطاهرين وصحبه الأكرمين الذين اجتهدوا في عبادة الله غدوة وعشيًا وبكرة وأصيلاً حتى أصبح كل واحد منهم نجماً في الدين هادياً وسراجاً منيراً،

109. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on 'ādāb al-akl'
(p.361)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أحسن تدبير الكائنات، فخلق الأرض والسموات. وأنزل الماء الفرات من المعصرات، فأخرج به الحبيب والنبات. والصلاة على محمد ذي المعجزات الباهرات، وعلى آله وأصحابه صلاة تتوالى على مر الأوقات وتتضاعف بتعاقب الساعات، وسلم تسليماً كثيراً،

110. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on 'ādāb al-nikāḥ'
(p.376)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي لا تصادف سهام الأوهام في عجائب صنعه مجرى ولا ترجع العقول عن أوائل بدائعها إلا والهة حيرى ولا تزال لطائف نعمه على العالمين تترى فهي تتوالى عليهم اختياراً وقهراً. ومن بدائع لطائفه أن ﴿خلق من الماء بشراً فجعله نسباً وصهراً﴾ وسلط على الخلق شهوة اضطهرهم بها الحرائة جبراً واستبقى بها نسلهم إقهاراً وقسراً. ثم عظم أمر الأنساب وجعل لها قدراً فحرم بسببها السفاح وبالغ في تقييده ردعاً وزجراً وجعل افتحامه جريمة فاحشة وأمر إمرأاً، وندب إلى النكاح وحث عليه استحباباً وأمرأاً. فسبحان من كتب الموت على عباده فأذلهم به هدماً وكسراً ثم بث بذور النطف في أراضى الأرحام وأنشأ منها خلقاً وجعله لكسر الموت جبراً تنبيهاً على أن مجار المقادير فياضة على العالمين نفعا وضراً وخيراً وشرّاً وعسراً ويسراً وطيباً ونشراً والصلاة والسلام على محمد المبعوث بالإنذار والبشرى وعلى آله وأصحابه صلاة لا يستطيع لها الحساب عدداً ولا حصراً وسلم تسليماً كثيراً،

111. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*ādāb al-nikāh*'
(p.376)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

عن أوائل بدائعها إلا والهة حيرى ولا تزال لطائف نعمه على العالمين تترى فهي تتوالى عليهم اختياراً وقهراً. ومن بدائع أطافه أن خلق من الماء بشراً فجعله نسباً وصهراً وسلط على الخلق شهوة اضطهرهم بها الحراثة جبراً واستبقى بها نسلهم إقهاراً وقسراً. ثم عظم أمر الأنساب وجعل لها قدراً فحرم بسببها السفاح وبالغ في تقييده ردعاً وزجراً وجعل اقتحامه جريمة فاحشة وأمر إمرأاً، وندب إلى النكاح وحث عليه استحباباً وأمرأاً. فسيحان من كتب الموت على عباده فأذلهم به هدماً وكسراً ثم بث بذور النطف في أراضي الأرحام وأنشأ منها خلقاً وجعله لكسر الموت جبراً تنبيهاً على أن بحار المقادير فياضة على العالمين فعلاً وضراً وخيراً وشرأً وعسراً ويسراً وطياً ونشراً والصلاة والسلام على محمد المبعوث بالإنذار والبشرى وعلى آله وأصحابه صلاة لا يستطيع لها الحساب عدداً ولا حصراً وسلم تسليماً كثيراً،

112. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*kasr al-shahwatayn*'
(p.779)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المنفرد بالجلال في كبريائه وتعالیه، المستحق للتحميد والتقدس والتزيه، القائم بالعدل فيما يرمه ويقضيه، المتطول بالفضل فيما ينعم به ويسديه، المتكفل بحفظ عبده في جميع موارد ومجاريه، المنعم عليه بما يزيد على مهمات مقاصده بل بما يفي بأمانيه، فهو الذي يرشده ويهديه، وهو الذي يميه ويحييه، وإذا مرض فهو يشفيه، وإذا ضعف فهو يقويه، وهو الذي يوفقه للطاعة ويرتضيه، وهو الذي يطعمه ويسقيه، ويحفظه من الهلاك ويحميه، ويحرسه بالطعام والشراب عما يهلكه ويرديه، ويمكنه من القناعة بقليل القوت ويقربه حتى تضيق به مجاري الشيطان الذي يناويه، ويكسر به شهوة النفس التي تعاديه، فيدفع شرها ثم يعبد ربه ويتقيه، هذا بعد أن يوسع عليه ما يلتذ به ويشتهيه، ويكثر عليه ما يهيج بواعثه ويؤكد دواعيه، كل ذلك يمتحنه به ويبتلي، فينظر كيف يؤثره على ما يهواه ويتحيه، وكيف يحفظ أوامره وينتهي عن نواهيه،

ويواظب على طاعته وينزجر عن معاصيه. والصلاة على محمد عبده النبيه، ورسوله الوجيه، صلاة تزلفه وتحظيه، وترفع منزلته وتعليه، وعلى الأبرار من عترته وأقربيه، والأخيار من صحابته وتابعيه،

113. Al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*dhamm al-dunyā*'
(p.890)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي عرف أولياءه غوائل الدنيا وآفاتنا. وكشف لهم عن عيوبها وعوراتها حتى نظروا في شواهدا وآياتها، ووزنوا بحسناتها سيئاتها فعملوا أنه يزيد منكرها على معروفها ولا يفي مرجوها بمخوفها ولا يسلم طلوعها من كسوفها، ولكنها في صورة امرأة مليحة تستميل الناس بجمالها، ولها أسرار سوء قبائح تهلك الراغبين في وصالها، ثم هي فرارة عن طلابها شحيحة بإقبالها، وإذا أقبلت لم يؤمن شرها ووبالها، إن أحسننت ساعة أساءت سنة. وإن أساءت مرة جعلتها سنة، فدوائر إقبالها على التقارب دائرة، وتجارة بنيتها خاسرة باثرة، وآفاتنا على التوالي لصدور طلابها راشقة، ومجاري أحوالها بذل طالبها ناطقة. فكل مغرور بها إلى الذل مصيره. وكل متكبر بها إلى التحسر مسيره. شأنها الهرب من طالبها والطلب لها ربها، ومن خدمها فاتته، ومن أعرض عنها واته لا يخلو صفوها عن شوائب الكدورات ولا ينفك سرورها عن المنغصات، سلامتها تعقب السقم، وشبابها يسوق إلى الهرم، ونعيمها لا يثمر إلا الحسرة والندم فهي خداعة مكاره، طيارة فرارة، لا تزال تزين لطلابها حتى إذا صاروا من أحبابها، كشرت لهم عن أنيابها، وشوشت عليهم منازم أسبابها؛ وكشفت لهم عن مكنون عجائبها، فأذاقهم قوائل سمائها؛ ورشقتهم بصوائب سهامها. بينما أصحابها منها في سرور وإنعام إذ ولت عنها كأنها أضغاث أحلام. ثم عكرت عليهم بدواهيها فطحنهم طعن الحصيد ووارتهم في أكفانهم تحت الصعيد، إن ملكك واحداً منهم جميع ما طلعت عليه الشمس جعلته حصيداً كان لم يغن بالأمس. تمنى أصحابها سروراً وتعدهم غروراً حتى يأمّلون كثيراً ويننون قصوراً. فتصبح قصورهم قبوراً وجمعهم بورا. وسعيهم هباء منثورا ودعاؤهم ثبورا، هذه صفتها وكان أمر الله قدراً مقدورا. والصلاة والسلام على محمد عبده ورسوله المرسل إلى العالمين شيراً ونذيراً وسراجاً منيراً. وعلى من كان من أهله وأصحابه له في الدين ظهيرا وعلى الظالمين نصيرا وسلم تسليماً كثيراً،

114. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*al-sabr wa al-shukr*'
(p.1163)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله أهل الحمد والثناء، المنفرد برداء الكبرياء، المتوحد بصفات المجد والعلاء، المؤيد صفوة الأولياء بقوة الصبر على السراء والضراء والشكر على البلاء والنعماء، والصلاة على محمد سيد الأنبياء وعلى أصحابه سادة الأصفياء وعلى آله قادة البررة الأتقياء صلاة محروسة بالدوام عن الفناء: ومصونة بالتعاقب عن التصرم والانتضاء،

115. Al-Ghazālī, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (early 6th/12th century)—
Introduction to chapter on '*al-faqr wa al-zuhd*'
(p.1289)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي تسبح له الرمال، وتسجد له الظلال، وتدكدك من هيئته الجبال، خلق الإنسان من الطين اللازب والصلصال، وزين صورته بأحسن تقويم وأتم اعتدال، وعصم قلبه بنور الهداية عن ورطات الضلال، وأذن له في قرع باب الخدمة بالغدو والآصال، ثم كحل بصيرة المخلص في خدمته بنور العبرة حتى لاحظ بضيائه حضرة الجلال، فلاح له من البهجة والبهاء والكمال، ما استقيح دون مبادي إشراقه كل حسن وجمال، واستقل كل ما صرفه عن مشاهدته وملازمته غاية الاستقلال، وتمثل له ظاهر الدنيا في صورة امرأة جميلة تيس وتختال، وانكشف له باطنها عن عجوز شوهاء عجنت من طينة الخزي وضربت في قالب النكال، وهي متلففة بجلبابها لتخفي قبائح أسرارها بلطائف السحر والاحتيال، وقد نصبت حباتها في مدارج الرجال، فهي تقتنصهم بضروب المكر والاعتيال، ثم لا تجزئ معهم بالخلف في مواعيد الوصال، بل تقيدهم مع قطع الوصال بالسلاسل والأغلال، وتبليهم بأنواع البلايا والأنكال، فلما انكشف للعارفين منها قبائح الأسرار والأفعال، زهدوا فيها زهد المبغض لها فتركوها وتركوا التفاخر والتكاثر بالأموال، وأقبلوا بكنههم على حضرة الجلال، واثقين منها بوصال ليس دونه انفصال، ومشاهدة أبدية لا يعترها فناء ولا زوال، والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد سيد الأنبياء وعلى آله خير آل،

116. Ibn al-Jawzī, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Alī, *al-Muntazam fī Tawārīkh al-Mulūk wa al-Umam*, (early 6th/12th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي سبق الأزمان وابتدعها، والأكوان واخترعها، والجواهر وجمعها، والأجسام وصنعها، والسماء ورفعها، والأنوار وشعشعها، والشمس وأطلعها، والمياه وأنبعها، والأقوات وزرعها، منع آلات الحس عن إدراكه وقطعها، ووهب لنفس الآدمي نفائس المعارف وأقطعها، وخصها دون الخلاق بمعاني (؟) أودعها، فعلمت أنها أين كانت، وكيف كانت، فهو معها .

أحمده على نعم أكثرها وأوسعها، وأشهد بوحديته من براهين أكدت ما أودعها إلى نفس تقرر أنه يعلم مستقرها ومستودعها، وأصلي على رسوله محمد أشرف من جاء بملة وشرعها، وألطف من ضاقت حاله على أمته فوسعها، وعلى أصحابه وأتباعه إلى أن تسكن كل نفس من الجنة والنار موضعها،

أما بعد: فإني رأيت النفوس تشرب إلى معرفة بدايات الأشياء، وتحب سماع أخبار الأنبياء، وتحن إلى مطالعة سير الملوك والحكماء، وترتاح إلى ذكر ما جرى للقدماء، ورأيت المؤرخين يختلف مقادهم في هذه الأنباء - فمنهم من يقتصر على ذكر الأنبياء ابتداء (؟)، ومنهم من يقتصر على ذكر الملوك والخلفاء، واهل الأثر يؤثرون ذكر العلماء، والزهاد يحبون أحاديث الصالحاء، والحذوف من ذلك مرغوب، فأتيتك بهذا الكتاب الجامع لغرض كل سامع، يحوي عيون المراد من جميع ذلك، والله المرشد إلى أصوب المسالك،

117. Ibn al-Athīr, 'Izz al-Dīn (d. 661/1233), *al-Kāmil fī al-Tārīkh*, (7th/13th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(1) الحمد لله القديم فلا أول لوجوده، الدائم الكريم فلا آخر لبقائه ولا نهاية لجلوه، الملك حقا فلا تدرك العقول حقيقة كهمه، القادر فكل ما في العالم من أثر قدرته، المقدس فلا تقرب الحوادث حماه، المنزه عن التغيير فلا يتجو منه سواه، مصرف الخلاق بين رفع وخفض، وبسط وقبض، وإبرام ونقض، وإماتة وإحياء، وإيجاد وإفناء، وإسعاد وإضلال، وإعزاز وإذلال، يؤتي الملك من يشاء وينزع عمن يشاء، ويعز من يشاء ويذل من

بشاء، بيده الخير وهو على كل شيء قدير (3:26)¹²، مبيد القرون السالفة، والأمم الخالفة، لم يمنعهم منه ما
اتخذوه معقلا وحرزا، ﴿فَهَلْ تَحْسَبُ مِنْهُمْ مَنْ أَحَدٌ أَوْ تَسْمَعُ لَهُمْ رِكْرًا﴾ (19:98)، بتقديره النفع والضرر،
و﴿لَهُ الْخَلْقُ وَالْأَمْرُ، تَبَارَكَ اللَّهُ رَبُّ الْعَالَمِينَ﴾ (7:54).

(2) أحمدته على ما أولى من نعمه، وأنجدل للناس من قسمه، وأصلي على رسوله محمد سيد العرب
والعجم، المبعوث الى جميع الأمم، وعلى آله وأصحابه أعلام الهدى ومصابيح الظلم، صلى الله عليه وسلم.
أما بعد . . .

118. Sulamī, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. ‘Abd al-Salām, *Kitāb al-Ishārah ilā al-ijāz
fī ba‘d Anwā’ al-Majāz*, (7th/13th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وما توفيقي الا بالله

قال الشيخ الامام العالم العارف العامل الورع الزاهد شيخ شيوخ الاسلام عزالدين ابي محمد عبد العزيز بن
عبد السلام السلمي الشافعي رحمة الله عليه

الحمد لله بعث نبينا صلى الله عليه وسلم بجوامع الكلم واختصر له الحديث اختصارا ليكون اسرع الى فهم
الفاهمين وضبط الضابطين وتناول المتناولين فكل كلمة يسيرة جمعت معاني كثيرة فهي من جوامع الكلم *
والاختصار هو الاقتصار على ما يدل على الغرض مع حذف او اضممار، والعرب لا يحذفون ما لا دلالة
عليه ولا وصلة اليه لان حذف ما لا دلالة عليه مناف لغرض وضع الكلام من الافادة والافهام وفائدة الحذف
تقليل الكلام وتقريب معانيه الى الافهام . . .

119. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi^{ah}, 'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā', (7th/13th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله ناشر الامم ومنشر الرمم، بارئ النسم ومبرئ السقم، العائد من فضله بسوانغ النعم، الموعد من عصاه بأليم العقاب والنتقم، مخزج الخلاق بلطف صنعه الى الوجود من العدم، مقدر الادواء ومنزل الدواء بأتم الصنع وأتقن الحكم، وأشهد أن لا اله إلا الله شهادة خالصة بوفاء الذمم، مخلصه من موبقات الخطل والندم، وأشهد أن سيدنا محمدا عبده ورسوله المبعوث بجوامع الكلم، المرسل الى كافة العرب والعجم، الذي أثار بلألاء نور مبعثه حنادس الظلم، وأباد بسيف معجزه من تجبر وظلم، وقطع ببرهان دلالة نبوته داء الشرك وحسم، صلى الله عليه صلاة دائمة باقية ما لمعت البروق وهمعت الديم، وعلى آله اولي الفضل والكرم، وعلى أصحابه الذين جعلوا شريعته لهم امم، وعلى أزواجه امهات المؤمنين المرات من الدنس وشرف وكرم.

وبعد، فإنه لما كانت صناعة الطب من أشرف الصنائع وأريج البضائع، وقد ورد تفصيلها في الكتب الالهية والأوامر الشرعية، حتى جعل علم الابدان قربنا لعلم الاديان، وقد قال الحكماء أن المطالب نوعان: خير ولذة، وهذان الشيطان انما يتم حصولهما للانسان بوجود الصحة، لان اللذة المستفادة من هذه الدنيا والخير المرجو في الدار الاخرى، لا يصل الواصل اليهما الا بدوام صحته وقوة بنيته، وذلك انما يتم بالصناعة الطبية لانها حافظة للصحة الموجودة، ورادة للصحة المفقودة، فوجب اذ كانت صناعة الطب من الشرف بهذا المكان، وعموم الحاجة اليه داعية في كل وقت وزمان، ان يكون الاعتناء بها أشد، والرغبة في تحصيل قوانينها الكلية والجزئية أكد وأجد .

120. Al-Hilfī, Ja'far b. al-Ḥasan Najm al-Dīn. (d. 676H), *Sharāf al-Islām fī al-Fiqh al-Islāmī al-Ja'farī*, (7th/13th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اللهم إني أحمدك حمدا يقل في انتشاره حمد كل حامد، ويضمحل باشتهاره جحد كل جاحد، ويفل بغراره حسد كل حاسد، ويحل باعتباره عقد كل كائد، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله شهادة أعتد بها لدفع الشدائد، وأسترد بها شارد النعم الأوابد،

وأصلي على سيدنا محمد الهادي إلى أمّن العقائد، وأحسن القواعد، الداعي إلى انجح المقاصد، وأرجح الفوائد، وعلى آله الغر الأماجد، المقدمين على الأقارب والأباعد، المؤيدين في المصادر والموارد، صلاة تسمع كل غائب وشاهد، وتقمع كل شيطان مارد،

وبعد، فإن رعاية الإيمان توجب قضاء حق الإخوان، والرغبة في الثواب تبعث على مقابلة السؤال بالجواب،

....

121. Al-Mūsīfī Mūsā b. Ḥasan, *al-Burd al-muwashshā fī sinā'at al-Inshā'*, (8th/14th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه نستعين

الحمد لله الدائم فيض الكرم، الفائض أنواء الديم، ﴿الذي علم بالقلم، علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم﴾، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد المبعوث إلى كالة الأمم، الناطق بفضل الحكم وفضل الحكم، وعلى آله وصحبه وسلم، وكرم وشرف ورحم، وبعد

فلما كانت كتابة الانشاء أجل مراتب النباهة، . . .

122. Ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-ʿAẓīm*, (8th/14th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(قال الشيخ الإمام الأوحى، البارع الحافظ المتقي، عماد الدين أبو الفداء: إسماعيل بن الخطيب أبي حفص عمر بن كثير، الشافعي . (رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه)

الحمد لله الذي افتتح كتابه بالحمد فقال ﴿الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم مالك يوم الدين﴾ وقال تعالى: ﴿الحمد لله الذي أنزل على عبده الكتاب ولم يجعل له عوجاً، قيماً لينذر بأساً شديداً من لدنه ويبشر المؤمنين الذين يعملون الصالحات أن لهم أجراً حسناً، مأكثين فيه أبداً، وينذر الذين قالوا اتخذ الله ولداً، ما لهم به من علم ولا لآبائهم كبرت كلمة تخرج من أفواههم إن يقولون إلا كذباً﴾، وافتتح خلقه بالحمد فقال تعالى: ﴿الحمد لله الذي خلق السموات والأرض وجعل الظلمات والنور ثم الذين كفروا بربهم يعدلون﴾، واختتمه بالحمد فقال بعد ما ذكر مآل أهل الجنة والنار، ﴿وترى الملائكة حافين من حول العرش يسبحون بحمد ربهم وقضي بينهم بالحق وقيل الحمد لله رب العالمين﴾، ولهذا قال تعالى، ﴿وهو الله لا إله إلا هو له الحمد في الأولى وفي الآخرة، وله الحكم وإليه ترجعون﴾، كما قال تعالى، ﴿الحمد لله الذي له ما في السموات وما في الأرض وله الحمد في الآخرة وهو الحكيم الخبير﴾، فله الحمد في الأولى والآخرة أي في جميع ما خلق وما هو خالق، هو الحمود في ذلك كله كما يقول المصلي "اللهم ربنا لك الحمد ملء السموات وملء الأرض، وملء ما شئت من شيء بعد" ولهذا يلهم أهل الجنة تسبيحه وتحميده كما يلهمون النفس أي يسبحونه ويحمدونه عدد أنفاسهم، لما يرون من عظيم نعمه عليهم، وكما قدرته وعظيم سلطانه وتوالي مننه ودوام إحسانه إليهم كما قال تعالى، ﴿إن الذين آمنوا وعملوا الصالحات يهديهم ربهم بإيمانهم تجري من تحتهم الأنهار في جنات النعيم، دعواهم فيها سبحاتك اللهم وتحياتهم فيها سلام، وآخر دعواهم أن الحمد لله رب العالمين﴾ .

والحمد لله الذي أرسل رسوله ﴿مبشرين ومنذرين لئلا يكون للناس على الله حجة بعد الرسل﴾، وختمهم بالنبي الأمي العربي المكي الهادي لأوضح السبل، أرسله إلى جميع خلقه من الإنس والجن من لدن بعثته إلى قيام الساعة كما قال تعالى، ﴿قل يا أيها الناس إني رسول الله إليكم جميعاً الذي له ملك السموات والأرض لا إله إلا هو يحيي ويميت فآمنوا بالله ورسوله النبي الأمي الذي يؤمن بالله وكلماته واتبعوه لعلكم تهتدون﴾،

وقال تعالى، ﴿لَا تَذْكُرْهُ بِهِ وَمَنْ بَلَغَ﴾، فمن بلغه هذا القرآن من عرب وعجم وأسود وأحمر وإنس وجان فهو نذير له، ولهذا قال تعالى، ﴿وَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِهِ مِنَ الْأَحْزَابِ فَالنَّارُ مَوْعِدُهُ﴾، فمن كفر بالقرآن ممن ذكرنا فالنار موعده بنص الله تعالى كما قال تعالى، ﴿فَذَرْنِي وَمَنْ يَكْذِبْ بِهَذَا الْحَدِيثِ سَنَسْجُدْهُمْ مِنْ حَيْثُ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ﴾، وقال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، "بعثت إلى الأحمر والأسود"، قال مجاهد يعني الإنس والجن، فهو صلوات الله وسلامه عليه رسول الله إلى جميع الثقلين الإنس والجن مبلغاً لهم عن الله تعالى ما أوحاه إليه من هذا الكتاب العزيز، الذي ﴿لَا يَأْتِيهِ الْبَاطِلُ مِنْ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَلَا مِنْ خَلْفِهِ تَنْزِيلٌ مِنْ حَكِيمٍ حَمِيدٍ﴾، وقد أعلمهم فيه عن الله تعالى أنه نذيرهم إلى فهمه فقال تعالى، ﴿أَفَلَا يَتَذَكَّرُونَ الْقُرْآنَ (؟) وَلَوْ كَانَ مِنْ عِنْدِ غَيْرِ اللَّهِ لَوَجَدُوا فِيهِ اخْتِلَافًا كَثِيرًا﴾، وقال تعالى، ﴿كَتَابٌ أَنْزَلْنَاهُ إِلَيْكَ مُبَارَكٌ لِيَدَّبَّرُوا آيَاتِهِ وَلِيَتَذَكَّرَ أُولُو الْأَلْبَابِ﴾، وقال تعالى، ﴿أَفَلَا يَتَذَكَّرُونَ الْقُرْآنَ أَمْ عَلَى قُلُوبٍ أَقْفَالُهَا﴾

123. Ibn Baṭṭūṭah, Muhammad b. ʿAbd-Allāh b. Muhammad al-Ṭanjī (d. 779/1377) *Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭah*, (8th/14th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

قال الشيخ الفقيه العالم الثقة الناسك الأبر وفد الله المعتمد شرف الدين المعتمد في سياحته على رب العالمين أبو عبد الله محمد بن عبد الله بن محمد بن إبراهيم اللواتي ثم الطنجي المعروف بابن بطوطة رحمه الله ورضي عنه وكرمه آمين.

الحمد لله الذي ذلل الأرض لعباده لیسلكوا منها سبلاً فجاجاً، وجعل منها وإليها تاراتهم الثلاث نباتاً وإعادة وإخراجاً. دحاها بقدرته فكانت مهاداً للعباد، وأرساها بالأعلام الراسيات والأطواد، ورفع فوقها سماء السماء بغير عماد، وأطلع الكواكب هداية في ظلمات البر والبحر. وجعل القمر نوراً والشمس سراجاً، ثم أنزل من السماء ماء فأحيا به الأرض بعد الممات. وأنبت فيها من كل الثمرات. وفطر أقطارها بصنوف النبات، وفجر البحرين عذماً فرائاً، وملحاً أحجاجاً، وأكمل على خلقه الإنعام بتدليل مطايا الأنعام، وتسخير المنشآت كالأعلام لتمطوا من صهوة القفر ومن البحر أنجاجاً. وصلى الله على سيدنا ومولانا محمد الذي أوضح للخلق منهاجاً. وطلع نور هدايته وهاجا. بعثه الله تعالى رحمة للعالمين واختاره خاتماً للنبيين وأمكن صوامره من رقاب المشركين حتى دخل الناس في دين الله أفواجاً، وأيده بالمعجزات الباهرات، وأنطق

بصديقه الجمادات، وأحيا بدعوته الذمم الباليات، وفجر من بين أنامله ماء ثجاجاً. ورضي الله تعالى عن
 المتشرفين بالانتماء إليه أصحاباً وآلاً وأزواجاً، المقيمين تقاة الدين فلا تحشى بعدهم اعوجاجاً، فهم الذين
 أزروه على جهاد الأعداء، وظاهروه على إظهار الملة البيضاء، وقاموا بحقوقها الكريمة من الهجرة والنصرة
 والإيواء، واقتحموا دونه نار اليأس حامية، وخاضوا بحر الموت عجاجاً، ونسوهب الله تعالى لمولانا الإمام
 الخليفة أمير المؤمنين المتوكل على رب العالمين المجاهد في سبيل الله المؤيد بنصر الله - أبي عنان فارس ابن
 موالينا الأئمة المهتدين الخلفاء الراشدين نصراً يوسع الدنيا وأهلها ابتهاجاً، وسعداً يكون لزمانة الزمان
 علاجاً، كما وهبه الله بأساً وجوداً لم يدع طاغياً ولا محتاجاً، وجعل بسيفه وسيبه لكل ضيقة انفراجاً.
 وبعد،

124. Sadr al-Sharī'ah, °Ubayd Allāh b. Mas'ūd, *Kitāb Ta'dīl al-Aflāk*,
 (8th/14th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي زين السماء بالبروج، بعدما أحكم بناءها فقال ﴿وَزَيَّنَّاها وما لها من فروع﴾، والصلوة
 على رسوله الذي جعله ﴿سراجاً منيراً﴾، ومن نوره مستنيراً، وجعل آله وأصحابه نجوماً، ولشياطين
 الإنس والجن رجوماً،

125. Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Muqaddimah*, (8th/14th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

خطبة كتاب العبر

يقول العبد الفقير إلى رحمة ربه، الغني بلفظه، عبد الرحمن بن محمد بن خلدون الحضرمي وفقه الله تعالى:

الحمد لله الذي له العزة والجبروت، وبيده الملك والملكوت، وله الأسماء الحسنى والنعوت، والعالم فلا يعزب
 عنه ما تظهره النجوم أو يخفيه السكوت، القادر فلا يعجزه شيء في السماوات والأرض ولا نفوت، أنشأنا
 من الأرض نسماً، واستعمرنا فيها أجيالاً وأنما، ويسر لنا منها أرزاقاً وقسماً، تكفينا الأرحام والبيوت،
 ويكفلنا الرزق والقوت، وتبلينا الأيام والوقوت، وتعمورنا الآجال التي خط علينا كتابها الموقوت، وله البقاء

والثبوت، وهو الحي الذي لا يموت، والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا ومولانا محمد النبي الأمي العربي المكروب في التوراة والإنجيل المنعوت، الذي تمخض لفصالة الكون قبل أن تعاقب الأحاد والسبوت، ويتباين زحل واليهيموت، وشهد بصدقه الحمام والعنكبوت، وعلى آله وأصحابه الذين لهم في محبته واتباعه الأثر البعيد والصيت، والشمل الجميع في مظاهرتة ولعدوهم الشمل الشيت، صلى الله عليه وعليهم ما اتصل بالإسلام جده المبخوت، وانقطع بالكفر حبله المبتوت، وسلم كثيرا.

أما بعد، فإن فن التاريخ من الفنون التي تتداوله الأمم والأجيال، وتشد إليه الركائب والرحال، وتسمو إلى معرفته السوق والأغفال، وتنافس فيه الملوك والأقيال، ويتساوى في فهمه العلماء والجهال، إذ هو في ظاهره لا يزيد على إخبار عن الأيام والدول، والسوابق من القرون الأول، تنمو فيها الأقوال، وتضرب فيها الأمثال، ...

126. Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb*, (8th/14th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم،

الحمد لله الذي أقسم بالقلم تفضيلا وتشريفا، واستخدمه من فوق الطباق السبع، فأنمى من أسرى به إلى حضرة الجمع صريفا، و﴿علم الإنسان ما لم يعلم﴾، فأحله بذلك محلا شريفا، وصرّفه في كتابة الوحي تصريفا، وجعله نايب اللسان بيانا للأمور الغاية عن البيان وتعريفا، ومقيدا لما يذهب بذهاب الزمان تدوينا وتصنيفا، فلولا لم ندر شرعا ولا تكليفا، ولا اجتلينا خيرا طريفا، ولا استطلعنا لعلم تأليفا، سرا غريبا ومعنى لطيفا، يحار فيه الإدراك، وإن لم يكن بليدا كثيفا، ويموج بحر الاعتبار، محيطا بذوي الاستبصار مطيفا،

والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد رسوله الذي كيف أسباب السعادة تكييفا، وهدى به صراطا قويمًا، ودنا حنيفا، وجعله آمينا، كي لا يستدعي توهم الاكتساب لما جاء به من النبوة والكتاب قولًا سخيًا، وما أوهم الالتباس بالأمر الشريف (من؟) كان شريفا،

والرضى على آله وأصحابه، الذين كتبوا الوحي بأفلامهم، وجودوا نقله عن أعلامهم، لا يقبل تبديلا ولا تحريفا، وكفى بذلك للكتابة والكتاب فخرا لزما أليفا، ...

127. Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Lamḥah al-Badriyyah fī al-Dawlah al-Nasriyyah* qtd. in al-Khaṭīb's *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb*, (8th/14th century) (p. 24)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل الأزمنة كالأفلاك، ودول الأملاك كأنجم الأحلاك، تطلعها من المشارق نيرة، وتلعب بها مستقيمة أو متحيرة، ثم تذهب بها غابرة أو متغيرة، السابق عجل، وطبع الوجود مرتجل، والحى من الموت وجل، والدهر لا معتذر ولا خجل، بينما ترى الدست عظيم الزحام، والموكب شديد الالتحام، والوزعة تشير، والأبواب يقرعها البشير، والسرور قد شمل الأهل والعشير، والأطراف تلتهمها الأشراف، والطاعة يشهرها الاعتراف، والأموال يحوطها العدل، أو يبيحها الاسراف، والرايات تعقد، والأعطيات تُنقد، إذ رأيت الأبواب مهجورة، والدسوت لا مؤملة، ولا مزورة، والحركات قد سكمت، وأيدي الإدالة قد تمكنت، فكان لم يسمر سامر، ولا نهى ناه ولا أمر آمر، ما أشبه الليلة البارحة، والغادية بالرايحة، إنما مثل الحياة الدنيا ﴿كَمَا أُنزِلْنَاهُ مِنَ السَّمَاءِ فَاخْتَلَطَ بِهِ نَبَاتُ الْأَرْضِ فَأَصْبَحَ هَشِيمًا تَذْرُوهُ الرِّيحُ﴾، فالويل لمن يترك حبيبة تنفعه، أو ذكرا جميلا يرفعه، فلقد عاش عيش البهيمة النهمية، وأضاع جواهر عمره الرفيعة القيمة، في السبل غير المستقيمة، وبدد أماته سبحانه في المساقط العقيمة، وطوبى لمن عرف المصير، وغافض الزمن القصير، في أكساب محمدة تبقى بعده شهابا، وتخلد منقبة تبقى بعده ثناء وثوبا، فالذكر الجميل كلما تخلد استدعى الرحمة وطلبها، واستدنى المغفرة واستجلبها، فلمثله فليعمل العاملون، وغايته فليأمل الآملون، والدار الآخرة خير لو كانوا يعملون،

والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا ومولانا محمد رسوله الذي أوضح حقارة الدنيا عند الله وبين، وحد البلاغ منها وعين، وخفض الكلمة وبين، وحسن الدار الآخرة وزين، وخفض أمر هذه الدار الغرور وهين، وقال صلوات الله عليه "أكثرُوا من ذكر هادم اللذات كيلا تشبث بها يد، ولتنظر نفس ما قدمت لغد"، والرضا على آله الذين جاوزوا على ظهر جسرها الممدود ومروا، ولقوا الله وهم لم يغتروا، فكانوا إذا عاهدوا بروا،

وإذا تليت آيات الله عليهم خروا، وكانوا عند حدود الله لا يرحون، وبسوى مذاهبه الباقية لا يفرحون،
﴿أولئك حزب الله ألا إن حزب الله هم المفلحون﴾،

128. Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, *al-Siḥr wa al-Shf'r*, qtd. in al-Khaṭīb's *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb*, (8th/14th century)
(pp. 26-27)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي رآش أجنحة الأفهام بالإمداد والإلهام، فمضت إلى أغراضها مضي السهام، وأنشأت في آفاق العقول سحب الخواطر، ما بين المخلف والماطر، والصيب والجمام. والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا ومولانا محمد خير الأنام، الذي جعله في روض هذا الوجود المجود بسحاب الجود زهرة الكمام، وختم ديوان الأنبياء من دعوته الحنيفية السمحة بمسكة الختام، والرضا عن آله البررة الأعلام، أولى النهى والأحلام، ما قدفت بشهد الحكمة نخل الأقاليم، وسلم تسليمًا كثيرًا¹³،

129. Lisān al-Dīn b. al-Khaṭīb, *Istinzāl al-luṭf al-mawjūd fī asrār al-wujūd*, qtd. in al-Khaṭīb's *Rayḥānat al-kuttāb*, (8th/14th century)
(p.52)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق الإنسان مهبطاً جناحه بالافتقار لما فيه صلاحه كسيرا، وقدر عمره وإن طال المدا وسلم الردي يسيرا، وأقامه عانيا في أيدي الأقدار وحكم الليل والنهار أسيرا، وجعل مرام الخلاص من قيود الوجود عليه إلا بلطف الموجود عليه عسيرا، وملك ناصية فضا لا يجد فيه مراعا ولا يستطيع عنه مسيرا، ومزاجا محتاجا إلى المراعاة مع الساعات فقيرا، وتكليفاً يأخذ بأطواقه عن تراضي أشواقه فلا يملك لنفسه قبلا إلا بإذنه ولا ديرا، وسياسة يطبع فيها مرعاه راعيا ويتبع مأموره منها أميرا، ومعاشا يضطر فيه إلى إمداد حياته وصلاح ذاته اضطرابا كبيرا، ومعاشرة بأبنا جنسه تكون السلامة لأجله منهم وإدراك الكفاف من أيديهم حظا أثيرا، وابتلاء بما يلحق هذه الملكات علاوة على أحماله المهلكات فلا تجد غيره وليا ولا نصيرا، وخياله المكروه في الحبوب ابتلاء وتطهيرا، والمحبوب في المكروه إخفاء لسيره المحبوب في استعار

¹³ These are the definitions of some of the more unfamiliar vocabulary: *mukhlif*: remainder or residual; *jahām*: rainless cloud; *majūd*: thirsty.

الغيوب وتديرا، فقال ﴿وَعسى أن نكرهوا شيئا ويجعل الله فيه خيرا كثيرا﴾، ثم أتاح الراحة منهم لمن اصطعقه وأنشأه من الحضيض الأوهد ورفع فجلل قامه تنويرا، ومهد له التوفيق سريرا، وجعل الفكر السديد بهدائه لنفسه الناطقة وزيرا، واتصال عقله المستفاد بالعقل البري من لواحق الكون والفساد كملا أخيرا،

والصلاة على سيدنا ومولانا محمد رسوله الذي بعثه مبشرا ونذيرا، ودليلا إلى حضرة الحق من أقرب المآخذ عن الخلق تنبها وتحذيرا، وإرشادا وتبصيرا، وأنيط بسعيه في هذا الوجود الأول والحلم المسلول ﴿عينا يشرب بها عباد الله يفجرونها تفجيرا﴾،

والرضا على آله وصحبه الذين أوسعوا هديه بيانا وتفسيرا، ما أطلع الرّوش من روح السماء في عذير الظلماء وجها منيرا، ولمع برق الغمام في السحب السجام سيفا طريرا، أما بعد، فإنه جرى ببعض هذه المجالس التي نجعلها لكلال الأحباب جماما، ولعلل المتلومين عن العلل غماما، ..

130. Al-‘Asqalānī, ‘Alī b. Ḥajar, *al-Isābah fī Tamyīz al-Ṣaḥābah*, (9th/15th century)

قال شيخنا الإمام شيخ الإسلام، ملك العلماء الأعلام، حافظ العصر وملي، وحامل لواء السنة فيه، إمام المعدلين والمخرجين: أبو الفضل شهاب الدين أحمد بن علي ابن محمد بن علي بن أحمد حجر العسقلاني الشافعي، أبقاه الله في خير وعافية:

الحمد لله الذي أحصى كل شيء عددا، ورفع بعض خلقه على بعض، فكانوا طرائق قدا، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له، لم يتخذ صاحبة ولا ولدا، ولم يكن له شريك في الملك ولا يكون أبدا، وأشهد أن محمدا عبده ورسوله وصفيه وخليله، أكرم به عبدا سيذا، وأعظم به حبيبا مؤيدا، فما أزكاه أصلا ومحتدا، وأطهره مضجعا ومولدا، وأكرمه أصحابا، كانوا نجوم الاهتداء، وأئمة الاقتداء، صلى الله عليه وعليهم صلاة خالدة، وسلاما مؤيدا وسلم تسليما،

أما بعد، فإن من أشرف العلوم الدينية علم الحديث النبوي، ومن أجل معارفه تمييز أصحاب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم ممن خلف بعدهم...

131. Al-Qalqashandī, *Subḥ al-A°shā fī sinā° at al-inshā°* (9th/15th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(1A) (i) الحمد لله جاعل المرء بأصغريه، قلبه ولسانه، (ii) والمتكلم بأجمليه، فصاحته وبيانه. (i) راقم حقائق المعاني بأقلام الإلهام على صفحات الأفكار. (iii) جامع اللسان والقلم على ترجمة ما في الضمائر، ذاك للأسماع وهذا للأبصار.

(2) (ii) الذي حفظ برسوم الخطوط ما تكل الأذهان السليمة عن حفظه. (iii) وتبلغ بوسائطها على البعد ما يعسر على المتحمل تأديته بصورة معناه ولفظه.

(3) (ii) أحمدته على أن وهب من بنات الأفكار ما يربو في الفخر على ذكور الصوارم، (iii) ومنح من جواهر الخواطر ما يزكو مع الإنفاق ولا ينقص بالمكارم.

(4) (ii) وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادة يُوقع لصاحبها بالنجاة من النار، (iii) ويكتب قائلها في ديوان الأبرار.

(5) (ii) وأن محمداً عبده ورسوله الذي اهتزت لهيبته الأسيرة وشرفت بذكره المنابر. (iii) وضافت عن درك وصفه الطروس وقدت دون إحصاء فضله المحابر.

(6) (ii) صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه الذين قلدوا أمور الدين فقاموا بواجبها. (iii) وحملوا أعباء الشريعة فانتشرت بهم في مشارق الأرض ومغاربها. (ii) صلاة تُسَطَّر في الصحف، (iii) وتفوق بهجتها الروض الآف.

وبعد فلما كانت الكتابة من أشرف الصنائع وأرفعها. وأريج البضائع وأنفعها. وأفضل المآثر وأغلاها. وأثر الفضائل وأغلاها. لا سيما كتابة الإنشاء التي هي منها بمنزلة سلطانها. وإنسان عينها بل عين إنسانها. لا

تَلْتَقِ الْمُلُوكُ إِلَّا إِلَيْهَا . وَلَا تَعُولُ فِي الْمَهْمَاتِ إِلَّا عَلَيْهَا . يَعْظُمُونَ أَصْحَابَهَا وَيَقَرَّبُونَ كُتُبَهَا . فَحَلِيفُهَا أَبَدًا
خَلِيقٌ بِالتَّقْدِيمِ . جَدِيرٌ بِالتَّبْجِيلِ وَالتَّكْرِيمِ .

132. Al-Nafzāwī, *al-Rawḍ al-ʿĀtir fī nuzhat al-khāṭir* (9th/15th century)

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

(قال الشيخ الإمام العلامة الهمام سيدي محمد النفزاوي رحمة الله ورضي عنه) : الحمد لله الذي جعل اللذة الكبرى للرجل في فروج النساء وجعلها للنساء في أيور الرجال فلا يرتاح الفرج ولا يهدأ ولا يقر له قرار إلا إذا دخله الأير والأير إلا بالفرج فإذا اتصل هذا بهذا وقع بينهما النكاح والنطاح وشديد القتال وقربت الشهوات بالتقاء العاتين وأخذ الرجل في الدك والمرأة في الهز بذلك يقع الإنزال وجعل لذة لتقبيل في الفم والوجنتين والرقبة والضم إلى الصدر ومص الشفة الطرية مما يقوي الأير في الحال .

الحكيم الذي زين بحكمته صدور النساء بالتهود والرقبة بالقبلة والوجنتين بالحرص والدلال وجعل لمن عيوننا غانجات وأشعارا ماضيات كالسيوف الصقال وجعل لمن بطوننا متعقدات وزينهن بالصورة العجيبة والاعكان والاختصار والأرداف الثقال وأمد الأفخاذ من تحت ذلك وجعل بينهن خلقة هائلة تشبيه برأس الأسد في العرض إذا كان ملحما ويسمى الفرج فكمن من واحد مات عليه حسرة وتأسفا من الأبطال وجعل له فما ولسانا وشفتين فأشبه وطأ الغزال في الرمال ثم أقام ذلك كله على ساريتين عجيبتين بقدرته وحكمته ليستا بقصار ولا بطول وزين تلك السواري بالركبة والغرة والقب والعقوب والكعبة والخلخال واغمسهن في بحر البهاء والسلوان والمسرة بالملابس الحقيقية والحزم البهي والمبسم الشهي سبحانه من كبير متعال القاهر الذي قهر الرجال بمحبتهن والإستكان إليهن والارتكان ومنهن العشرة والرحلة وبهن الإقامة والانتقال المذل الذي أذل قلوب العاشقين بالفرقة وأحرق أكبادهم بنار الوجد والهوان والمسكنة وال تخضع شوقا إلى الوصال، أحمدته حمد عبد ليس له عن محبة الناعمات مروغ ولا عن جماعهن بدلا ولا نقلة ولا انفصال وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادة أدرها ليوم الانتقال وأشهد أن سيدنا ونبينا ومولانا محمد عبده ورسوله سيد الإرسال صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وصحبه صلاة وسلاما ليوم السؤال، وعند ملاقة الأهوال ،

وبعد فهذا كتاب جليل الفته بعد كتابي الصغير المسمى (تنويع الوقاع ، في أسرار الجماع) وذلك أنه اطلع عليه وزير مولانا صاحب تونس الحروسة بالله وهو الوزير الأعظم وكان شاعرة ونديمه ومؤنسه وكانم لبيا حاذقا فطنا حكيما أحكم أهل

زماته وأعرفهم بالأمور وكان اسمه محمد عوانة الزواوي وأصله من زواروة ومنشأه الجزائر تعرف بملانا السلطان عبد العزيز الحفصي يوم فتحه الجزائر فارتحل معه إلى تونس وجعله وزير الأعظم فلما وقع الكتاب المذكور بيده أرسل إلى أن أجمع به وصار يؤكد غاية التأكيد للاجتماع بي فأتيته سريعا فأكرماني غاية الإكرام فلما كان بعد ثلاثة أيام اجتمع بي وأخرج لي الكتاب المذكور وقال لي هذا تأليفك فخرجت منه فقال لا تخجل فإن جميع ما قلته حق ولا مروج لاحد عما قلته وانت واحد من جماعة ليس أنت بأول من ألف في هذا العلم وهو والله مما يحتاج إلى معرفته ولا يجهله ويهزأ به إلا جاهل أحمق قليل الدراية ولكن بقيت لنا فيه مسائل، فقلت وما هي: فقال نريد أن نزيد فيه مسائل أي زيادة وهي أنك تجعل فيه الأدوية التي اقتصرت عليها وتكمل الحكايات من غير اختصار وتجعل فيه أيضا أدوية لحل العقود وما يكبر الذكر الصغير وما يزيل بخورة الفرج ويضقه وأدوية للحمل أيضا بحيث أنه يكون كاملا غير مختصر من شيء فأن الفته تلت المراد فقلت له كل ما ذكرته ليس بصعب إن شاء الله فشرعت عند ذلك في تأليفه مستعينا بالله عليه على سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم. وسميته بالروض العاطر في نزهة الخاطر الله الموفق للصواب لا رب غيره ولا خير إلا خيره نسأله التوفيق والهداية للطريق ولا حول ولا قوة إلا بالله العلي العظيم،

133. Al-Suyuṭī, *al-Ashbāh wa al-Nazā'ir fī al-Nahw* (10th/16th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم

سبحان الله المنزه عن الاشباه والنظائر، والحمد لله المتفضل بغفران الكبائر والصغائر، ولا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له العالم بما في الضمائر، والله اكبر من ان يضاف اليه سمة حدث او يحاط باشارة مشير او عبارة عابر، ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله في جميع الموارد والمصادر، والصلاة والسلام على رسوله محمد المنسوب اليه جموع الفضائل والمفاخر، المذكور في كتب الله تعالى بأشرف الاسماء والالقباب والنعوت والمآثر، وعلى آله الطيبين الاماثل وصحبه النجوم الزواهر،

اما بعد، فان الفنون العربية على اختلاف انواعها هي اول فنوني، ومبتدأ الاخبار التي كان في احاديثها سمرى وشجونى، طال ما اسهرت في تتبع شواردها عيونى، واعملت فيها بدني اعمال المجدمايين قلبي وبصري ويدي وظنوني،

134. Al-Suyufī, *al-Itqān fī^c ulūm al-qur'ān* (10th/16th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم. قال الشيخ الإمام العالم العلامة، الحبر البحر الفهامة، المحقق المدقق الحجة، الحافظ المجتهد شيخ الإسلام والمسلمين، وارث علوم سيد المرسلين، جلال الدين أوجد المجتهدين، أبو الفضل عبد الرحمن ابن سيدنا الشيخ المرحوم كمال الدين، عالم المسلمين أبو المناقب أبو بكر السيوطي الشافعي: وجعله أجل الكتب قدراً وأعزها علماً وأعذبها نظماً وأبلغها في الخطاب، قرآنًا عربياً غير ذي عوج ولا مخلوق، ولا شبهة فيه ولا ارتياب. وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له رب الأرباب الذي عنت لقيومته الوجود وخضعت لعظمته الرقاب. وأشهد أن سيدنا محمداً عبده ورسوله المبعوث من أكرم الشعوب وأشرف الشعاب، إلى خير أمة بأفضل كتاب، صلى الله وسلم عليه وعلى آله وصحبه الأنجاء، صلاة وسلاماً دائمين إلى يوم المآب.

135. Hāfī Khalīfah, *Kashf al-Zunūn*, (11th/17th century)

مقدمة في أحوال العلوم

زواهر نطق يلوح أنوار أطافه من مطالع الكتب والصحائف وبواهر كلام يفوح أزهار أعطافه على صفحات العلوم والمعارف حمد الله الذي جعل زلال الكمال قوت القلوب والأرواح وخص مزاي العرفان بفرحة خلا عنها أفرح الراح وفضل الذوق الروحاني على الجسماني تفضيلاً لا يعرفه إلا من تضلع أو ذاق وأودع في كنه الفضل لطفاً لا يدركه إلا من تفضل وفاق الصلاة والسلام على الذي كمل علوم الأولين والآخرين بكتاب ناطق آياته بينات وحجج قرآنًا عربياً غير ذي عوج صلى الله تعالى عليه وعلى آله الأبرار وصحبه الأخيار ما طلع شمس المعاني من وراء حجاب السطور والدفاتر وأثار أنوار المزاي من أشعة رشحات الأقلام والحابر وبعد فلما كان كشف دقائق العلوم وتبيين حقائقها من أجل المواهب وأعز المطالب قبض الله سبحانه وتعالى في كل عصر علماء قاموا بأعباء ذلك الأمر العظيم وكشفوا عن ساق الجد والاهتمام في التعليم والتفهيم سيما الأئمة الأعلام من علماء الإسلام الذين قال فيهم النبي عليه وعلى آله الصلاة والسلام علماء أمتي كأنبياء بني إسرائيل فإنهم سباق غايات وأساطين روايات ودرايات فمنهم من استنبط المسائل من الدلائل فأصل وفرع ومنهم من جمع وصنف فأبدع ومنهم من هذب وحرر فأجاد وحقق المباحث فوق ما يراد رحم الله أسلافهم وأيد أخلافهم غير أن أسماء تدويناتهم لم تدون بعد على فصل وباب ولم يرو فيه خبر كتاب ولا شك أن تكميل

العيون بغير آثارهم على وجه الاستقصا لعمرى إنه أجدى من تفريق العضا إذ العلوم والكتب كثيرة والأعمار عزيزة قصيرة والوقوف على تفاصيلها متعسر بل متعذر وإنما المطلوب ضبط معاقدها

136. Majlisī, Muḥammad Bāqir, *Biḥār al-anwār*- vol.I, (12th/18th century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي سمك سماء العلم وزينها بروجها للناظرين، وعلق عليها قناديل الأنوار بشموس النبوة وأقمار الإمامة لمن أراد سلوك مسالك اليقين، وجعل نجومها رجوما لوساوس الشياطين، وحفظها بثواب شهبها عن شبهات المضلين، ثم بمضلات الفتن أغطش ليلها، وبنيرات البراهين أخرج ضحاها، ومهد أراضي قلوب المؤمنين لبساتين الحكمة اليمانية فدحاها، وهياها لأزهار أسرار العلوم الربانية فأخرج منها ماءها ومبرعاها، وحرسها عن زلازل الشكوك والأوهام، فأودع فيها سكينه من لطفه كحبال أرساها، فنشكره على نعمه التي لا تحصى، معترفين بالعجز والقصور، ونستهديه لمرشد أمورنا في كل ميسور ومعسور،

ونشهد أن لا إله إلا الله وحده لا شريك له شهادة علم وإيقان، وتصديق وإيمان، يسبق فيها القلب للسان، ويطلق فيها السر الإعلان، وأن سيد أنبيائه ونخبة أصفياه، ونوره في أرضه وسمائه، محمدا ص عبده المنتجى ورسوله المجتبى، وحببيه المرتضى، وحبته على كافة الورى، وأن ولي الله المرتضى، وسيفه المنتضى، ونبأه العظيم، وصراطه المستقيم، وحبله المتين، وجنبه المكين، علي بن أبي طالب سيد الوصيين، وإمام الخلق أجمعين، وشفيع يوم الدين، ورحمة الله على العالمين، وأن أطايب عترته وأفاخم ذريته، وأبرار أهل بيته، سادات الكرام، وأئمة الأنام، وأنوار الظلام، ومفاتيح الكلام، وليوث الزحام، وغيوث الإنعام، خلقهم الله من أنوار عظمتهم وأودعهم أسرار حكمتهم، وجعلهم معادن رحمته، وأيدهم بروحه، واختارهم على جميع بربرته، لهم سمكت السموكات، ودحيت المدحوات، وبهم رست الراسيات، واستقر العرش على السماوات، وبأسرار علمهم أُنعت ثمار العرفان في قلوب المؤمنين، وبأمطار فضلهم جرت أنهار الحكمة في صدور الموقنين، فصلوات الله عليهم ما دامت الصلوات عليهم وسيلة إلى تحصيل المثوبات، والثناء عليهم ذريعة لرفع الدرجات، ولعنة الله على أعدائهم ما كانت دركات الجحيم معدة لشدائد العقوبات، واللعن على أعداء الدين معدودة من أفضل العبادات،

أما بعد، فيقول الفقير إلى رحمة ربه الغافر ابن المنقل إلى رياض القدس محمد تقي طيب الله رسمه محمد باقر عفا الله عن جرائمها وحشرهما مع اثمتها، اعلموا يا معاشر الطالبين للحق واليقين، المستكين بعروة اتباع اهل بيت سيد المرسلين، صلوات الله عليهم أجمعين، . . .

137. Muhammad Mukhtār, Pasha. *Kitāb al-Tawfiqāt*, (13th/20th century)

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باسمك يا مجري الأفلاك، ومسخر الأملاك، وجاعل الأولين مرآة الآخرين، أستفتح بدايتي، وأستمنح حسن نهايتي، وبمنة هدايتك، وموصول عنايتك، (أحمدك) على مطالع حكمتك، وطوال قدرتك، حمدا أنتقل به في أبراج تمجيدك، ومنازل توحيدك، فأصل من إقدار صنعك الأنفس، إلى فلك معرفتك الأطلس، (سبحانك) لقد خلقت الإنسان في أحسن تقويم، فجعلته مركز المرئيات بين تخصيص وتعميم، وقطب دوائر البدء والتعميم، ومطلع مجرى مجرة فضلك العميم، وبينت من محكمات الآثار، ما فيه اذكاء لأولي الأبصار، ﴿لا الشمس ينبغي لها أن تدرك القمر ولا الليل سابق النهار﴾، ونصبت الأهلة مواقيت للناس والحج، لنعلم عدد السنين والحساب في كل ناحية وفج، وأقمت من شواهد الآيات، على وحدانية الذات، ما يكشف المبهمات، ﴿إن في خلق السموات والأرض واختلاف الليل والنهار آيات﴾، (وأشكرك) على مسفرات الهداية، وكاشفات الغواية، شكرا يتعدل على اسطرلاب مواجبك، فيؤدي إلى نتيجة زيادة مواهبك، (وأصلي) وأسلم على شمس فلك النبوة، وبدر سعود الكمالات المرجوة، ومنطقة أشكال عرائس الفضائل المجلوه، وأصل غايات العزائم والقوة، رسولك (سيدنا محمد) الماحي ظلام الشرك بصيحه رسالته، والمظهر معالم الحق بعد زوال علاماته، الشفيع يوم العرض، القائل يوم الوداع "إن الزمان قد استدار كهيئته يوم خلق الله السموات والأرض"، وعلى أصوله الأطهار، المجتنب الأخيار، أبراج شهوده، ومقلب سجوده، وعلى آله وأصحابه المقتبسين أنواره، والمستمدين أسرارهم، ما اختلف الليل والنهار، وتعاقب المد والجزر للأبحر والأنهار، (وأستمد) من جداول التائيد، ومعالي التمجيد، دوام الظفر والإجلال، والسمو والإقبال، لغارس أفنان المعارف الزاهية، وباسط ثمرات العوارف الدانية، مجدد معالم الفضل، ومشيد دعائم العدل، ومؤيد العلوم بفكره الصائب، ومقوي عزائمهم بنظرة الثاقب، عزيز مصر الأعظم، ومليكها الأفخم عباس . . . وبعد . . .

138. Muhammad °Abduh (beginning of his *sīrah* in Muhammad Rashīd Riḍā, *Tārīkh al-ustādh al-imām al-shaykh Muhammad °Abduh*) (14th/21st century)

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الحمد لله ولي الضعفاء اذا رجعوا اليه، ونصيرهم اذا اعتمدوا في أعمالهم عليه، وأخلصوا له العمل، ومحضوه من شوائب الخيل، ولم يأسوا من رحمته، ولم يبطروا بنعمته، والصلاة والسلام على محمد خاتم رسله، الهادي الى الحق وسبله، الداعي اليه بقوله وفعله، المؤثر له على نفسه واهله، المعرض عن نعيم الدنيا لأجله، وعلى آله وصحبه الذين بايعوه، وعلى الصراط المستقيم والنهج الواضح تابيعوه، وبعد فما أنا ممن تكذب سيرته، ولا ممن ترك للأجيال طريقته،

139. Ḥasan Naṣrallah, *victory speech 22-Sep-2006* (14th/21st century)

اعوذ بالله من الشيطان الرجيم، بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، والحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا ونبينا خاتم النبيين أبي القاسم محمد بن عبد الله، وعلى آله الطيبين الطاهرين المعصومين، وصحبه المنتجبين، وعلى جميع الانبياء والمرسلين،

ايها الاحبة، ايها الكرام، يا اشرف الناس، واظهر الناس، واكرم الناس، والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته،

الحمد لله الذي صدقنا وعده، والذي نصرنا ونصر لبنان وشعب لبنان على عدو لبنان،

الحمد لله الذي اعزنا، وثبتنا، وامتنا،

الحمد لله الذي توكنا، واليه انبنا، وكان دائما كما وعد نعم المولى ونعم الوكيل،

الحمد لله على نصره، وعلى عونه، وعلى تأييده،

ايها الاخوة والاخوات، ايها السادة جميعا، اتم اليوم في الثاني والعشرين ايلول تدهشون العالم من جديد،

140. Ahmadinejad, Mahmoud. *United Nations General Assembly speech September-2008* (14th/21st century)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين والسلام والصلاة على سيدنا ونبينا محمد وآله الطاهرين وصحبه الاكرمين، اللهم عجل لوليك
الفرج،

APPENDIX-III
THE *RUSŪM* (TEMPLATES) OF TAḤMĪD IN ʿALĪ B. KHALAF'S
MAWĀDD AL-BAYĀN

The *Rusūm* (Paradigms) of *Tahmīd*-‘Alī b. Khalaf, *Mawādd al-Bayān* (p. 135).

No.	Subject of <i>Risālah</i>	Guidelines for <i>Tahmīd</i>
1.	الكتب في الدعاء إلى الدين	والرسم فيها أن يفتتح بحمد الله الذي اختار دين الإسلام فأعلاه وأظهره وقدهه وطهره، وجعله سبيلا إلى رضاه وكرامته، وطريقا إلى الزلفى في جنته، وشفيعا لا يقبل عمل عامل إلا به، وبأب لا يصل واصل إلا منه، فلا تغفر السيئات إلا لمن اعتصم بحبله ولا تتقبل الحسنات إلا من اهله، وشكره تعالى علي الهداية إليه والتوقيف عليه، وزيادته عن مجاهل الضلالة بما أوضحه من برهانه ونوره من بيانه، وتمجيده بعظيم آياته وباهر معجزاته، وحكيم صنعة وبديع فطرته، وتنزيهه عما لا يليق بسلطانه، ولا إضافته إلى عظيم شأنه، تسييحه عما يصفه الملحدون ويختلفه الجاحدون، والصلاة على رسوله محمد، صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، والإفصاح عن دليل نبوته وبراهين رسالته، وما خصه الله تعالى به من إعلاء ذكره وإمداده بالمعجزات الرافعة للاعذار في أمره. ¹⁴
2.	الكتب في الحث على الجهاد	والرسم فيها أن يفتتح بحمد الله تعالى على جميل صنعه في اعزاز الكلمة وإسباغ النعمة بإظهار هذه الأمة، وما وعد به من نصر أوليائه وخذلان أعدائه، وإدالة الموحدين، وإزالة الملحدين، والصلاة على رسوله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله، وذكر طرف من مواقفه في الجهاد، ومقارعة لشيع الإلحاد، وتأيد الله تعالى أنصاره على أهل العناد . . . وينبغي أن يقدم الكاتب في هذه الكتب مقدمات يرتبها على ترتيب يهز الأريجيات ويشحذ العزائم ليجمع بين خدمة سلطانه والفوز بنصيب من الأجر.
3.	الكتب في الحض على	والرسم فيها أن يفتتح بالحمد لله على النعمة في تأليف قلوب أهل الدين وجمع كلمة الموحدين، وإهواء أهوائهم إلى الاتفاق وصيانة عصاهم من الانشقاق، والصلاة على

¹⁴ The description of the *Tahmīd* here is understandably quite lengthy since the very purpose of the *risālah* is to invite people to religion and God. It includes components that are not always present in regular *Tahmīds* such as *tasbīh*. In some ways it seems to be the guidelines followed by most prose works with the aim of *da‘wah* and guidance including Syedna Taher Saifuddin’s *risālahs*.

	لزوم الطاعة	رسوله، صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، والتنبيه على فضائل الطاعة وأنها العروة الوثقى والمعلل الذي لا يرقى...
4.	الكتب بالتنبيه على مواسم العبادة في كتاب مقصور على الحج	والرسم فيها أن يفتتح بحمد الله تعالى على أن وقت لعباده أوقاتا يتقبل فيها قربهم وأعمالهم ويخفف بالإجابة إليه عند حلولها أوزارهم وأثقالهم، فيغفر لمستغفرهم ويعفو عن مسيئهم ويتقبل التوبة عن تائبهم، والصلاة على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم. افتتح بحمد الله على أن جعل لعباده حرما آمنا يحص ذنوبهم بزيارته ويمحو آثامهم بحججه ووفادته
5.	الكتب عدد حدوث الآيات السماوية	والرسم فيها أن يفتتح بحمد الله على آلائه التي يفيضها ابتلاء واختبارا، وآياته التي يرسلها تخويفا وإنذارا، وموهبته في التوفيق بسايع نعمته على طاعته، والتحذير بدماغ نعمته من معصيته، والصلاة على رسوله الذي أقذ بشفاعته، وعصم من نزول القوارع بنبوته.
6.	الكتب في النهي عن التنازع في الدين	والرسم فيها أن يصدر بحمد الله تعالى علي نعمته في تأليف كلمة أهل الإسلام، وما من به عليهم من الاتفاق والالتئام، وشكره على موهبته في نزع الغل من صدورهم والتأليف بين قلوبهم، وتصييرهم اخوانا متصافين وخلانا متافين، وعونهم بما وفقهم من التوازر على من شق عصاهم وإقذارهم بما منحهم من الالفة على مراعاة من راماهم، والصلاة على سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله
7.	الكتب عن الخليفة عند انتقال الخلافة إليه	والرسم فيها أن تصدر بحمد الله على عوارفه التي لم تزل تكشف الخطب وترأب الشعب، وتدفع المهم وترفع الملم، وتجبر الوهن وتسبع الأمن والمن، والصلاة على رسوله سيدنا محمد، صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم، وذكر خصائصه ومناقبه، وتشريف الله له بإقرار الأمانة في ذريته ورد الخلافة إلى عترته والتنويه بذكرهم في كتابه والإبانة عن أنهم حبوة وأهل صفوته الذين طهرهم من الأرجاس، وفرض مودتهم على الناس، بقوله ﴿إِنَّمَا

		<p>يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس أهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيرا ﴿١﴾، وما أمر به رسله من سؤال أمته في مودتهم فقال: ﴿٢﴾ قل لا أسألكم عليه أجراً إلا المودة في القربى ﴿٣﴾، وتفويضه خلافته إلى وصيه علي أمير المؤمنين ونصه عليه وتسليمه بمحضر من العام والخاص إليه... ثم يأتي بمقدمة في ذكر الموت وأن الله تعالى سوى بريته وجعل في تطرقه إلى رسوله أسوة لحليته، وتقرّد بالبقاء وامتنع عن الفناء...</p> <p>(ويختتم بقوله) فله الحمد على هذه المنة التي جبرت الوهن، وحقت في فضله المن، حمدا يستدر أخلاف فضله، ويستدعي سوانح طوله، وصلى الله على محمد وآله.</p> <p><i>**Al-Qalqashandī quotes Khalaf (as he does with all the other templates) with the exception here of the phrases underlined above. While Khalaf asserts that the succession of Ali must be referred to, al-Qalqashandī changes that (even though he attributes the template to Khalaf) to assert the closeness of the Prophet's uncle al-Abbās, from whom the Abbasids descended:</i></p> <p>وقد كان الرسم فيها أن يصدر بحمد الله تعالى على عوارفه التي لم تزل تكشف الخطب، وترأب الشعب، وتدفع المهم، وترفع الملم، وتجير الوهن، وتسبغ الأمن، والصلاة على سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم، وذكر خصائصه ومناقبه، وتشريف الله تعالى له بإقرار الإقامة في أقاربه، وتخصصها ببني عمه الذين هم أحق الناس به، وما أمر الله تعالى رسوله صلى الله عليه وسلم من طلب مودته من الأمة بقوله جل من قائل: ﴿٤﴾ قل لا أسألكم عليه أجراً إلا مودة في القربى ﴿٥﴾، وما أشار إليه صلى الله عليه وسلم من بقاء الخلافة فيهم بقوله لعنه العباس: "ألا أبشركم يا عم، بي ختمت النبوة وبولدك تحتم الخلافة، وما يجري مجرى ذلك.</p>
8.	الكتب في الهدن	<p>والرسم فيها أن يفتح بحمد الله تعالى على الهداية إلى دين الإسلام، الذي أذل به كل دين، وأعزه وخذل كل شرع، ونصره وأغمض كل مذهب وأظهره، والتوغل في توحيده وتقديسه وتمجيده والثناء عليه بآلته، والصلاة على خيرة أنبيائه محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم.</p>

		وعلى آله.
9.	الكتب إلى من نقض العهد	فالرسم أن يصدر ما يكتب به بحمد الله تعالى على موهبته في إظهار الدين وإعزاز المسلمين، وما تكفله من النصر على الباغين، ووعد به أهل العدل من الإدالة والتمكين، والصلاة على سيدنا محمد النبي صلى الله عليه وعلى آله اجمعين، وإيراد طرف من معجزاته وفضائله وآياته ومناقبه التي تنخرط في هذا النظام وتليق بهذا النمط من الكلام.
10.	الكتب إلى من خلع الطاعة	والرسم فيها أن يفتح بعد التحميد المناسب لغرض الكتاب، والصلاة على النبي صلى الله عليه وعلى آله، بسا يدعو إلى إيناسه، وينزل أسباب استيحاظه، ويعود بثبات جاشه... وان كانت المكتبة إلى رجل قد سبقت له سابقة في خلع الطاعة، ثم سأل الإقالة فأقبل بعد مشاركته الإحاطة به والنكاية فيه ثم راجع العصيان، فالرسم فيها أن يفتح بحمد الله جاعل العاقبة للمتقين، والعدوان على الظالمين، والعزة لحريه وأوليائه والمذلة لحريه وأعدائه، والإظهار لأهل طاعته، والخسار لأهل معصيته، ودائرة السوء على المناوئين لخلفائه في بريته، ثم يقال: بحمده أمير المؤمنين على ما لا يزال يتخوله به من تصديق آماله وتوفيق أفعاله، وتسديد مراميه وهداية مساعيه، وإجابة دعوته وتحقيق رغبته، وإدالة مواليه وإزالة معاديه، ومعوته على ما تولاه وتمكينه عنم ناواه، ويسأله الصلاة على سيدنا محمد نبيه صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم.
11.	الكتب بالتضييق على أهل الجرائم	والرسم فيها أن يفتح بحمد الله البادئ بنعمته قبل افتراض طاعته، المبتدئ ببره قبل إيجاب شكره، خالق الخلاق جودا وكرما، وموسعهم مننا ونعما، الذي اختار دين الإسلام وطهره من الأرجاس، ونزهه من الأدناس، واختص به صفوته من الناس، وأبعث

		<p>به محمدا سيد المرسلين، ﴿لينذر من كان حيا ويحق القول على الكافرين﴾، يحمده أمير المؤمنين أن فوض إليه إيالة خلقه، وأقدره على القيام بحقه، ونصبه لإعزاز دينه، والحفاظة على مفروضه ومسنونه، وزيادة العباد عن محارمه التي نهى عن التعدي إليها، وإقامة الحدود عليهم فيها، ويسأله الصلاة على محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وسلم.</p>
12.	<p>الكتب في الاعتذار عن السلطان</p>	<p>No details given by Khalaf for the theme of the Taḥmīd.</p>
13.	<p>الكتب في الفتوحات</p>	<p>والرسم فيها أن يفتح بحمد الله العفو الحليم، الغفور الرحيم، العليم الحكيم، العزيز العظيم، ذي البرهان المبين والفضل الجسيم، و[ذي] القوة المتين والعقاب الأليم، مبيد الفاسطين ومؤيد العادلين، وجاعل العاقبة للمتقين، المملي إمهالا وإنذارا، والمعاقب تنبيها واذكارا، الذي لا ينجي منه مهرب، ولا يبعد عليه مطلب، وكيف يعتصم منه وهو أقرب من حبل الوريد، وله على كل لافظ رقيب وعتيد، والصلاة على رسوله الأمين الذي ختم به النبيين، وفضله على المرسلين، وأيده بأوليائه الميامين، الذين قاموا في نصرته وإعزاز رايته، المقام الذي فازوا فيه بالخضل(؟)، واستولوا به على قصبات الفضل، فشكروهم معه في الوصف والثناء، فقال جل قائلا: ﴿محمد رسول الله والذين معه أشداء على الكفار رحماء بينهم﴾</p> <p>ويحتم الكتاب بحمد الله القاضي لأوليائه بالإدالة ولأعدائه بالإذالة، الذي يستدرج المغتر بحمله إمهالا ولا يلقى العادل على حكمه إمهالا، والصلاة على رسوله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله.</p>

14.	الكتب بالتنويه والتلقيب	<p>الرسم في هذه الكتب أن يفتح بحمد الله تعالى على نعمه السابعة الضافية، ومواهبه الراهنة الثاوية، وعوارفه التي جعلها جزاء للمحسنين، وزيادة للشاكرين، ونحو هذا مما يليق أن يفتح به هذا الغرض، والصلاة على سيدنا محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وعلى آله.</p>
15.	الكتب في الغيار (في إلزام الذمة المعاهدين بلباس الغيار)	<p>والرسم فيها أن يفتح بحمد الله الذي أكرم دين الإسلام عن الضلالة وأهلها، وشرفه على الأديان كلها، وأعزه وأظهره ونصره وأداله، وجعله سبيله الأقصد، ودليله الأرشد، وبابه الذي لا يوصل إليه إلا منه، ولا ينال ما عنده إلا به، ويسره، سهله، وبينه وفصله، وتممه وكمله، واستخلصه لنفسه وأحبته، واختص به من اصطفاه من برته، ولم يجعل معه ديناً ثانياً يدنى من ثوابه، وينجي من سخطه وعقابه، وفرض ألا يقبل غيره من أحد من خلقه، ولا يصفح عن الإساءة إلا لأهله. وبعث به نبيه محمداً، صلى الله عليه، بشيراً ونذيراً وداعياً إليه بإذنه وسراجاً منيراً، فبين شرائعه ومناهجه، وعبد سبيله ومدارجه، وأوضح آثاره وأعلامه، وقرب متناوله ومرامه، وأتقذ به من غمرة الضلالة وسكرة الجهالة، والناس منكبون عن طريق الرشاد، عابدون ما ينحتون من الجمار، لا يهتدون إلى هدى فيستهدون، ولا تبصر بصائرهم بلج الحقائق فيستلون، واستخلف عليه من بعده خيرته من ذريته، وصفوته من عترته الأئمة البررة المعظمين لحرمة، المقيمين لحدوده، الموقنين لجفوته، المؤدين لفروضه، الحامين لذماره، المرامين عن داره، عناية منه تعالى بإعزاز كلمته ونصر رأيه، وتصديقاً لوعده في إعلائه على كل دين وإظهاره على كره المشركين.</p> <p>ثم يقال: بحمده أمير المؤمنين على أن أورثه منصب آبائه الطاهرين، وأفضى إليه ميراث خلفائه الراشدين، وجعله من المستخلفين على خلقه، والقائمين على نصر حقه، والدعاة إلى سبيله بشافي بيانه، والرشدين إلى طريقه بواضح برهانه، الذابن عن دينه بما آتاهم من سلطانه.</p>

		ونسأله الصلاة على سيدنا محمد، صلى الله عليه، الذي شرفنا ببعثه وكرمنا بوراثته، وعلى أخيه وابن عمه أمير المؤمنين علي بن أبي طالب الذي خرق له العادة فيه، وأيده ببأسه على محاديه، فكسر الأوثان... صلى الله عليهما وعلى آلهما وسلم.
.16	الكتب في المواسم	A category not covered by Khalaf but added by al-Qalqashandī who presents samples of <i>Tahmīds</i> in such occasions, without any stipulations (pp. 1392-1395).

APPENDIX-IV
FATIMID-ṬAYYIBĪ TAḤMĪDS

Fatimid Phase

Ja'fār b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman (d. 4th/10th C)

1. *al-'Ālim wa al-Ghulām* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه نستعين-بلغنا ان طوائف المؤمنين ونفر من رعاة الدين قالوا لعالم . . .

2. *al-Shawāhid wa al-Bayān* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه نستعين، ممن نحمده-ثم ان الله عز وجل علم من عباده اختلاف الاهواء، وتفرق الارادات . . .

Al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān (d. 363/974)

3. *Da'ā'im al-Islām vol. I*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه نستعين في جميع الامور

الحمد لله استفتاحا بحمده، وصلى الله على محمد رسوله وعبيده، وعلى الائمة الطاهرين من اهل بيته اجمعين، أما بعد، فإنه لما كثرت الدعاوي . . .

Ta'wīl al-Da'ā'im vol. I

4. Majlis 1-part 1

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مُخْرِجِ الْوَدْقِ وَمُقَدِّرِ الرِّزْقِ، وَخَالِقِ الْعِبَادِ فِي بُطُونِ امهاتهم خلقاً من بعد خلقٍ، وصلى الله على افضل البرية محمدٍ نبيه والائمة من ذريته العترة الهاذية الزكية،

قد سمعتم ايها المؤمنون فيما تقدم كيف انتم تنتقلون حالا بعد حال في حدود الدين كانتقالكم في نشأة الخلق الظاهر، وإن خلق الدين مثله في الباطن لقول الله عز وجل {ثم أنشأناه خلقاً آخر فتبارك الله أحسن الخالقين}، وقوله عز وجل {يخلقكم

في بطون أمهاتكم خلقاً من بعد خلق}، تاويله في الباطن ما قد سمعتم الاصل فيه ان الامهات في الباطن هم المستفيدون ممن فوقهم، المقيدون من دونهم، ويطونهم في التاويل باطن العلم الذي عندهم ، ينقلون المستفيدين منهم حداً بعد حد، وذلك خلق الدين...

5. Majlis 2-part 1

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله حمداً مُتصلاً دائماً كثيراً، وصلى الله على النبي محمد صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم واهل بيته الذين اذهب الله عنهم الرجس وطهرهم تطهيراً،

6. Majlis 3-part 1

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الحميد بما اولى من الآله، وصلى الله على محمد نبيه وعلى الائمة من ذريته واوليائه،

7. Majlis 2-part 2

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله اهل الحمد والطول، والقوة والحول، وصلى الله على محمد نبيه خاتم الانبياء، وعلى علي صلى الله عليه وسلم وصيه افضل الاوصياء، وعلى الائمة من ذريته النجباء،

8. Majlis 4-part 2

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي احجب عن أعين البصير، وطقن بحفريات الأمور، ودلت عليه أعلام الظهور، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد خاتم النبيين، وعلى علي (صع) وصيه أمير المؤمنين، وعلى الائمة من ذريته المهديين،

9. Mukhtaṣar al-Āthār vol. I

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله على ما اولى به من الآله، حمداً يقتضي المزيد من فضله ونعماته، وصلى الله على محمد خاتم انبيائه، وعلى الائمة من ذريته واوليائه،

قال القاضي حسين بن علي بن النعمان رويت هذا الكتاب وغيره من الكتب المروية عن موالينا الائمة الصادقين اهل بيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين التي صنفها جدي القاضي النعمان بن محمد رضوان الله عليه عن ابي القاضي علي بن النعمان... (هذا صدر القاضي الحسين بن علي بن النعمان، حفيد سيدنا القاضي النعمان، وهو الذي يروي هذا الكتاب باسناد والده القاضي علي بن النعمان عن ابيه القاضي النعمان)

—(يقول الحسين بن علي بن القاضي النعمان :)...وبدأت بالصدر الذي ارويه عن ابي رضي الله عنه وهو:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله حق حمده، والشكر له كله شكره، وصلى الله على محمد نبيه وعلى الائمة اولي امره، واهل ذكراه،

قال القاضي علي بن النعمان قرأت هذا الكتاب على ابي القاضي النعمان بن محمد...سنة ثمان واربعين وثلاث مائة...وبدأت بالصدر الذي اريه من هذا الكتاب عن ابي رضي الله عنه وهو:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله شكراً على آلائه وإحسانه، وامتراةً للمزيد من فضله وامتنانه، وابتغاءً رضوانه، ورحمته، وصلى الله على محمد خاتم انبيائه المصطفين ورسله، وعلى وصيه علي بن ابي طالب خليفته في امته، ووصيه في اهله، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الطاهرين، الخلفاء المهديين، الذين اقام بهم اركان الدين، وانهج بهم سبيل الهدى للمهتدين، وانا ربهم شهب الاسلام للمسلمين، واورثهم الإمامة الى يوم الدين، فهم القدوة والعماد، وهم امنة الانام، وائمة العباد لكل قوم في كل عصر منهم امام هاد، صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين، ورحم الله اولياءهم واتباعهم من المؤمنين الاولين منهم والآخرين، --

قال القاضي النعمان بن محمد، كنت قد جمعت من قول موالينا الائمة الطاهرين من اهل بيت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين كتباً في علم الفتيا صنفتها وبوبتها وجزيتها والفتها وحكيت الروايات على اختلاف الرواة عنهم فيها، واثبت الثابت عنهم منها وجئت بالدلائل على ذلك والبيان والشواهد والبرهان، فكثرت عدد اجزائها، وعظمت المؤنة بها على ذوي ابتغائها، واختصرت منها موزونا ومنثوراً في مختصرات لم تؤد كثيراً من الطالبين...فالفقت هذا الكتاب متوسطاً بين التطويل والاختصار، وسميته مختصر الآثار،

10. *Iftitāḥ al-Da'wah*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مؤيد الحق وناصر اهله، ودامغ الباطل ومُذِلّ حِزْبِهِ، القاتل وهو اصدقُ القاتلين، الا **﴿إِنْ حِزْبَ اللَّهِ هُمُ الْغَالِبُونَ﴾**، وان جندنا لهم المنصورون، و**﴿إِنْ الْأَرْضَ يَرِثُهَا عِبَادِيَ الصَّالِحُونَ﴾**، ختم بنبوّة محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله نبوة النبيين، ورسالته رسالة المرسلين، وابقى الإمامة في ذريته وعقبه الى يوم الدين، أكراماً له واعزازاً لدينه من قطعه بملة او نسخه بشريعة وتكفل لاهلها بالغلبة والتمكين، والتأييد والاعزاز والتحسين، ولم يخل الأرض من امام فيها للامة وقائل بالحق وقائم بالحجة وان تغلب فيها المتغلبون، واستتر للتيمة الائمة المستحفظون، وان لهم بكل جزيرة من جزائر الأرض داعيا اليهم، وبكل ناحية من نواحيها دليلاً عليهم، ولو ذكرنا كل امام منهم صلوات الله عليهم ومن دعا اليه وقام بامرهم لطال الكتاب بذكرهم ولكنا اثرونا من ذكر امر الدعوة بارض المغرب الى المهدي صلوات الله عليه وصفته وذكر قيامه وايامه وما تقدم ذلك من الآثار عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله فيما بشر به منه . . .

Ḥamīd al-Dīn al-Kirmānī (d. 411/1021)

11. *al-Maṣābiḥ fī Ithbāt al-Imāmah* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله بديع الوجود وما حواه، ومخترع الازل وما عدها، الذي شهدت لوامع الانوار القدسية في ذوات العقول الرضية، بانه كان ولا وجود ولا عدم، ونظمت الآثار الازلية في ذوات الانفس الزكية بانه كان ولا **جدة** ولا قدم، المقر على ذاته دوحة الوجود والازل، واول واقع من الاختراع في الأول، الذي اتخذ الجهلاء معبودا، واشركوا بالله من حيث ظنوه توحيداً، بانه لا اله منه ومن دونه من المبدعات الا فطره عز بديع فعله ذلك عن التشبيه وتكبر بعظيم صنعه عن التحديد **﴿وَتَعَالَى عَمَّا يُقُولُ الظَّالِمُونَ عَلَواً كَبِيراً﴾**،

احمده بما دلنا عليه من اسمائه العظام، واعبده من تلقاء اوليائه مصاييح الظلام،

واشهد ان لا اله -مما وقع تحت الابداع، وحصره سمة الوجود والاختراع، -الا هو الها متقادسا عن الصفات، متجاللا عن السمات، متعاززا عن الموصوفات، متنازها عن الموسومات،

واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله الذي اصطفاه، واتجبه واجتباها، فأيدّه بمواد البركات القدسانية، وامده بفيض السعادات
النفسانية، فشرع الشريعة واحكم قواعدها، وسط الحكمة واعلن اوابدها، وادّى الامانة بنصب الاعلام، ونصح الامة باتباع
الإمام،

صلى الله عليه صلوة متضاعفة ما تعاقب الملوان، واختلف الجديدان،

وعلى ابرار عترته ائمة الهدى، ومصاييح الدجى، الذين نور الله بهم عرصات الحنادس، ودفع بركاتهم تويهات الالباس، افضل
السلام والتحيات،

اما بعد . .

12. al-Risālah al-Waḍiyyah [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والحمد لله ذي الايات الباهرات، وخالق السموات السامكات، الذي خلق الاشياء كلها ازواجا، وجعل خلقه من ذلك الى
توحيد منهاجا، فلا ما يستحقه الاشياء التي تدرك بحس من الصفات يقال عليه، ولا ما يدرك منها بعقل من السمات ينسب
اليه، كالتباب عن تحصيل ما تجعله صفة له فايقت بالقصور، وعجزت العقول عن تحديده فقدمته عما احاطت به من
سائر الامور،

فسبحانه من اله خمدت في الاخبار عنه نيران البحث عما تحرك به اللسان والشفاه، وخرت لكرام وجهه جميع الوجوه والجباه،
﴿سبحنه وتعالى عما يقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا﴾،

احمده بجميع محامده، واجده باجمل مماجده،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له، واشهد ان شمس الانبياء وتاجهم، ومفخر الائمة الابرار وسراجهم، محمدا عبده
ورسوله الذي اختصه بالرسالة منه فضلا، وجعل في ذريته الامامة الى يوم القيامة تشريفا منه وطولا، وصلى الله عليه وعلى
خليفته من بعده، في امته ركن الدين وعماده، وولي الله تع في ارضه وعباده، علي ابن ابي طالب،

وعلى ذريتهما كواكب الحق واعلامه، ومصاييح التوحيد ونظامه، الائمة الطاهرين، وعلى مولانا امير المؤمنين، الحاكم بامر
الله،

اما بعد، . . .

13. *Tanbīh al-Hādī wa al-Mustahdī* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه استعين وتوكلني عليه

قال الشيخ الاجل سيدنا حميد الدين عماد المؤمنين ابو الحسن احمد بن عبد الله الكرمانى اطل الله في التائيد عمره وبقاءه وقواه
على طاعة اوليائه الطاهرين صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين

الحمد لله خالق الليل والنهار، ومؤيد الرسل والائمة الابرار، الذي امتنع بخفاء فردانيته عن رؤية الابصار، واحتجب ببهاء
وحدانيته عن حكم الخواطر والافكار، وخلق ما خلق فابدى، ورزق كما رزق فاوسع، وسعت رحمته كل شيء،

سبحانه من اله تقدس عن الصفات، وما تؤديه العبارات عن سائر اللغات،

ولا اله الا هو وحده لا شريك له، ارسل محمدا بالحق الاشهر، والبرهان الاكبر، فحكم لمن اطاعه بالفوز والرضوان، ولمن عصاه
وانكره بالسعير وعذاب النيران، صلى الله عليه صلوة تتضاعف على تصرف الازمان،

وعلى اخيه ووصيه وخليفته من بعده، علم التوحيد ونظامه، وسماء العلم وعلامه، علي بن ابي طالب امير المؤمنين،

وعلى الابرار الميامين من ذريتهما شمس الهدى، وائمة الورى،

وخص الله امام عصرنا، وصاحب زماننا بافضل السلام والتسليم، الامام الحاكم بامر الله وآبائه الهادين،

اعلم ايها الاخ، جعلك الله ممن يتبع الحق ويؤثره ويعتقد الخير،

al-Mu'ayyad al-Shirāzī (d. 470/1077)

14. *Sirat al-Mu'ayyad*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل موضوع المقدار على الجمع بين الصفو والاكدار* واختلاف الليل والنهار ضمنين الايسار

والاعسار*

أحمد حمد الشاكرين لآلته، الذين هولهم كفيل الجزاء، بقوله ﴿وسنجزي الشاكرين﴾ * والصابرين على بلاته،
الاولى حباهم من حبه بافضل الحباء، فقال ﴿والله يحب الصابرين﴾ *

وصلى الله على رسوله المصطفى المبعوث باهدى السبيل * المخصوص بارضى الملل * المأمور بقوله ﴿فاصبر
كما صبر اولو العزم من الرسل﴾ *

وعلى وصيه على بن ابي طالب صفوة الماشين على الغبراء * وقدوة من عناهم بقوله ﴿والصابرين في البأساء
والضراء﴾ *

وعلى الانمة من ذريتهما سادة الساجدين في زمانهم والراكين * وقادة المخاطبين من ربههم بقوله سبحانه
﴿واستعينوا بالصبر والصلوة وانها لكيرة الا على الخاشعين﴾ *

Al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadīyyah vol. I

15. Majlis 1-1

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي نظم بين الإنسان والبهائم أن خلقهما من طين، ثم جعل نسلهما من ماء مهين، ثم اقتضت العناية الإلهية أن
رُمي في أخلاط الصورة الإنسانية من إكسير العقل -بلغه أهل صنعة الكيمياء- مما عرج به في أعلى المعارج من الفضل
والعلواء، فصار ممن قال الله سبحانه ومن اصدق منه قبلا، ﴿ولقد كرّمنا بني آدم وحملناهم في البر والبحر ورزقناهم من
الطيبات وفضلناهم على كثير ممن خلقنا تفضيلاً﴾، فاستنزل بديده الطير من الهواء، واستخلص الحوت من لج الدأماء،
واستعبد أجناس الحيوان طيرا وبهائم وسباعا، فمنها ما انتفع بلحومها انتفاعا، ومنها ما استمتع بجلودها وأصوافها
واوبارها استمتاعا، وجعل الفلك المحيط على عظم فضائه محصوراً في سرادق فكره، بدّل كون جسمه بالكون والفساد
محصوراً في سرادق ملكه وأسرّه، فهذا منفوعة الذي نفعه الله تعالى به في الدار الأولى، ثم جعله سَلماً يرتقي به إلى دائم
البقاء في الدار الأخرى، فلولا نور استبصاره بالعقل لما كانت رسالة عن مرسل تُقبل، ولا أمر عن مرسل يؤخذ ويحتل، و
نفس بمعرفة توحيد الله سبحانه ترسم وتستير، ولا لسان بمعارف الآخرة بين اللهوات يدور،

وصلى الله على محمد خير رسول استنار بنور سراجيه، وسار على واضح منهاجه، وعلى وصيه الذي عرج به من أفق
المجد إلى أعلى معراجيه، وعلى آله الداعين إلى عذب المشرب وفراثة الناهين عن ملحه وأجابه،
معشر المؤمنين، جعلكم الله ممن استنارت بنور العقل قلوبهم، وتجاقت عن مضاجع الجهل جنوبهم، ...

16. Majlis 1-2

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المفضل المنعم، المنزه عن أن يعرج إليه بمعارج التوهم، مُوقد سراج العقل في الجسد المظلم، ومنشئ جوهره المطهر
عن شوب اللحم والدم، في الجسم المخلوق من اللحم والدم، وصلى الله على المصطفى المشرف عنده المعظم، محمد خير
الرسول إلى خير الأمم، وعلى وصيه بحر العلوم والحكم، القيم بالدين القيم، علي بن أبي طالب ضراب الغم، وكشاف الغم
وعلى الأئمة من ذريته اعلام الحل والحرم، والأخيار الطاهرين وسلم،

17. Majlis 1-3

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله اللامعة كلماته من سماء الإعجاز، الرافلة في حلتي البلاغة والإيجاز، الصادرة عن عين الحقيقة التي لا يشوبها شين
الجواز، الممنعة عن أن تناولها أيدي المتغلبين على مقامات أوليائه بأوثق الأحراز، وصلى الله على المصطفى محمد
المبعوث من ربه، بتنزيل ﴿من رب العالمين﴾ ﴿نزل به الروح الأمين على﴾ قلبه، وعلى وصيه علي بن أبي طالب جنب
الله الخاسر من فرط في جنبه، النازل فيه وحيا من ربه، ﴿يطعمون الطعام على حبه﴾، وعلى الأئمة الأطهار الناشئين
من صلبه، القائم دين الحق بولائهم قيام الدائر بقطبه،

18. Majlis 1-5

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي لا تنال حقيقة معرفته قبضة أوهام المحققين، وتدق أسرار ملكوته عن أن تجري في مضمار أفكار المدققين،
مُتَقَبِّلِ الْفُرْيَانِ مِنَ الْمُتَّقِينَ، وَمُتَقَلِّبِ الْمِيزَانِ لَهُمْ بِأَجْرِ الْمُسَدِّدِينَ لِمَرْضَاتِهِ الْمَوْفَّقِينَ، وصلى الله على رسوله المبعوث بالحق المبين،
محمد سَلَّمَ النجاة للمُتَّقِينَ، وعلى وصيه روح الحياة للمستنشقين، وعصمة النجاة للمعصمين بحبله والمُتَعَلِّقِينَ، علي ابن
أبي طالب خير المفوهين ببداية الحكم والمنطقين، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الأخيار الصادقين المصدقين،

19. Majlis 1-6

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مشرف يوم الغدير بصاحب يوم الغدير، المكمل بولائه دين البشير النذير، وجاعله الفرقان بين أهل الجنة والنار ﴿فريق في الجنة وفريق في السعير﴾، وصلى الله على محمد المصطفى سحاب رحمته المطير، وشمس فك رسالته الذي تحت أخمصه فك الأثير، وعلى وصيه وقمره المنير، علي ابن أبي طالب سيف الله الشهير، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الكرام النحارير،

20. Majlis 1-13

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي دون تحقيق معرفته حجاب لا يحرقه الفكر، وعُقْلُهُ من عجز العبودية سيان عندها البصيرة والبصر، فالفكر إذا رام النفوذ في أقطار سمائها نكس في الخلق حصرا وعيا، يهوي في وادي الحيرة هويا، ويصلى بنارها صليا، ويجري في مضمار من عناهم الذكر الحكيم ﴿ومنكم من يرد إلى أرذل العمر لكي لا يعلم بعد علم شيئا﴾، ذاك الله الذي كبر عن أن تستطيع الخطرات إليه سبيلا، فضلا عن أن تفصل الكلمات عنه تفصيلا،

وصلى الله على محمد خير رسول هدايا به لهذا ﴿وما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا﴾، ونبي حزنا قصب السبق في ميدان المعارف إقتباسا من نوره وقصر المقصرون عن مدانا، وسلم عليه من نسمة شريفة بها فتح الله للدار الآخرة الأسماع والأبصار، ويارشادها لفتح الحلوم والأفكار، وبمبعثها ختم المصطفين الأخيار، وعلى وصيه علي بن أبي طالب الذي رفع الله به لحقه المنار، ووسط حقيقة دينه الأنوار، وعلى آله الذين هم من دوحة مجده الثمر، ومن حديقة فضله الزهر،

21. Majlis 1-16

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الداني بمعالم قدرته، القصي بتحقيق معرفته، فهو سبحانه الداني القصي، الذي خلق الإنسان ضعيفا من حيث وضعه الجسداني الدني، قويا من حيث حظه النفساني السني، فتعالى من له في الصنائع الخلق الضعيف القوي، فهو بقوته على جميع ما حوته الأرض من نباتها وحيوانها احتوى، ومنها بالحاظ فكره في ملكوت السماوات والأرض بلغ أشد المعرفة واستوى، حتى إذا سمى بطرفه إلى سماء توحيد ربه انهد منه شديد القوى، فإن قبض عنان فكره ضل في مهامه التعطيل وغوى، وإن أطلقه تاه في وادي التشبيه وهوى، وناداه عجز العبودية ﴿اخلع نعليك إنك بالواد المقدس طوى﴾،

أحمد به بالعجز عن حمده مُقَرّاً، وأُسيح له تسبيح مَنْ جعل نفسه لتسبيحه مَقَرّاً، حمد عارف أنه ما قدره حق قدره، معترف بتنزيهه عن أن يتخذ كرسيًا من لسانه وفكره،

وصلى الله على خير من أخرجته الأرض البسيطة، وأحاطت به الأفلاك المحيطة، الواضحة به إلى النجاة السبل، المختم برسالة الرسل، وبملة الملل، وعلى وصيه علي بن أبي طالب القاطع بسيفه للكفر وتينا، الجاعل علمه برهان نبوته مبينا، النازل يوم عَدَدِ وِلَايَتِهِ ﴿اليوم أكملت لكم دينكم وأتممت عليكم نعمتي ورضيت لكم الإسلام ديناً﴾، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين ذرأهم الله ليستخلصوا من السنايل حب الحكم، ويفكوا الأسماع والأئمة من قيد الصمم والبكم،

22. Majlis 1-38

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مؤيد الفاطميين بنصره، وجاعلهم ولاة دينه وأمره، فهُم حَفَظَةُ التَّنْزِيلِ، وَخَزَنَةُ التَّأْوِيلِ، والحجة إلى سواء السبيل، لسان الحق بهم ناطق، ولواء الدين بعزهم خافق، نحمده إذ هد بآركانهم أركان النصب، وقوض بآسهم بنيان الغصب، وأطلع بهم شمس الحق من الغرب، وصلى الله على المصطفى نبيه الباهر البرهان، ورسوله إلى الإنس والجان، محمد أعلى الأنبياء حداً، وأرفعهم مجداً، الشاهد بنبوته الحجر والمدر، والناطق بفضيلة الشوك والشجر، وعلى وصيه صفوة الأبرار وخيرة الأخيار، وقسيم الجنة والنار، علي الكرار، ليث يوم الهياج، وصنو صاحب المعراج، مبطل الأبطال، والقاتل وهو أصدق المقال، "أنا الزلازل والخسوف، ومروج الأنوف، من ذا الذي يناطقني ويفاخرني أويرد علي قولي"، وسلم عليه وعلى الأئمة من ذريته أعلام النجاة، وينابيع ماء الحياة،

23. Majlis 1-60

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق الإنسان فجعله مستغرقاً في عالم الكثيف بكثيفه، وجعل عالم الكثيف بعظم فضائه مستغرقاً في لطيفه، فهو في عالم الكثيف بجسمه والجب، وعنه بنفسه خارج، فسبحان من أنشأ منه بيتاً معموراً، وجمع بين الضدين فيه ظلمة ونورا، والزمه ﴿طائرته في عنقه﴾ ويخرج ﴿له يوم القيامة كتاباً يلقاه منشوراً﴾، وصلى الله على من بعثه بالنور المستمدة منه جواهر النفوس في بلوغ كمالها، وخروجها من حد القوى إلى القيام بأفعالها، محمد كلمة الله القائم في عالمه مقام الكلمة في عالمها، وعلى وصيه قطب شريعته القيم باظهار معالمها، علي بن أبي طالب النازل في أمته منزلة حواء من آدمها، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته ركن الدين الوثيق، وأرباب العهود والمواثيق، المشمولين بالتأييد والتوفيق،

24. Majlis 1-75

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي ليس لأسارى الفكر في تحقيق معرفته فكاك، على أن العجز عن إدراكه إدراك، المترجح الوهم فيه بين السكون والحراك، فلا سكون ولا حراك، كيف وكلاهما تعطيل وإشراك، وإنهما للهلاك أشراك، فسبحان من دون توهمه من ظلمات العجز أفلاك، وصلى الله على العروة الوثقى الناجي من له بها استمساك، محمد خير من نزلت عليه بالوحي والتنزيل أملاك، وعلى وصيه الذي هو بأعداء دينه فتاك، ولجن الغي بسيف الرشدها، علي ابن أبي طالب الذي علمه لما وراء الحجاب دراك، وسيفه لأجسام العدى بتاك، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين هم للشفاعة ملاك، الفائز من لحبه مجباهم اشتباك،

25. Majlis 1-89

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله فائق الإصباح، وبارئ الأشباح، ومنور مظلم الأجسام بالأرواح، وصلى الله على نبيه المبعوث بالصلاح والإصلاح، الممثل صدره بالزجاجة وقلبه بالمصباح، محمد المنادى 'نجي على الفلاح'، وعلى وصيه المترجم عن الحق الصراح، خواض الغمرات عند اشتباك الرماح، وتجرد البيض الصفاح، علي بن أبي طالب العليم الفتاح، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته أسباب النجاة والنجاح، وأحلاف الجود والسماح، وأهل البيان والإيضاح،

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26. Majlis 2-103

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اذا الوهم تحرك لإدراكه، أدركه عجز العبودية فقعد به دون حراكه، فإن تعدى وقع في إشراك إشراكه، فهوى بالموهم في مهوى هلاكه، وصلى الله على فلک دين الله المحيط بأفلاكه، ومقام الصافين المسبحين من أملاكه، محمد وارث مقام الرسالة من أملاكه، وعلى أسد الله في عرين يوم عراكه الفتاك بشجعان يوم اللقاء وفتاكه، علي ابن أبي طالب الناجي من غلق رهنه بفكأك، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته أخبار الدين ونسأك، وعروة الله الوثقى التي من استمسك بها نجا باستمسأك، ومن أمسك عنها هوى يامسأك،

27. Majlis 2-106

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والحمد لله المنزه عن شبه الخليفة، المسقى غدق ماء رحمته من استقام على الطريقة، الذي من عرف عجزه عن حقيقة معرفته فقد عرفه بالحقيقة، وصلى الله على رسوله الصادع بأمره، وذكره الحامل لحكيم ذكره، محمد الشافع المشفع في حشره، وعلى هارون أمته، وباب رحمته، علي ابن أبي طالب المعتم من المجد أفخر عتمته، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته القائمين منهم والقاعدن، أئمة التائبين العابدين، صفوة الراكعين الساجدين،

28. Majlis 2-121end

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والحمد لله باعث محمد بالحق المبين، ومؤيده بالكتاب المستبين، وجاعل الأئمة من أهل بيته تراجمة سر دينه، والقوام بإظهار حججه وبراهينه، وصلى الله عليه وعلى أخيه وابن عمه، وكاشف كربه وغمه، علي ابن أبي طالب قرين القرآن، وفارس المنبر والميدان، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين هم من المجد والشرف في أشرف القبيلة، والوسيلة التي عنها الله سبحانه حيث يقول ﴿يَا أَيُّهَا الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا اتَّقُوا اللَّهَ وَابْتَغُوا إِلَيْهِ الْوَسِيلَةَ﴾، وسلم تسليما، حسينا الله ونعم الوكيل،

29. Majlis 2-123

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله جاعل الأئمة من آل بيت نبيه صلى الله عليه وعليهم قرناء القرآن، وألستهم مفاتيح غيب البيان، والممثل لهم بسفينة نوح المنجية من غرق الطوفان، وصلى الله على رسوله إلى الإنس والجان، محمد المبعوث بالفرقان، وعلى وصيه المنصوص عليه في يوم الغدير، قسام الجنة والسعير، علي ابن أبي طالب صنوه والوزير، وقمر دينه المنير، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته التحارير، مواليد حجر التهليل والكبير، وبني بنت البشير النذير،

30. Majlis 2-126

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله ﴿الفتاح العليم﴾، ﴿الغفور الرحيم﴾، الهادي بأوليائه إلى ﴿الصراط المستقيم﴾، وصلى الله على محمد النبي المبعوث بالخلق العظيم، و﴿الكتاب الحكيم﴾، محمد خير من استخلصه من ذرية اسماعيل ونسل ابراهيم، وعلى وصيه

القائم به برهان نبوته كمثل العصا للكليم، علي ابن أبي طالب المسؤول عن ولاته وولاء الأئمة من ذريته القوام بالدين القويم، في
ممثل قوله سبحانه ﴿ثم لتسألن يومئذ عن النعيم﴾، عليه وعليهم أفضل التحيات والتسليم،

31. Majlis 2-128

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مبدع الموصوفات والصفات، وهو المتعالي عن الموصوفات والصفات، وخالق الموت والحياة، فلا ينبت بالموت
والحياة، وفاطر النفوس المتوهمات، فلم يوجد في قبيل المتوهمات، وصلى الله على خير من ابتعثه من رسله الهداة، محمد المؤيد
بالكلمات التامات، وعلي ابن عمه فارس الوغى ومفترس الكماة، والمظهر بيده ولسانه بواهر المعجزات، علي ابن أبي طالب
سيد السادات، وعلي الأئمة من ذريته ﴿آيات البيئات﴾،

32. Majlis 2-130

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله خالق المركب والبسيط وهو المنزه عن نعت المركب والبسيط، وفاطر المحاط به والمحيط وهو المتعالي عن شبه
الحاط به والمحيط، الذي من مبدعاته ظهرت صور السطوح والخطوط، وصلى الله على نبيه صفوة الأشراف، والنور الساطع في
آل عبد مناف، محمد سيد أصحاب الأعراف، وعلي وصيه البليغ بتأويل تنزيله والفصيح، وأبي شهب دينه والمصايح، علي
ابن أبي طالب ذي قرني أميه والمسيح، وعلي الأئمة من ذريته ذوي العلوم والحلوم، وخزينة سيرة الله المكوم، ومقصود قوله ﴿فلا
أقسم بمواقع النجوم﴾،

33. Majlis 2-133

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المنزه عن خطرات الظنون، فضلا عن لحظات العيون، منزل القرآن الكريم في الكتاب المكون، على قلب صفيه النبي
المأمون، محمد المصطفى الميمون، صلى الله عليه وعلي وصيه الحاصد بسيفه من عتا، أمير المؤمنين علي أكرم قرش منبأ،
وعلي الأئمة من ذريته الطاهرين الذين فهم أتى مشهور المدح في ﴿هل أتى﴾،

34. Majlis 2-135end

والحمد لله الذي وطد لدين الحق دعائمه، وطهر من نجس اهل الشرك مراسمه، وصلى الله على خير من أقام بنبوته معالمه، محمد الذي افاض فيه على العالمين مراحمه، وعلى وصيه علي كقوسيدة النساء فاطمة، وعلى الاثمة من ذريته الطاهرين، صلاة باقية دائمة، وسلم تسليما، ﴿حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾

35. Majlis 2-137

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الهادي لقصد السبيل، بالاثمة من آل الرسول المنزل فيهم آيات التفضيل، وصلى الله على ذي الشرف الأصيل، والقدر الجليل، محمد المصطفى صاحب التنزيل، ودعوة أبيه ابراهيم الخليل، وعلى ضرغامه الصؤول وحسامه الصقيل، وزوج ابنته البتول علي صاحب التأويل، وعلى الاثمة الطاهرين من ذريته الصفوة من سلالة اسماعيل،

36. Majlis 2-144

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مبدع الوجود والعدم وهو المنزه عن صفة الوجود والعدم، ومبدئ الحدث والقدم فلائمت بالحدث والقدم، فسبحان من تقطعت دون إدراكه ركائب الأوهام والحمم، وصلى الله على المبعوث بشيرا ونذيرا الى الامم، محمد سيد العرب والعدم، وعلى أخيه وابن عمه كشاف الغمم، علي بن أبي طالب ضراب القمم، وعلى الاثمة من ذريته الطاهرين مصاييح البهم، فلا يخلو العالم من عالم منهم علم،

37. Majlis 2-150

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المحيط بكل شيء علمه، العظيم على الباغين تجاوزه وحلمه، الذي احيانا محمد صلى الله عليه وآله من موت الضلالة والكفر، واستثنى بالايان به من الخسار إذ قال ﴿والعصر، إن الانسان لفي خسر﴾¹⁵، وكلف اجرا عن ارشاده يفوز بحظه الفائزون في العقبي، إذ يقول ﴿قل لا أسألكم عليه أجرا الا المودة في القربى﴾، فقيل له يا رسول الله من فئة القربى التي باخلاص مودة تقصدها، فقال "علي وفاطمة وولدها"، ثم اضاع اجره في مودتهم المضيعون، فضاهاوا فعل الكافرين الذين لا يسمعون له

¹⁵ The quotation of this verse creates an esoteric *fikrah*-relation with its interpretation, presented by Syedna Taher Saifuddin in a *wa'z* sermon, as referring to the 'asr, the afternoon in which Husayn was martyred in Karbala.

ولا يطيعون، فهل يزوي حق اجير مستأجر بأجرة معلومة زاو، إلا وهو ظالم لنفسه وفي مهوى هلاكه هاو، فما ظنكم بمن يزوي حق رسول رب العالمين عن إرشاده، ويمنعه أجره الذي فرضه سبحانه على عباده، ويا ليتهم -صرف الله قلوبهم لما انصرفوا عن موقع الامر، وخالفوا ربهم تخلفا عن الوفاء بالأجر- لم يكشفوا في معاداة من أمروا بموالاتهم قناع الغي، ولم يشهروا بمجاهدة من ندبوا لمجاهدة أعدائهم سيوف البغي، فلقد اذاقوا عترة نبينهم المفروضة مودتهم مريرا، ولقوهم من عتوهم وعنادهم عسيرا، وقاموا عليهم إلبا، ونصبوا لهم حربا، وصاروا للشيطان حزبا، فسبحان الله المانع حلمه أن يخسف بهم الارض خسفا، ويبسقط السماء كسفا،

وصلى الله على محمد المصطفى خير برته، المستنظام في ذريته، وعلى وصيه علي ابن ابي طالب مستودع اسرار دينه، وعلى الائمة من عترته واضحي حجج الله على خلقته وبراهينه،

معشر المؤمنين، ابانكم الله عن استخصم نبيه بظلم بنيه وبني وبنته، كما ميزكم باخلاص الولاء لأهل بيته، قد أتاكم عاشوراء يُذكي نازر زفراته في أكباد أهل الولاء، ويُكي عيون الحجر على القتل الشهيد بكر بلاء، ألا فابكوا الامام المقتول المنبؤ بالعراء، وابكوا ابن علي المرتضى وفاطمة الزهراء، ثم ابكوا من صدع بقله قلب الاسلام صدعا، وأفيضوا رحمكم الله لمصرعه دما لا دمعاً، ...

38. Majlis 2-156

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي عز توحيدَه فارتد الوهم عن تحقيق معرفته عاجزا، فإذا ما جحر الفكر لنيله بقي من عجز العبودية حاجزا، الذي من ابتغى إليه الوسيلة بمجدود دينه كان فائزا، وصلّى الله على من بعثه للنفوس بحرز الرشاد حارزا، محمد المصطفى الذي جعله في أشرف مراكز الرسالة راکزا، وعلى وصيه المنصوب له موازرا ولأعدائه مناجزا، علي ابن أبي طالب خير من قام في حومتي العلم والوعى بلسانه وسيفه مبارزا، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الذين من حاز سعد ولائهم كان لسعد الدارين حائزا،¹⁶

¹⁶ Al-Mu'ayyad combines both relations, the relation with God with the proposition of unreachability and the intercessory relation with His *awliya'*, in this Ṭahmīd. The Ṭahmīd employs a rhetorical device and a Qur'ānic quotation to make its dual points. The three phrases are linked together with the rhyme -ā-izā. While the first two statements affirm the incapacity to comprehend God, the third statement acting as a mini-climax, and separated and highlighted by the repetition of *alladhī*, offers the alternative: the intercession of the *hudūd*, the Prophets and Imāms, the representatives of God according to Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. Since knowing God is impossible, knowing and obeying His *hudūd* is presented as the formula for salvation, since it is they who guide the believer to the true *tawhīd* conclusion that God is beyond comprehension.

39. Majlis 2-158

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المبدع ما هو أول وآخر، ومبدئ ما هو باطن وظاهر، وهو المنزه عن أن يحصره في فكره حاصر، أو يحتوي على تحقيق معرفته خاطر، كتنزهه أن يلحظه بنظره ناظر، وصلى الله على من وجه الرسالة به ناضر، محمد المصطفى الذي سيفه للأعداء قاهر، وبرهان نبوته للورى باهر، وعلى أخيه ووصيه الذي هو للأصنام كاسر، وفي حومة الهيجاء ظافر، علي بن أبي طالب الميمون به للإيمان طائر، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين ريع الحق بهم عامر، ورسم الباطل بارشادهم دائر،

40. Majlis 2-160

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أسبغ عليكم نعمه ظاهرة على الأجسام في مشاربها ومطاعمها، وباطنة على النفوس في معارفها ومعالمها، ودل على يتابع هذه النعم ومقاسمها، فظاهرها من صوب غمائمها، وباطنها من تأييد النبوة المخومة بخائنها، وصلى الله على المبعوث بالملة الحنيفية وإقامة دعائنها، محمد هادم أبنية الضلال وقاصمها، وعلى أخيه وابن عمه خازن الجنة وقاسمها، علي ابن أبي طالب مفترس آساد الحروب وضراغمها، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الطاهرين رحمة الله في البرية من راحمها،

41. Majlis 2-169end

والحمد لله الذي إذا رام الفكر فيه مجالا، قطعت له الحيرة حبالا، فورد مهمها يضل فيه ضلالا، وصلى الله على خير نبي أرسله بالحق رسالا، واكمل بشرعه الشرائع اكمالا، محمد المصطفى الذي فاق الانبياء جلالا، وعلى وصيه مزلزل حومة الوغى زلزالا، علي ابن أبي طالب خير الامة بعد نبيها نساء ورجالا، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته المستمدين جدا وقتحا وخيالا، وسلم تسليما، ﴿حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾،

42. Majlis 2-179

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الهادي من اتبع سبيله، وأطاع من أهل بيت نبيه دليله، فشفى بمعرفة توحيد ربه غليله، وآمنه تشبيهه فيه وتعطيله، وصلى الله على خير من أعلن بلسانه تسبيحه وتهليله، فأبان على المرسلين تقديمه وتمضيئه، محمد الذي آتاه وحيه وتنزله،

وعلى وصيه الذي أفاده بيانه وتأويليه، فشرح مجمل كتابه وتفصيله، علي ابن أبي طالب الذي توجه يوم الغدير تاج السودد وأكليه، وعلى الأئمة من أبنائه الذين جعلهم بقية الرسول في الأرض وسليته،

43. Majlis 2-182end

والحمد لله عاضد كتابه الصامت بكتاب الناطق، الفاتح ابواب الحقائق، لمن استخلصهم من الخلق، وصلى الله على رسوله المعصود بالبرهان المبين، والكتاب المستبين، محمد خاتم النبيين، وعلى وصيه الجالي بنور تأويله ليل الشبه، علي ابن أبي طالب المخلص من العمى والعمه، وعلى الأئمة من أبنائه سرج الظلمة، وشفعاء الأمة، وسلم تسليمًا ﴿حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾،

44. Majlis 2-184

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اقام بالدعاة إلى دينه الدعائم، وأبطل بأولي العزم من رسله السحر والعزائم، وأكمل عدة النبيين، بني جعله الخاتم، وصلى الله على من فاق بفضل العرب والأعاجم، وأحيا يارساله رحمة للعالمين العالم، محمد الذي اصطفاه من رسله وبه اصطفى آدم، وعلى وصيه الذي قطع لناجم الشرك بسيفه البراجم، وأظهر بأنوار علمه المعالم، علي ابن أبي طالب الذي من نسله أنشأ مهدي الأمة والقائم، وعلى الأئمة من أبنائه عصمة من لاذ بهم والافلا عاصم،

45. Majlis 2-185

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي منَّ على أولياء دينه بجليل فضله وسوابغه، ليسقوا بدعوة الحق شيعتهم وأتباعهم من بارد شرابهم وسائقه، ﴿والذين يدعون من دونه لا يستجيبون لهم بشيء إلا كإسقاط كفيه إلى الماء ليبلغ فاه وما هو ببالغه﴾، وصلى الله على رسوله البليغ حججه، الواضح منهجه، محمد سراج الحق المتوقدة منه سُرجه، وعلى وصيه صاحب الآثار والعجائب، والمآثر والمناقب، والمفاخر والمراتب، علي ابن أبي طالب، وعلى البحور البدور الأئمة من أبنائه، علماء الدين وكرمائه، أسماء الله الحسنى الخاسر من الخد في أسمائه،

46. Majlis 2-187end

والحمد لله الذي عز عن أن يحصره وهم، وجل عن أن يحيط به علم، والفصحاء عن معرفة مبدعاته فضلا عن مبدعها عجم، وصلى الله على محمد خير نبي به للأنبياء ختم، ورسول طاعته على العباد حتم، وعلى وصيه الذي هو بحر من العلم خضم،

علي ابن ابي طالب الذي هو من كثانة الله على اعدائه سهم، وعلى الائمة من ذريته المستقاد منهم حزم وعزم، نجوم الحق الثواقب كلما افل نجم طلع نجم، وسلم تسليما، ﴿حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾،

47. Majlis 2-188

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي دون الارتقاء إلى سماء معرفته من عجز العبودية غمام، وبين الأوهام وبين إدراكه من جيش الحيرة زحام، فالإعدام من معرفته وجد والوجد منها إعدام، وصلى الله على المصطفى الذي هو من طود المجد سنام، وعلم الساعة القائم به لها أعلام، محمد الذي يارشاده نعر الحق بسام، وعلى وصيه الذي هو لشملة دينه نظام، علي ابن أبي طالب الذي هو لله في أرضه حسام، والقائم من نسله بعد إمام إمام، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين هم للدين قوام، أئمة من ﴿دعواهم فيها سبحانهك اللهم وتحيتهم فيها سلام﴾،

48. Majlis 2-188end

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي يقوي المعارف تحميده، ويشحذ البصائر تمجيده، وينبوعن الشرك توحيد، سبحانه هو الذي ﴿يدو الخلق ثم يعيده﴾، وصلى الله على خير رسول اتحد به وحيه وتأيده، وألبسه ملبس المجد برسالة مجيده، محمد الذي حمده وأثنى عليه حميده، وعلى وصيه علي ابن أبي طالب الذي هو صنوه ووديده، وركن شرعه وعميده، وليث الهياج وصيده يوم الهياج صيده، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين بولانهم يشقى في الحشر شقيه ويسعد سعيدة، وسلم تسليما، و﴿حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾،

49. Majlis 2-191

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق العالم الجسماني جامعا لمحاسن التقدير، وشاهدا بحسن التدبير، للحكيم الخبير، الذي هو على كل شيء قدير، بسموات ﴿رفع سمكها فسواها، واغطش ليلها واخرج ضحاها، والارض بعد ذلك دحاها، اخرج منها ماءها ومرعاها﴾، وجبال شوامخ ارساها، أكمالا للخلق الطبيعي، وادارارا للرزق الجسداني، وقابل ما خلقه من العالم الجسماني بالعالم الروحاني، الذي هو المعاد، واليه يصير العباد، فزينه بسموات نفسانية، ذات شهب نورانية، واراض مقدسة روحانية،

يخرج باذن ربها نباتها قوتا للارواح اللطيفة، ونشاء للصور القدسية الشريفة، حكمة لمن تدبرها بالغة، ونعمة على من عرفها
سابقة،

وصلى الله على رسوله المؤيد، وعبد الممجد، المصطفى محمد، السابقة من الانبياء به البشارة، السالفة من الاصفياء اليه
الاشارة، يوضح فضله على كافة المرسلين، قول اصدق القائلين، ﴿وما ارسلناك الا رحمة للعالمين﴾، وعلى وصيه خير
وصي لني اسنى الله له القدر، فقال "انا خير ولد آدم ولا فخر"، علي بن ابي طالب الذي عقد الله بلوانه الفتح والنصر، وعلى
الائمة من ذريته الذين اودوا في سبيل الله فصبروا، وقدروا فغفروا، وحجوا الى كعبة رضاه واعتمروا،

50. Majlis 2-194

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي نور توحيدہ للأبصار والبصائر غلاب، فإذا هم بالسفر إلى حقيقة معرفته تقطع به خيل وركاب، وحجز بينه وبين
الوصل إليه رتاج لا يُخرق وحجاب، وصلى الله على خير من دانت له كافة الأمم، وذلت له رقاب العرب والعجم، محمد رسول
المؤيد، وعبد المجد، وعلى وصيه علي بن أبي طالب السيد الممطي ولَّيه فوق الفرقد، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين كل منهم
مُمثل الكوكب الدرِّي الموقد،

51. Majlis 2-195

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي إذا هم الوهم بالعروج إلى معارج كبريائه، ضرب سرادق العجز من دونه وورائه، الذي رصع سماء دينه بالنجوم
من آل محمد صلى الله عليه وآله ترصيع سمانه، وجعلهم أسماء الحسنی التي قال فيها سبحانه ﴿ولله الأسماء الحسنی فادعوه
بها وذروا الذين يلحدون في أسمائه﴾، وصلى الله على خير عبيده وأوليائه، محمد المخصوص باصطفائه، وعلى وصيه
المشهور بإخائه، حامل لوائه، وقاتل أعدائه، علي بن أبي طالب صاحب تأويل قصصه وأنبيائه، وعلى الأئمة الطاهرين من أبنائه،
أولياء الله وأصفيائه،

52. Majlis 2-200

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي غفلت دون قطع فيافي معرفته مطايا الفكر، كما غفلت دون تحقيق صفة مبدعاته ومنبعثاته ألسن البشر، ولي الخلق والأمر، ورب الحشر والنشر، وصلى الله على رسوله المبعوث بحكيم الذكر، محمد المصطفى الطاهر الطهر، وعلى وصيه قاطع أوداج النفاق والكفر، بالرماح السمر، والسيوف البتر، علي بن أبي طالب النازل فيه ﴿يُوفُونَ بِالنَّذْرِ﴾، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته النجوم الزهر، المعرب عن مكانهم في الفضل والفخر، قوله سبحانه ﴿إِنَّا أَنْزَلْنَاهُ فِي لَيْلَةِ الْقَدْرِ﴾،

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53. Majlis 3-204

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي كل موته سواه، وكل موته فاعجز قصاره، وفي موج بحره مجراه ومرساه، وصلى الله على خير نبي اصطفاه واجتباها، وعد اليمن بيمينها، واليسر بيسرها، محمد الذي انطق بالقرآن فاه، وعلى وصيه الذي استخلصه لنفسه وآخاه، وقال "من كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه"، اللهم وال من والاه، وعاد من عاداه"، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين من تولاهم كانت الجنة مأواه، ومن عاداهم فالجحيم مثواه،

54. Majlis 3-216

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي عز عن أن تناله دقائق الفكر، فسيان في القصور عن إدراكه نهضات البصيرة والبصر، وهو الفاطر لكل ما اشتمل عليه عقد الضمائر والصفات المنزه عن مناسبة الفطر، وصلى الله على بشير البشر، ونذير النذر، محمد المنعوت في الصحف والزبر، المصطفى سيد البدو والحضر، وعلى وصيه الصديق الأكبر، الحال من شمس رسالته محل القمر، الممثل بالنار المستخلصة من أخضر الشجر، علي بن أبي طالب ممثل الكوثر، النازلة ولايته من كعبة الدين بمنزلة أسود الحجر، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الخيرة من نسل خيرة الخير، وخير من حج واعتمر،

55. Majlis 3-222matn

قد سمعتم ما قرئ عليكم من كلام الحكمة، ما يتعين عليكم فيه الشكر لولي النعمة،

ونحن نسوق من مثلها في التحميد العلي، والوعظ العقلي، ما تستثير العقول بالألانه، وتشرق النفوس بضياائه، فنقول،

الحمد لله مبدع الأحد كاملا، ولذاته عاقلا، وباختراعه كافلا، الكائن لكل مفعول فاعلا، ولكل محمول حاملا، لا يستند إلا إلى هويته من سند، ولا يقوم إلا بعد وحدانيته من عمد، وكل من عداه معتمد عليه، ويستند في وجوده إليه، الأول الذي هو منبع البركات، وعلة السككات والحركات، فلو كان أول قبله لاختلت أوليته، أو علة لوجوده لاعتلت وحدانيته وأزليته، بل هو الساكن من حيث إنه استوى على عرشه في الكمال والتعام، المتحرك شكرا لما وصل إليه من مبدعه من الإنعام،

أحمده إذ حمده مكوّن الأكوان، المنبعث منه مخترع الزمان والمكان، حمدا ضروره عجز العبودية تحسنه، وإن كانت حركة الوهم ولا حركة تهجنه،

وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الذي هو مبدع كل موهوم، فلا يتجاوز صفة مبدعاته كل معلوم منها ومفهوم،

وأشهد أن محمدا أشرف من ولي أمة، وأرسل للعالمين رحمة، خيرة الأخيار، ونور الأنوار، شمس دار المعاد، الموعد بأكرم الميعاد، دينه القويم، خلقه العظيم، وذكره الحكيم، ظاهره للأجسام أحسن ظهار، وباطنه للأرواح خير مستجار، صلى الله عليه من فائق للإصباح بقرآنه، وصادع ظلام الشبه بمصابيح برهانه، وعلى آله الذين القى اليهم مقاليد، وعرفهم حقوقه وحدوده،

56. Majlis 3-226

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أرسل محمدا صلى الله عليه وآله ﴿رحمة للعالمين﴾، فأنشأ منها نفوس العظماء الرحماء، وجعله ﴿شجرة طيبة أصلها ثابت وفرعها في السماء﴾، وصلى الله عليه من ينبوع النور والضياء، مبعوث بالحنيفية البيضاء، موم به عدة الأنبياء، ذاك محمد خير من شرقت عليه شمس دار الحس والنماء، وعلى وصيه الذي علمه تأويل الأنباء، علي ابن أبي طالب أسد الهيجاء، المفرج عن وجهه كرب اللقاء، وعلى الائمة من ذريته آل العباء، الفصحاء السمحاء الرجحاء،

57. Majlis 3-227

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي فضل شهر الصيام، على جميع شهور العام، وجعل فيه ذكرى لحاص عبيده دون العام، بأن دل به على صفوة الأنام، كما جعله صفوة الأيام، ولولا هذا الإضمار لامتنع أن يذكر هذا العز والفخر، لما لا يحس ولا يعقل ولا يصح منه التقصد والاختيار، وصلى الله على خير من اختلف به الليل والنهار، وأحاط بحجسه دون نفسه الفلك الدوار، محمد المكشّف بينه وبين عالم الملكوت الحجب والأسرار، وعلى وصيه هارون الأئمة وشمعونها، وملاقي حرّ الكربة بحر وجهه بكرها وعونها، علي ابن أبي طالب صاحب الحكمة ومفجر عيونها، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته أخيار الأمة وأحبار علومها، وأقار سماء الهداية ودراري نجومها،

58. Majlis 3-245

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل كلمة الإمامة، باقية إلى يوم القيامة، في عقب رسوله المكي، ووصيه الطاهر الزكي، كلما انقض نجم فغار، طلع نجم واستنار، الذي أقامنا ورثة للرسول، وحفظة للتنازل والتأويل، نحمده إذ أخرج الضوء من الضوء، وجعل على مخالفني الحق دائرة السوء، وصلى الله على رسوله محمد الذي أتده بنصره، وقرن طاعته بطاعة من يليه من ولاة أمره، قبله الموجهين للمعبود، والشاهد الذي أقسم الله به للمشهود، صاحب الحوض المورود، واللواء المعقود، وعلى وصيه خير وصي حل بالفخر من الأنام، محل الفجر من الظلام، وعلى آله الصفوة الكرام،

59. Majlis 3-255matn

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي قسم خلق الإنسان قسمين خسيساً وشريفاً، وجعله جوهرياً كثيفاً ولطيفاً، كثيفه من عالم الجسم الذي إليه انحلاله، ولطيفه من عالم النفس الذي نحوه ماله، وكما أن كثيفه في أدنى أجزاء عالمه محصور، وبالنسبة إليها محبور، فلطيفه بالنسبة إلى عالمه مستغرق مغمور، وعن حصر النسب مستور، فلا الجسم إذا تحرك تجاوز كثيفاً هو قصاره، ولا الوهم إذا تحرك تعدى لطيفاً هو غايته ومُنْتَهَاهُ، تعالى مبدع اللطيف والكثيف أن يكون بميزانهما موزوناً، وتقدس عن مجانسة أحدهما فيكون بصفته موهوناً، ولتقيصة الإحاطة به مضموناً،

وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الذي من توهمه شبه فأبطل، ومن أوهمه عنه فعطل، وأشهد أن محمداً خيرُ رسولٍ نَزَعَ بنا عن السماتِ
البهيمة، وركبنا في الصورِ الآدمية، ونفعنا بالأسماع والأبصار، وأتقنا وكثنا على شفا حفرة من النار، صلى الله عليه وعلى آله
الأبرار،

60. Majlis 3-256

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل قليل الحق كثيراً خطيراً، وكثير الباطل قليلاً حقيراً، الذي حمى دينه وتولى نصره وتمكينه ونصب سده،
فأحكم عقده وشده، ومنع بالسنة أجوح ومأجوح هدمه وهذه، المستخلص من الظلمات الطاغوتية أنوار الملكوتية، المخلص
من التلبسات التيمية والعدوية، بالبينات النبوية والعلوية، أحمله إذ منع مساجده من مانع ﴿أن يذكر فيها اسمه﴾، ودفع في
وجه الشيطان أن ينفذ في خرابها سهمه، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الذي لا عبارة عنه ولا إشارة إليه، أعوز الأفهام أن تحيط به ما أعوز
الأقدام أن تقدم عليه، وأشهد أن محمداً خير من أوتي حكماً وعلماً، وأولي رسالة وعزماً، ترك في أمته ثقلين لو تمسكوا بهما ما
ضلوا، ولو ثبتوا عليهما ما زلوا،

61. Majlis3- 258

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي كل موهم دونه، بل كل موهم جارٍ في مضمار عباد يعبدونه، وصلى الله على نبيه الذي يبرز على الأنبياء بفضله،
فقال سبحانه وهو الصادق في قوله، ﴿هو الذي ارسل رسوله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله﴾، وعلى وصيه علي
الذي آتاه الحكم صبيها، ورفع مكاناً علياً، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته المتولي لهم من كان لله ولياً،

62. Majlis 3-266

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أنبتنا من أرض جنته نباتاً، وجعل صفحة شريعة خير برته لنا كهاتاً، وأرسي فيها بالأئمة من عترته رواصي
شاححات وأسقانا بهم من سجال رحمته فراتاً، أحمله إذ حمانا بولايتهم أن ندوق بعد الموت الأولى مماتاً، وألف شملنا بخلقٍ جديدٍ
في طاعتهم بعد أن ﴿كنا عظما ورفاتا﴾، وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الذي سمك سماء العقول والنفوس مزينته بمصاييحها، وأقامها
أداة للنشأة الآخرة مُملَكَةً لمقاليدها ومفاتيحها، وأشهد أن محمداً خير داعٍ إليه دعاء، وأشرف راعٍ لخلقهِ رعى، صلى الله عليه
من نبي آتاه الله ﴿سبعاً من المثاني والقرآن العظيم﴾، وجعله ﴿لسان صدق في الآخرين﴾، فأجاب فيه دعوة إبراهيم، صلى

الله عليه وعلى من جعله للنار والجنة القسم، علي بن أبي طالب الحائز من تولاہ النعيم المقيم، وعلى آله الذين هم أعلام الساعة، والأئمة المفترضوا الطاعة،

63. Majlis 3-267

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اصطفى من أنبيائه محمداً، وجعله برسائه وكتابه مؤيداً، وشده له بأخيه وابن عمه عَصْداً، وجعل الإمامة كلمة باقية في عقبه أبداً، نحمده إذ نصب الأئمة لنجاة الأرواح أعلاماً، ومهد كَفَّ دعوتهم لأبنائها ﴿لَا يَسْمَعُونَ فِيهَا لَغْوًا وَلَا تَأْثِيمًا، إِلَّا قِيلًا سَلَامًا سَلَامًا﴾، ونشكره إذ خلص أولياءهم بهم من ضنك المعاش، واستخلصهم باتباعهم من زمر الأوباش، ونشهد أن لا إله إلا الله المتعالي عن معارف الأنام، المتزّه عن مصارف الأوهام، ونشهد أن محمداً رسوله الذي لولاه لكان الناس أضل من الأنعام، صلى الله عليه وعلى وصيه خير الأنام، الأئمة من ذريته أهل الفضل والإنعام،

64. Majlis 3-268

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي أذكره بلازم حمده أن وسع للمؤمنين نعمة وإحساناً، فخاطبهم سبحانه بقوله ﴿وَاذْكُرُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِخْوَانًا﴾، نحمده آتاء الليل وأطراف النهار، ونشكره إذ أنقذ بنا سأل محمد- شيعتنا وكانوا ﴿عَلَى شَفَا جُرْفٍ هَارٍ﴾، فسبحان من الأوهام عن الترقى إليه معزولة، والمبدعات والمنبعثات عن مبدعها مشغولة،

وصلى الله على محمد خير من أخرجه الله في صورة آدمية، وركبه في قامة ألفية، فقصر دون فخره الفخار، وزاغت عن رؤيته الابصار، فأبان سبحانه أو القوم مقصرون دونها وقاصرون، بقوله سبحانه ﴿وَتَرَاهُمْ يُنْظَرُونَ إِلَيْكَ وَهُمْ لَا يُبْصَرُونَ﴾، وسلم عليه من نبي مؤيد بالروح الأمين، وعلى آله آل ياسين، الأئمة من ذريته الميامين،

65. Majlis 3-272*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

(1) الحمد لله الذي له من مُخْتَلَفَاتِ الشُّهُورِ وَالْأَيَّامِ مُتَجَبُّ¹⁷، لَهُ مَنَازِلُ مُتَقَاوِتَةٌ وَرُتَبٌ، فَشَهْرُ رَمَضَانَ أَغْلَاهَا رُبَّةً وَأَذْنَاهَا رَجَبٌ، وَمَا كَانَ لِيُوجِبَ مِنَ الْحِكْمَةِ رَأْيٌ مُهْذَبٌ¹⁸، تَفْضِيلُ مَا لَيْسَ لَهُ فِي الْمَعْرِفَةِ بِنَفْسِهِ مَذْهَبٌ، وَلَا مِنْ حَيَاتِهِ وَنُطْقِهِ مَثْوًى وَلَا مُنْقَلَبٌ، لَوْلَا أَنَّ ذَلِكَ أَسَارٌ عَلَى مَعَانٍ شَرِيفَةٍ وَحُجُبٍ،

(2) أَحْمَدُهُ إِذْ ضَرَبَ الْأَمْثَالَ لِلنَّاسِ ﴿وَمَا تَعْلَمُهَا إِلَّا الْعُلَمَاءُ﴾ (29:43)، وَأَشْكُرُهُ إِذْ أَمَنَّا وَأَمَّنَ بِنَا الْمُنَافِصَةَ¹⁹ مِنْهُ بِالْبَاسِ وَنَحْنُ عَنْ وَعِيدِهِ نَأْتُمُونَ، شُكْرُ الرَّاجِي أَنْ يَقْبَلَ فِي هَذِهِ الشُّهُورِ الْمُبَارَكَةِ تَشْكُّهُ، وَقَدْ صَحِبَ بِلَفْظِهَا اعْتِصَامُهُ وَبِمَعْنَاهَا تَشْكُّهُ،

(3) وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا الَّذِي جَعَلَنَا مِنْ سُكَّانِ الْحَرَمِ، وَشَرَفَنَا بِالْأَشْهُرِ الْحُرُمِ (9:5 and 36)،

(4) وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدُهُ الَّذِي رَفَعَهُ ﴿مَكَانًا عَلِيًّا﴾ (19:57)، وَجَعَلَ لَهُ لِسَانَ صَدَقٍ سَمَاءَهُ عَلِيًّا وَصِيًّا (19:50 and 26:84)، قَمَعَ اللَّهُ بِهِ مِنْ عَصَاهُ، وَجَعَلَ بُرْهَانَهُ فِيهِ كَبْرَاهَانَ مُوسَى فِي عَصَاهُ،

(5) صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ الْمُتَوَجِّينَ تَاجَ الْإِمَامَةِ، فَهِيَ كَلِمَةٌ بَاقِيَةٌ فِيهِمْ (43:28) إِلَى يَوْمِ الْقِيَامَةِ،

66. Majlis 3-299

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اصطفى من أنبيائه محمداً، وجعله بوحيه وتنزيله مؤيداً، وشد له بآبٍ عَمَهُ عَضُدًا، وَجَعَلَ الْإِمَامَةَ كَلِمَةً بَاقِيَةً فِي عَقِبِهِ أَبَدًا، فَمَنْ عُلِقَ بِهِمْ كَرَمٌ مُحَدًا، وَمَنْ زَاغَ عَنْهَا خَبَثٌ مَوْلَدًا، فَكَانَ كَمَ قَالَ اللَّهُ سُبْحَانَهُ وَاحِدًا أَحَدًا، ﴿وَالْبَلَدُ الطَّيِّبُ يَخْرِجُ نَبَاتَهُ يَأْذَنُ رَبُّهُ وَالَّذِي خَبَثَ لَا يَخْرِجُ إِلَّا نَكْدًا﴾،

¹⁷ اُنْتَجِبَ يَنْتَجِبُ اُنْتِجَابًا -: الشَّيْءُ: اخْتَارَهُ وَاصْطَفَاهُ؛ اُنْتَجِبَ صَدِيقًا--المحيط

¹⁸ مهذب -: كلام مهذب: المخلص مما يشينه-taught

¹⁹ غفص - غافصة مغافصة اُنْتَجِبَ يَنْتَجِبُ اُنْتِجَابًا -: الشَّيْءُ: اخْتَارَهُ وَاصْطَفَاهُ؛ اُنْتَجِبَ صَدِيقًا فَاجَأَهُ وَأَخَذَهُ عَلَى غِرَّةٍ سَنَةَ الْغَافِصَةِ الْأَزْمَةِ مِنْ أَوَازِمِ الدَّهْرِ جَ غَوَافِصٍ. يَقَالُ وَقَالَا اللَّهُ مِنَ الْغَوَافِصِ الْمَغَافِصَةِ مَصْدَرٌ. وَأَخَذَ الشَّيْءُ مَغَافِصَةً أَيْ مَغَالِبَةً لِسَانَ الْعَرَبِ. فِي نَوَائِرِ الْأَغْزَابِ: أَخَذْتُهُ مَغَافِصَةً، وَمَغَافِصَةً، وَمَغَافِصَةً، أَيْ أَخَذْتُهُ مُعَازَرَةً--تَاجُ الْعُرُوسِ

وصلى الله صلوة لا تحصى عددا، على محمد أشرف من أقام به للإسلام عمدا، وأوضح برهانه للهدى جددا، وصلى المرتضى خير من انتضى في نصرته مهندا، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته سند من أقامهم لمعادته سندا، وفتية أهل الكهف الذين ﴿قالوا ربنا آتنا من لدنك رحمة وهيئ لنا من أمرنا رشدا﴾،

Al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadīyah vol. IV [Ms.]

67. Majlis 4-301

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي له من مختلفات اللسان التسبيح والتهليل، كل في ذهن الصقيل، وخرس عنه اللسان الطويل، فإن نطق فقصاراه التمثيل، وإن سكت فمداه التعطيل، وصلى الله على من له من شرف الرسالة الباع الطويل، المرفوع به مجد من قال الله سبحانه فيه حيث يقول ﴿واذ يرفع إبراهيم القواعد من البيت واسماعيل﴾، محمد الذي له القدر الأثيل، وعلى وصيه المؤكد بسيفه التنزيل، الناطق بلسانه التأويل، علي ابن أبي طالب خير من كان في حلبة الوغى يجول، وفي مصالها يصول، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين لهم بالامامة التشريف والتفضيل، وعند الله سبحانه القدر الرفيع الجليل،

68. Majlis 4-320

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله منطلق لسان الحكمة بأهل بيت اذهب الله عنهم الرجس وطهرهم تطهيرا، ومؤتيم بها خير الآخرة ﴿ومن يؤتي الحكمة فقد أوتي خيرا كثيرا﴾، ومنشر شيعتهم من موت الضلالة والخيبة نشورا، وصلى الله على عبده الذي أنزل عليه الفرقان ليكون للعالمين نذيرا، محمد الذي جعله للدار الآخرة سراجا وقمرا منيرا، وعلى وصيه الذي أقامه له اخا ووزيرا، وجعله للبشير النذير فيما دون الرسالة نظيرا، وفجر من لسانه ينابيع العلم تفجيرا، وأنشأ من حسامه سحبا للمنايا مطيرا، علي ابن أبي طالب النازيل فيه ﴿يوفون بالنذر ويخافون يوما كان شره مستطيرا﴾، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذين آتاهم بالخلافة والامامة ملكا كبيرا، فمن والاهم ﴿ينقلب الى أهله مسرورا﴾، ومن عاداهم يلقي ثبورا ويصلي سعيرا،

69. Majlis 4-331

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي رضي لباس التقوى لاوليائه لبوسا، واطلع بالبيان من بروج السننهم شمسوا، وجعل في كل عصر منهم رئيسا وعلى الخلق ومن عداهم مرؤسا، وصلى الله على خير نبي جعله في مغارس النبوة مغروسا، وربعه بالوحي والتائيد مانوسا، المنجي من الهلكة ارواحا ونفوسا، وعلى وصيه الذي ببيان علمه داء الشبهات يوسى، علي ابن ابي طالب القائل فيه اخوه انت مني كهرون من موسى، وعلى الائمة من ذريته احبار الدين معقولا ومحسوسا، وسواسه الذين بهم اصبح مسوسا،

70. Majlis 4-340

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي آية نهار قدرته مبصرة، الخاسرة قوم قلوبهم لها منكورة، الذي اذا فكرت النفوس الباحثة المفكرة، وجدت حقيقة معرفته في مضمار النكرة، وصلى الله على من احدى فضائله ان نودي من شاطئ الواد الامن في البقعة المباركة من الشجرة، وايد بالعصا التي تلقف افك السحرة، محمد المصطفى خيرة الخيرة، على وصيه المسمى حيدرة، صاحب تاويل الصحف المرفوعة المطهرة، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الهدى البررة، الذين هم من شجرة فضله الثمرة،

71. Majlis 4-358

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي ما للعقول على تحقيق معرفته محط، ولا يكاد تستبين منها صفة فيفرض لها سطح او خط، بل للعقول دون ادراكه في عشواء عجز العبودية خبط، وصلى الله على خير بني آدم الذي رحم بمبعثه العالم، محمد الذي جعله لنبيين خاتم، وعلى وصيه كشاف كل ملتبس، الآتي من برهان تاويله بشهاب قبس، علي ابن ابي طالب خير فارس استوى على ظهر فرس، وعلى الائمة من ذريته خير الذرية، نجوم الهدى والكواكب الدرية، نجل المصطفى والمرضى ﴿اولئك هم خير البرية﴾،

72. Majlis 4-380

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله القاصر دقائق افكار عن ان تكون على تحقيق معرفته مطلة، فاذا تحركت واقعت من التشبيه مزلة، واذا سكنت غشيت من التعطيل مضلة، الباعث رسوله محمد باسرف الملل ملة، والمقيم عليها من صفحات الآفاق والانس ادلة، والمطلع من سماء النبوة بالترجمين عنها نجوما واهلة، وصلى الله على من ارسله للعالمين رحمة، محمد اشرف من عممه من النبوة عمة، وعلى وصيه وابن عمه الكاشف عن وجهه بعد غمة غمة، علي ابن ابي طالب الذي اكمل بولائه دنيا واتم نعمة، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الذين جلوا بانوار علومهم ظلمة، للمعتصمين بجبلهم من النار عصمة،

73. Majlis 4-394

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مبدع الواحد الذي هو للحساب سند، وعلة العدد، فما قبله عدد، وليس للاعداد الغير المتناهية بعده امد، ﴿قل هو الله احد، الله الصمد، لم يلد ولم يولد، ولم يكن له كفوا احد﴾، وصلى الله على من ناب في عالم الجسم منابه، محمد الذي عظم الله به مسجد الحق ومحرابه، وجعل علي ابن ابي طالب بابه، وصلى الله على الائمة من ذريته الذين هم تراجمة دين الله القويم، والهداة الى صراط مستقيم،

74. Majlis 4-397

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الغالب امره، القاهر قدره، الذي يساوى في العجز عن ادراكه بصيرة المرء وبصره، وصلى الله على من شهد بنبوته حجره ومدره، محمد خير من نزلت عليه آياته وسوره، وابانت عن فضله كبه وزبره، وعلى من هو في فلك شمس قمره، علي ابن ابي طالب الفاخر به ميدانه ومنبره، المعد لشيعته كوثره، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الذين هم من صدف المجد درره، المتولي لهم من طاب اصله وجوهره،

Al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyyah vol. V [Ms.]

75. Majlis 5-5-401

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي لا تعلق بأولياء دينه النقا، بل بكاملهم تكمل النفوس النواقص، فهم يدينون بدين الله سبحانه الذي قال فيه ﴿إلا الله الدين الخالص﴾، وصلى الله على الشمس الطالعة من برج الرسالة، المستوفية كمال الشرف والجلالة، محمد الهادي إلى الحق من الضلالة، وعلى وصيه خير غاد بعده ورائح، واشجع من استوى على سرج ساج، علي ابن أبي طالب أجل مسيح لربه وفي فضا ملكوته بالفكر سائح، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته السادات الأفاضل، الرادين لشيعتهم إلى المعالم من الجاهل،

76. Majlis 5-402

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق الإنسان مجبوراً في زي المختار، ومزموماً بزمان الاقدار، ومصرفاً بين الصفو والاكدار، وصلى الله على المبصرة آية نبوته كآية النهار، محمد صفوة الواحد القهار، وعلى وصيه المؤيد بذوي الفقار، علي الكرار، ومجر العلم الزخار، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الزاكنين الابرار، اعراف الله بين الجنة والنار،

77. Majlis 5-404

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الجاعل لاهل دعوة الحق من جبال رحمته أكثانا، والمنبت لهم من حدائق حكمته روحاً وربحانا، والضامن لهم الجنة بطاعته وأولياء دينهم ضمنا، وصلى الله على ابهر انبيائه برهانا، واعلاهم في المجد شانا، محمد الذي جعله بالصدق لآبيه ابراهيم لسانا، وعلى وصيه افرس الفرسان منبرا وميدانا، واشجع الشجعان ضرابا وطعانا، علي ابن ابي طالب المنصوب لعلمه ترجمانا، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الذي رفع الله لهم بشرف الامامة مكانا، وآتاهم من لدنه سلطانا،

78. Majlis 5-404 end

والحمد لله حافظ شمل دينه من الشّات، بالائمة من اهل بيت رسوله الهداة، وصلى الله على من هو لهم ينبوع السعادة، وعلى وصيه القائم له بتفصيل الكلمات، علي ابن ابي طالب الكاشف بسيفه للغمرات، وعلى الائمة من ذريته النقا، الذين ولاءهم عصمة النجاة، والفوز ﴿بالبقيات الصالحات﴾،

79. Majlis 5-422

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل موضوع الدنيا على الصفو والاكدار، والتأليف بين الاطهار والاقذار، والمتقين والفجار، لعله اوجب تكونها في هذا المضمار، فلا يحيط بها علما الا ذووا الايدي والابصار، المستمدون من مشكاة الانوار، وصلى الله على ارفعهم قدرا في الاقدار، محمد المصطفى المختار، المبعوث بالاعذار والانذار، وعلى وصيه علي الكرار، قسيم الجنة والنار، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الابرار، ذوي المجد المتعالي المنار،

80. Majlis 5-425

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اوضح بال محمد صلى الله عليه وآله للهدى جددا، ففاز القائلون لهم هل تتبعكم على ان تعلمونا بما علمتم رشدنا، وخاب الزائقون عنهم والمتخذون المضلين عضدا، ففرقوا في دينهم فصاروا شعاعا بددا، وصلى الله على محمد خير الرسل المبعوث بخير الملل، المتوجه الى خير القبل، وعلى وصيه الذي بنوره تستنير فروق المناثر، ويعلمه تهز اعطاف المنابر، وسيفه يقطع وتين الامم الكوافر، وعلى الائمة من ذريته اعلام الهدى زينة المشارق والمغارب، وصفوة من خلق من طين لازب،

81. Majlis 5-466

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي عن ابداعه صدرت النقطة والخط، وعنده للافكار الدقيقة الخط، فاذا انتهت اليه فانها (فاتها؟) القبض والبسط، وصلى الله على رسوله محمد العظيم خلقه، المتوج بتاج الاصطفاء مفرقه، المشرق بنور ارشاده مغربه ومشرقه، وعلى علي بن ابي طالب وصيه وابن العم، بحر العلم الخضم، وطود الحكمة الاشم، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الغر الميامين، سادات اصحاب اليمين، المشار اليهم بقوله تعالى ﴿والتين والزيتون وطور سينين، وهذا البلد الامين﴾، معشر المؤمنين، جعلكم الله الى

طاعتهم مسابقين، ولهم في درجاتهم مرافقين، ... ولوذوا من مكان الاضاعة بمكان الحفظ، ومن موقع بُخس الخط الى موقع جزيل الخط،

82. Majlis 5-479

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اذا الوهم هم ان يناله زلزاله عجز العبودية فكسف باله، وقطع دون الحول والقوة فيه حباله، وصلى الله على المصطفى ابهر الانبياء آية، وارفعهم في المجد راية، محمد الذي جعله في الكمال غاية، وعلى وصيه مستودع سر الغيوب، ومفترس فرسان الحروب، علي بن ابي طالب كشاف الكروب، وعلى الائمة من ذريته عصم النجاة، وينابيع ماء الحياة،

83. Majlis 5-491

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مبدع الكاف والنون، جاعلها علة الحركة والسكون، باعث النور من خلال صلصال من حياء مسنون، وصلى الله على امين دينه المامون، محمد المترجم عن سر الكتاب المكون، وعلى وصيه اسد الهيحاء اذا دارت رحى الزبون، علي ابن ابي طالب علامة معنى قوله تعالى ﴿وَالزَّيْنُ وَالزَّيْنُونَ﴾، وعلى الائمة من ذريته فلك النجاة المشحون،

84. Majlis 5-492

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اصطفى من انبيائه محمدا، وبعثه بوحيه وتنزله مؤيدا، وجعل شرعه مؤيدا، وشد له بأخيه عضدا، صلى الله عليه وعلى من اقامه لسماء مجده عمدا، علي ابن ابي طالب الباسط لله على الارض يدا، القاصم ظهور الكفر والنفاق لسانا ومهندا، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الذين نصب لكل زمان منهم وليا مرشدا، فمن تولاهم زكى محمدا وطاب مولدا،

Al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyyah vol. VI [Ms.]

85. Majlis 6-501

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل نفوس اولياء دينه عليهم افضل السلام عناصر النفوس الكرام، بازاء العناصر القائمة للاجسام، واقام من علومهم لها شرابا بازاء الشراب وطعاما بازاء الطعام،

وصلى الله على رسوله خير الأنام، محمد المخبّومة به النبوة احسن الختام، وعلى وصيه علم الاعلام، علي ابن ابي طالب صنو الآتي بدين الاسلام، وصفوة الداعي الى دار السلام، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الكرام، خيرة ذي الجلال والاکرام،

86. Majlis 6-502

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي عز وتعالى عن ان ينال العقل من تحقّق معرفته منالا، فاذا رام في آفاقه مجالا، وجد دونه من عجز العبودية عقلا، وورد مهمها يضل فيه ضلالا، وصلى الله على خير من ارسل الى الجن والانس ارسالا، محمد الذي اكملت به عدة النبيين اكمالا، وعلى وصيه المنزل بسيفه ارض الكفر زلزالا، علي ابن ابي طالب المسرّيل بحكمة تاويله جسم التنزيل سربالا، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الذين جعلهم عصرة للخلق وثملا، واسعد لهم بطاعتهم منقلبا ومالا،

87. Majlis 6-509

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق الانسان ضعيفا عاجزا، وجعل بينه وبين معرفة العلة في وجوده حاجزا، فهو منقول من ظهر الى بطن باديا، ومحصول في دار عناء والم ثانيا، تضعه امه وقد ملئ لمفارقة مهاده رعبا، فلا يملك او يصير باكيا من هوله متحبا(?)، ثم يقبل الزمان عليه بوجه وباله، ويقصده بصنوف انكاله، مجاعة ان اجحفت به فهناك الويل، وشبعا ان زاد على حده فعنده الزفير والعول، فهو ما عاش في مضمار السقم والصحة، ومصرف بين الضيق والفسحة، لا يوجد لحظة من اللحظات الا لطار من دائه مداويا، ولا طرفة من الطرفات الا لعارض من آفاته نافيا، فسبحان الذي لو شاء جعل طرف هذه البلوى عنك يا مسكين مقصورا، ﴿تبارك الذي ان شاء جعل لك خيرا من ذلك جنات تجري من تحتها الانهار ويجعل لك قصورا﴾،

وصلى الله على رسوله محمد خير من كشف عن وجه الحق قناعا، وامد المرسلين الى الكمال باعا، وابسطهم نورا وشعاعا، وعلى وصيه الذي ولاته عماد السنن والفرائض، علي ابن ابي طالب ترجمان علمه الفاض، والباسط يده في عالم الملكوت والقابض، وعلى الائمة من ذريته سادات اصحاب الاعراف، المستخلصين من آل عبد مناف،

88. Majlis 6-517

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي ضمن إظهار دينه على الدين كله وهو به وفي، ووعد بالنصر لأوليائه ووعد ما أتى، وصلى الله على محمد عبده الزكي، ورسوله الرضي، وأمينه المرضي، وعلى وصيه سيف التنزيل، ولسان التأويل، علي ابن أبي طالب كفو البتول، وابن عم الرسول، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته القوام بالدين، حبل الله المتين،

89. Majlis 6-547

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مبدع المبدعات والمنبعثات، وهو المنزه عن شبه المبدعات والمنبعثات، ومخترع الصفات والموصفات، وهو المتعالي عن نعت الصفات والموصفات، فسبحان ذي العرش رفيع الدرجات، يلقي الروح من امره على من شاء من عباده روح الحياة،

وصلى الله على خاتم الأنبياء والنبوت، محمد سيد السادات، وعلى وصيه المؤيد من رب الأرض والسموات، علي ابن أبي طالب صاحب الآيات البينات، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الصفوة الهداة، مفزع المتعلقين بهم للنجاة،

90. Majlis 6-559

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق الإنسان منقشاً إلى البهائم بجسمه الكثيف، وإلى الملائكة بنفسه المعنى اللطيف، وكلاهما يستمد من الغذاء ما يلائمه، ويطلب ما يقوم به قائمه، فهذا يمتار من الأرض والماء، وذاك يمتار من قوى الأنبياء والأوصياء،

وصلى الله على من أنشأ من فضلات إنسانيته الإنسان، وباب دار الآخرة التي قال الله سبحانه فيها ﴿**وإن الدار الآخرة لهي الحيوان**﴾، محمدن الذي نزل عليه الفرقان، وعلى وصيه الذي عليه التأويل والبيان، علي ابن أبي طالب فارس فرسائه في يوم الوغى الفرسان، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته المفترضي الطاعة، المأمولي الشفاعة،

91. Majlis 6-583

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي رصع تاج النبوة بجوهر الامامة، وجعلها كلمة ناقية الى يوم القيامة، ، وصلى الله على محمد خير من
دعى الى دار المقامة، ووضع اوضاع الاذان والاقامة، وعلى اخيه ووصيه صاحب الصمصامة، النازلة في هامات
المشركين نزول الكبرى الطامة، المشار اليه بقوله ﴿ **ولا اقسم بالنفس اللوامة** ﴾ ، وعلى الائمة من ذريته المعمين من
المجد افخر العمامة، ائمة الامة الصوامة القوام،

Al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyyah vol. VII [Ms.]

92. Majlis 7-601

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المنزه عن ان يتخذ من الاوهام عرشا او كرسيا، فمن هدى بمعرفته بنفي التشبيه والتعطيل فقد هدى
صراطا سويا، وصلى الله على محمد خير من بعث الى الجن والانس نبيا، وجعل وجه دين الاسلام به وضيا، واقام له
وصيا، سماه ربه عليا، ورفع مكانا عليا، صلى الله عليهما بكرة وعشيا، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الذين من توالاهم
كان الله له وليا، ومن عاداهم كان منه بريا،

93. Majlis 7-612

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اذا نهل الفكر من مشرب تجريد توحيده ملكه الشرق، ورمث به يد العبودية في بحر الحيرة فادركه
الفرق، المرجوم بشهاب ثاقب من قعد من سمائه مقاعد للسمع يسترق ، المسعود من ترجح بين الحركة والسكون يجد
وبه الرجا والفرق (؟)، وصلى الله على من هو في عالم الجسم القلم، المشتمل على قوى اهل التائيد كما اشتملت على
قوة العلم الكلم، محمد الكائن جده ابراهيم امة وهو الامم، وعلى وصي دينه ولوحه المحفوظ ، علي ابن ابي طالب عين
الله الكلية للمرموق بها والملحوظ، وعلى الائمة من ذريته ذرية الناطق، ومعنى المغارب التي اقسم الله بها والمشارق،
والنجم الثاقب الذي كفى عنه بالطارق بقوله ﴿ **والسماء والطارق** ﴾ ،

94. Majlis 7-630

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل السن الأئمة آل محمد عليه وعليهم السلام مطالع أنوار الحكم، فمن تخلى عن الاقتباس منهم كان خابطا في الظلم، وصلى الله على عبده المبعوث لهداية الأمم، محمد سيد العرب والعجم، وعلى وصيه العالم العلم، علي ابن أبي طالب خير ابن عم، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الطاهرين وسلم،

95. Majlis 7- 649

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي تعالى حمده، وعلى مجده، وتنزه عن الوصف والحد فامتنع وصفه وحده، فاذا هم الوهم ان يضرب فيه مضاربه نبا حده (?)، وصلى الله على المصطفى المشرف به غوره ونجده، محمد الصادق قوله المصدق في اظهار دينه ووعدده، وصلى وصيه الماخوذ يوم الغدير على الرقاب عهدده، علي ابن ابيطالب الساجد له يوم الطعان والضراب أسده، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الطاهرين المتولي لهم من كان النجاة [قصده]،

96. Majlis 7-657end

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والحمد لله الذي وسع كل شيء رحمة وعلما، نحمده على إياه حمدا جمعا، وصلى الله على خير من اوتي رسالة وعزما، محمد الناظم عقود الحق نظما، وعلى وصيه المشحون صدره علما وفهما، علي ابن ابيطالب الهادم بنيان الكفر بلسانه وسيفه هدمما، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته المحارب لله ولرسوله من كان حربا والسالم من كان لهم سلما،
و﴿حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾،

Al-Majālis al-Mu'ayyadiyyah vol. VIII [Ms.]

97. Majlis 8-701

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي حقيقة صفته نقي الصفات، مبدع ذات الذوات، المنشئ للحيوان والنبات، وصلى الله على المرفوع الدرجات من رفيع الدرجات، محمد رسول فاطر الارض والسماوات، وخاتم النبيين والنبوات، وعلى وصيه صاحب

الإيات البيّنات، اسد الله الكاسر العزى واللات، علي ابن ابي طالب البرزخ بين البحرين الملح والاجاج والعذب الفرات، وعلى الائمة من ذريته النقا الهداة، الذين من والاهم كان في روضات الجنات،

98. Majlis 8-717

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي احل الائمة من اهل بيت نبيه صلى الله عليه وعلى آله محلا عظيما، وهدامهم وهدى بهم صراطا مستقيما، وضمن لشيعتهم واتباعهم نعيما مقيما، وانذر الجاحدين لحقهم عذابا اليما،
نحمده ان جعلنا من ذرية من كان للنار والجنة قسيما، ونسأله أن يصلي على خير رسول اقامه في الرسالة مقاما كريما،
وقال فيه ﴿ان الله وملائكته يصلون على النبي يا ايها الذين آمنوا صلوا عليه وسلموا تسليما﴾،
وعلى وصيه الذي آتاه الحكمة وفصل الخطاب تعليما، علي ابن ابي طالب الذي عممه عمة وصايته تعميما، وعلى
الائمة من ذريته ملائكة الارض الذي جعل لكل منهم مقاما معلوما،

99. Majlis 8-724

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي العجز عن الاحاطة به محيط السرادق، فائق اصباح الحقائق بالسن صفوة الخلاق، وشافع كتابه الصامت بكتابه الناطق، وصلى الله على صاحب نور النبوة البارق، وطود الشرف الشاهق، محمد الماحي آية الكفر الماحق، وعلى وصيه صاحب العلوم الدقائق، والعلامة الفاصلة بين المؤمن والمنافق، وعلى الائمة من ذريته ائمة اهل المغارب والمشارق،

100. Majlis 8-732

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي آثار صنعته موجودة، ومناهل قدرته مورودة، وابواب ادراكه دون الابصار والبصائر مسدودة، وصلى الله على خير رسول ألوية شرف رسالته معقودة، محمد الذي مقامات اجتهاده في رفع اعلام الدين محمودة، وعلى وصيه الذي نبوته بسيفه ولسانه معصودة، وزروع الكفر بهما محصودة، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الذين مكانة فضلهم محصودة، والاعتقادات الا ما استملي منهم مفسودة،

101. Majlis 8-751

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله فائق اصباح الحقائق، بالسن صفوة الخلائق، الهادي بارشادهم الى امثل الطرائق، والمدحض بحق حجته
حجة المبطل المارق، كما قال سبحانه ﴿ **بَلْ تَقْذِفْ بِالْحَقِّ عَلَى الْبَاطِلِ فَيَدْمَغُهُ فَإِذَا هُوَ زَاهِقٌ** ﴾، وصلى الله على
رسوله الصادق الناطق، محمد طود الشرف الشاهق، وعلى وصيه الراق في دين الله الفائق، فراس منبر العلوم
الدقائق، وميدان بحر (؟) العوالي ومجري السوابق، وعلى الائمة من ذريته معنى قسم الله سبحانه ﴿ **وَالسَّمَاءِ**
وَالطَّارِقِ ﴾، الرائعة النفوس في حكمتهم كما ترتع العيون في الحدائق،

102. Majlis 8-760

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل نقوش دار الدنيا معرضة للاخاء، ونقوش الدار الآخرة مقيدة بالبقاء، ونقوش الدنيا ناشئة الارض
والماء والنار والهواء، ونقوش الاخرى ناشئة مواد الانبياء والاولياء، المستمالة من عالم القدس ودار الصفاء، صلى
الله عليهم وعلى المخصوص منهم بالاصطفاء والاجتباء، الشجرة الطيبة التي اصلها ثابت وفرعها في السماء، محمد
خير من مشى على الغبراء، وعلى وصيه يده البيضاء، علي بن ابي طالب كاشف الغماء، وهزبر يوم الهيجاء، وعلى
الائمة من ذريته آل العباء الفصحاء السمحاء،

103. Majlis 8-769

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اخّص الائمة من آل محمد صلح بالفضل، وانطقهم بالقول الفصل، والمعنى الجزل، وحمى شيعتهم من
سكرة الجهل، وفسح لهم مسارج العقل، ونفعهم بالاسماع والابصار، وضمن لهم عقبى الدار، وكفى عنهم بدخول
البيوت من ابوابها بالابرار، وصلى الله على من اتى من جانب الطور وعالم النور بشهاب قبس اهل بيته يصطلون،
وعلى جميع اهل الملل يفضلون، محمد المصطفى البشير النذير، السراج المنير، وعلى وصيه علم العلم الشهير، علي بن
ابي طالب صاحب يوم الغدير، وعلى الائمة من ذريته النحارير، النازلة فيهم آية التطهير، الذين من زاع عنهم ازاع الله
قلبه، وفي النار لوجهه اكبه،

104. Majlis 8-780

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مفضل آل ياسينه، وجاعلهم تراجمة دينه، لكونهم ذرية رسوله صلى الله على جدهم المتلالي نور النبوة من جبينه، المؤيد بآياته وبراهينه، محمد مامون وحي الله وامينه، وعلى وصيه وصنوه الا في النبوة وقرينه، واسد يوم اللقاء في عرينه، علي بن ابي طالب خارق صف صفينه، وعلى الائمة من نسله مباركي النسل وميامينه، وقدوة اصحاب يمينه،

105. Majlis 8-795

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي فات قبضة الفكر تناوله، فاذا هم به غرق في بحر معدوم ساحله، وضل في بر لا يحصي مراحلها، يستنفد دونها زاده وينقطع في ادناها رواحله، وصلى الله على من فاقت فضائل الخلق فضائله، ودانت لمجده شعوبه وقبائله، محمد البحر الذي الانبياء جداوله، وعلى وصيه الذي هو الا في النبوة نمائله، علي بن ابي طالب اسد يوم اللقاء اذا غلب مراحلها، وقاومت زلازله، وعلى الائمة من ذرية الذين لهم من حظ التأييد طله ووابله، فمن نصرهم فالله ناصرهم، ومن خذلهم فالله خاذله،

Al-Majālis al-Mustaṣiriyyah, (Badr al-Jamālī)

106. Majlis 1

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المتوحد بالجبروت والكبرياء، المتفرد بالملكوت والبقاء، المتحمّد الى خلقه بسوانغ النعماء، المتعالي عن الشركاء والنظراء، لا اله الا هو المنتزه عن صاحبة الابداء، وصلى الله على رسوله محمد المخصوص بشرف الاصطفاء، المفضل على الرسل والانبياء، المصلي باهل الارض وملائكة السماء، وعلى وصيه علي بن ابي طالب افضل الاسس والاوصياء، واجل الاصحاب والاقرباء، والمخصوص بالزهراء، بنت النبي وسيدة النساء، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الابرار الاتقياء، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، سلاما متواصل الخلود والبقاء،

107. Majlis 17

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي من انتقاء وقاه، ومن اهتدى بهداه هداه، ومن اعتصم بأوليائه نجاه، لا اله الا هو مجيب المضطر اذا دعاء، وصلى الله على من ايده واصطفاه، ورفع مقامه واعلاه، محمد رسوله الذي اوضح وحيه واداه، وعلى وصيه الذي صاهره وآخاه، وباهل به من الى المباهلة دعاه، علي بن ابي طالب الذي قال فيه "من كنت مولاه فعلي مولاه، اللهم وال من والاه وعاد من عاداه"، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما المستنمين قلّة المجد وذراه، الحائزين من الفضل غايته ومنتهاه، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، سلاما لا ينقطع مداه،

108. Majlis 28

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اشرقت الظلم بضياء اواره، وحارت الامم في مُضي اقداره، القائم على ما هَجَسَ في القلب من مكنون اسراره، العالم بما غَطَطَ عليه البحر في مسقر قراره، وصلى الله على صفيه الناصح في انذهره، ووليه الامين على وحيه واخباره، محمد رسوله الداعي اليه باعداره وانذاره، وعلى سيد اقاربه واصهاره، ومقيم اعلام اوليائه وانصاره، علي بن ابي طالب لسان الصدق المخرس شقاشق كفاره، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الذين بمحبتهم ينال المؤمن افضل مبارّه، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، سلاما لا انقباض لظهوره وانتشاره،

109. Majlis 35

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي حجب الخواطر عن توهمه فهي عنه مصروفة، وعميت البصائر عن ادراكه فهي دونه مطروفة، وحارت العقول في كنه عظمته فهي على الحيرة موقوفة، لا اله الا هو الذي آمال العباد الى ما لديه معطوفة، وصلى الله على خيرته ذي الفضائل الشاحنة المنيفة، محمد رسوله الذي صفاته في التوراة والانجيل موصوفة، وعلى وصيه الذي هو له اخ وخليفة، علي بن ابي طالب ذي المناقب المشهورة والمآثر المعروفة، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الذي سمت بهم الهمم الشريفة، وامنت بعدلهم المهامه المخوفة،

110. Majlis 35end

والحمد لله المتقن لما خلقه، الميسر للخير من وفقه، وصلى الله على محمد رسوله افضل من اسمعه الله وانطقه، واوضح الدين وحققه، وعلى وصيه علي بن ابي طالب اول من آمن وصدقته، وشئت شمل الباطل وفرقه، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الذي اكتمهم بالجوود مندقة، وقلوبهم مجبولة على الرأفة والشفقة، وسلم تسليما ﴿وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل﴾ ،

Yemeni Phase

Dā'ī Dhu'ayb b. Mūsā (d. 546/1151)

111. *Risālat al-Nafs* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

والحمد لله رب العالمين، والصلوة والسلام على رسوله سيدنا محمد وآله صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين،

al-Sulṭān al-Khaṭṭāb (d. 6th/12th C)

112. *Munīrat al-Baṣā'ir* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله جاعل حمده غاية يقف عندها افكار المتكبرين عياناً وحسراً، ونهاية تنتهي اليها انواع الاوهام ضيقاً بها وقصراً،
احمده حمد من يتيقن ان لن يجد سوى حمده معصراً، وأوحده توحيد من عدم بصيرة يتصوره كما عدم في الاحاطة به تبصراً،
واشهد ان لا اله الا الله الذي جعل اسماءه على ذواتها دونه دالة، ونزهاها عن ان تكون معلولة لشيء او عالة شهادة من القرينة
برية، وبالصدق والتحقيق حرية،

وصلى الله على عبده الامين، ورسوله الذي ليس على الغيب بضنين،

وعلى المبرأ فيه من الظنة، المقلد من جهة اعظم الصنعة (؟) واشرف المنة، الذي اخاه على الاسلام، وولاه ازمة القضايا
والاحكام، سلوكا سبيل الابانة عنه بالاشارة، وتنزيها له عن صفات ارباب النذارة والبشارة،

وعلى الانوار المتتالية من اشعته المتعالية، الائمة الهداة الى طريق النجات، آباء مولانا وسيدنا وامام عصرنا وولي امرنا، عبد الله
ووليّه الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، (القائم بامر - ؟)،

(و؟) صلوة على مقاماته المظهرة باهر معجزاته، وقاهر آياته، وسلامه وازكى رحمته وبركاته،

اما بعد، وصل كتابك ايها الاخ الكريم، وفقك الله لرضاء وليه وطاعته، . . .

Dā'ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm (d. 546/1151)

113. *Tanbīh al-Ghāfilīn* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مؤيد الحق بآيات العلوم، المظهر على السنتهم كل سر مكتوم، الذي عز عن ان يحيط به من خلقه وهم موهوم، وامتنع
عن وصفه اهل العلوم والحلوم،

وصلى الله على رسوله الكريم محمد بن الموصوف بالخلق العظيم، وعلى وصيه ذي الشرف العميم، علي بن ابي طالب الحكيم،
وعلى آلهما ورثة جنة النعيم، آباء مولانا وسيدنا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، صلوات الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين،

اما بعد ايها الاخ الكريم البار الرحيم، انار الله بصيرتك، وثبت على الهدى صورتك، فان اخاك قد وقف على سؤالك الذي
ذكرته، وبحيثك الذي سطرته، . . .

114. *Risālat al-Iḥsān*²⁰ [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المتعالي عن الحد والرسم، المنتزه عما يخطر في العقل والوهم، الغير المعلوم بكيفية عدمه او وجوده، والغير المجبول
بالاقرار بعميم منه وجوده، وواهب الاسماء الحسنى لما ابدعه، وموقع الصفات العلى على ما اخترعه، المقدس عن ان يكون
ابداعه قصدا، المتكبر عن ادراك ما ابدعه جوهر افردا،

واشهد ان لا اله الا المتفرد بازدياد خلقه، المتوحد بكثير انعامه على عباده برزقه،

واشهد ان محمدا رسوله بلغ ما انزل منه، ودل عباده بالوامر الناموسية عليه، فاتصلت الاسباب باوضح سبل الهدى من
حكمه، وانارت الابواب بمصباحه المتوقد من شجرة زيتون علمه،

صلى الله عليه وعلى وصيه الحامل لاعباء الخلافة بعده، الموكل بتاويل الكتاب الصامت من الكتاب الناطق من عنده،

²⁰ Authorship of this work is not completely certain. The manuscript I accessed attributed it to the third Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī, Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm. al-Majdū' cites two copies in which the authorship is attributed to the sixth Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Dā'ī 'Alī b. Ḥanzalah (d. 626/1229). In his *Bibliography of Isma'ili Literature*, Ivanow attributes it to Dā'ī Ḥātim b. Ibrāhīm.

وعلى الأئمة من ذريتهما حجب الأنوار القدسية اللاهوتية، الظاهرين لرأي العين في الأجسام الطاهرة الزكية الناسوتية، حبل الله المتين، والعروة الوثقى للمتسكين،

والصلوة التامة التحية الزاكية، والبركة السابعة النامية، على سلك نظامهم، ويدر تمامهم، وواسطة عقدهم، وخاتمة عددهم، ووارث فضلهم وفضل أبيهم وجدهم، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، سر الموحدين، ومقصدا العابدين، وقبلة الراكعين الساجدين،

وصلى الله بجملة مطيعي دعائه وحدوده، وحشرنا بزمرة مماليكه وعبيده، ما امطنت الركائب وركبت المطايا، واسريرت البواعث وبعثت السرايا، آمين آمين رب العالمين،

اعلم ايها العبد الصالح، جعلك الله طالبا للعلم راغبا، وهذا نهجا من مناهج الحق لاحبا، . . .

Al-Majālis al-Ḥatimiyyah [Ms.]

115. Majlis 77

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله موجد الوجود من عدم غير موجود، والمقيم للاعلام والحدود، تفضلا وتطولا، وانعاما على كل من دنا وعلا، لا يعرف الخلق له في ذلك شكرا، ولا يؤدون له فيما انعم عليهم اجرا، وصلى الله على من ابان معالم الدين، واوضح للخلق الحجج والبراهين، محمد اشرف الموحدين، من الانبياء والمرسلين، وعلى وصيه الاتزع البطين، الصانع بالحق المبين، علي ابن ابي طالب امير المؤمنين، ويعسوب الدين، وعلى الأئمة من ذريته الطاهرين، الخلفاء الراشدين،

116. Majlis 90

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مانح عباده المنن الجزيلة، والايادي الجملة الجليلة، المخرج لهم من الظلمات الى الانوار، باقامة الرسل الاطهار، والأئمة الابرار، ﴿لَا يَكُونُ لِلنَّاسِ عَلَى اللَّهِ حُجَّةٌ بَعْدَ الرِّسَالِ﴾ الذين افترض الله على الخلق طاعتهم، وضمن لمن اتبعهم شفاعتهم، وصلى الله على اعلامهم مقاما، واسعدهم ليالي واياما، واوضحهم اعلاما، وافصلهم احكاما، محمد الذي من الله على الخلق بمبعثه وتفضل، وجاد بارساله وتطول، المبشر به في الكتب المنزلة، على السنة رسله المرسله، المتوسل به من تقدمه، لشرفه الذي شرفه الله تعالى وكرمه،

وعلى وصيه الحامي من دونه، القائم بفروضة ومستنونه، علي ابن ابي طالب امينه وامونه، المسلم له ظاهر علمه ومكونه، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما اعلام الشريعة، واشرف من في عالم الطبيعة،

117. Majlis 106end

والحمد لله المان المتفضل الجائد المنطول، وصلى الله على من مبعثه جميع الخلق، وجعل على لسانه بيان الحق والصدق، محمد الطاهر في نسبه، العالي في حسبه، الكامل في مذهبه، وعلى وصيه وشريكه في نسبه وسببه، علي ابن ابي طالب المأول لشريعته وكتابه، وعلى الائمة من ذريته سادة عجمه وعربه،

118. Majlis 118

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي لا تحيط به الخواطر، العالم بما تكنه الضمائر، وتخفيه السرائر، الذي تحير كل مخلوق عن وصفه، فلا يقع الواصف الا على صفة جسمه وصرفه، ويعجز عن صفة نفسه، فكيف يعرف من تعالى في عالي قدسه، جل من امتنع عن الوصف وارتفع، وعلى عن التوهم وامتنع، وصلى الله على من كملت له على الرتب، في النسب والسبب، محمد بن عبد الله بن عبد المطلب، المتوسل بفضله آدم ونوح وابراهيم والذبيح، وموسى والمسيح، السامي فخره، والنافذ امره، العالي ذكره، الواضح صبره، وعلى من نصبه له وصيا، وكان له اخا ووليا، وكفله صبيا، ونصب في فضله قوله ﴿وجعلنا لم لسان صدق عليا﴾، علي ابن ابي طالب على الى ذروة المجد ورقى، وطارق قلوب المشركين منه فرقا، وعلى الائمة من نسله اعلام دين الله الزاهرة، وهداة الامة وسلم الى الآخرة،

119. Majlis 118matn (attributed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib—without *bā*, *tā*, *jīm dhāl* and dotted letters)

الحمد لله اهل الحمد وماواه، وله الحمد اوكد الحمد واعلاه، واسعد الحمد واسراه، واطهر الحمد وااولاه، واكرم الحمد واسماها، وله الحمد ودوامه، وله الملك وكماله، لا اله الا هو الملك السلام المصور العالم العدل الحاكم الودود، الطاهر المحمود امره، المعصور حرمه، المامول كرمه، اله الاول لا معاد له، ولا راد لحكمه، سطح المهاد وطحاها ووطاها، ومهدا ومدى وسواها، واعطاهم ماءها ومرعاهها، واحكم عدد الامم واحصاها، وعدل الاعلام وارساها، وسع كل حكم حكمه، وحدد كل علم علمه، وسدد كل حلم حلمه، وعلمكم كلامه واراكه اعلامه، وحصل لكم احكامه، وحلل حاله وحرم حرامه، وحمل محمد الرسالة (؟) رسوله الحمد المسود المسدد، اسعد ولد آدم ومولودا، واسطعهم سعودا، واطولهم عمودا، وارساها وطدا، واكداها حسدا، واصحهم ردا، واسمهم عهدا، واكرمهم كهلا وامردا (؟)، واسعد الله الامة لعلو محلها، وسمو سوده، سداد

امره، وكمال مراده، ارسله لسعاد دهركم، وهدود داركم، ولخواعداكم، وصلاح احوالكم، وطهاره اعمالكم، صلوات الله وسلامه له وآله الاطهار مسلمه مكرمه، ولحدودهم الكرام محصله موكد، ولدعاة عهدهم موطره معدوده، ما دام للسماء امد مرسوم، وحد معلوم، وطاعة الله لكم عصمه، اسمعوا له وراعوا امره، وحلوا ما حلال وحرما ما حرم . . .

120. Majlis 126

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله موري زناد الحق باقامة الدعاة الى الصديق، الذي حرس دينه باريابه، وحفظ معاملته باسبابه، فلا يغيب منهم نجم الا طلع بعد علم⁽²⁾ يوضح ما اوضحه من تقدمه، ويبين سبيل من اقامه، وبالشرف اكرمه، فدينه باوليائه محفوظ، فالكل منهم بعين رعايته ملحوظ،

وصلى الله على من امدنا بالصلوة عليه، وافترض علينا التسليم اليه، محمد ختام المسك، المهلك بسيفه اهل الضلالة والشرك، وعلى من جعله له عضدا، وسد به منه اودا، علي ابن ابي طالب وصيه الصادق المصدق، العادل الموفق، وعلى الائمة من نسلهما سلايم الخلاص، شفعا اتياعهم حين لات مناص،

Muhammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 584/1188)

121. *Al-Risālah al-Ḥatimiyyah* (?)²¹ [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله جاعل اوليائه غرضا لوخز سهام المارقين، مصيرهم هدفا لتبذ كلام المنافقين، تصديقا لقوله وهو اصدق القائلين، ﴿وكذلك جعلنا لكل نبي عدوا من المجرمين﴾، احمده حمد من عرف حدوده فوحده، وفهم حقيقة وجوده فلم يشرك به احدا وعبد، واشهد ان لا اله الا الذي شهد له بالالهية واحده، وانسدت عليه عند طلب ادراكه مصادره وموارده، واشهد ان محمدا اصدق ذي لهجة نطق بلسان، واشرف من رمز بشريعة وقام يبرهان، صلى الله عليه وعلى اخيه ووصيه مظهر معجزاته وفخره، وقاصم عداته بصارمه يوم احده وبدره، علي بن ابي طالب الهالك فيه فتان، قنة خالصة غالية وقنة ناصبة قالية، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الهداة، الذينهم لمن والاهم سفن النجاة، وعلى البناء العظيم، وارث مقامهم الكريم، المشار اليه بالفرد الغريب، الناكث بيعته كل بعيد وقريب، عبد الله ووليه الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، (معشر المؤمنين، جعلكم الله من الشرك

²¹ The introduction to the epistle states that it is either written by al-Shaykh Ismāʿīl al-Muqaddam or Muhammad b. Ṭāhir rebutting the claims of Aḥsan b. Muhammad b. Dāʿī Dhuʿayb, who dissented from the *Daʿwah* in the time of Dāʿī Ḥatīm b. Ibrāhīm (d. 546/1151).

والشك في امن وامان، وعصمنا وعصمكم من زخارف الزنج والعدوان، واعاذنا واعاذكم من وساوس الشيطان، ولا جعلنا وياكم من اتخذ الهه هواه، وباع آخرته بولاه، فقهرنا كصا على عقبه، وتوجهت لعائن الله واوليائه اليه، فباء بالصفقة الخاسرة، وعاد مردودا في الخافرة)-

Majmū' al-Tarbiyah vol.I [Ms.]

122. Tahmīd-I

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله أولا وآخرا، وباطنا وظاهرا، وصلى الله على جبل الطور، وينبوع النور، محمد بن البيت المعمور، والبحر المسجور، وعلى وصيه الذي فاه معلنا باداء حقه، وقام يوم غدیر خم موضعا بعالي شرفه وسبقه، علي ابن ابي طالب الذي ما زاد القوم صفة نعمة الا فجورا، ولا اورثهم الا استكبارا عن الحق ونفورا، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما صفوة الله من الخلق وخيرته، وحبله الممدود الى عبادته وعروته، وعلى وارث مقامهم العالي، المنكر حقيقة فضله المقصر والغالي، عبد الله ووليه الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، حجة الله على الخلق اجمعين (بيان تاويل الصلوة)

123. Tahmīd-II

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين، وصلى الله على محمد رسوله خاتم النبيين، وعلى وصيه علي سيد الوصيين، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الطاهرين، وعلى مولانا وسيدنا صاحب العصر وولي الامر الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، سلام الله عليه وتحياته وصلواته (تاويل الايمان ودعائمه)

Majmū' al-Tarbiyah vol.II [Ms.]

124. Risālat al-Basmalat (p. 15)- 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 682/1284)?? 5th Dā'ī-
'Alī b. Muhammad's mentor-]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم- وما توفيتني الا بالله عليه توكلت واليه انيب

الحمد لله الذي اذا جرت سوابق الافكار في ميدان البحث عن تحقيق معرفته رشقتها اكن العجز بسهام القصور عن قوس الانتطاع وحيرته، فان الافكار ككفاف (٥) مكفوفة دون الاحاطة بصدور الابداع الاول وكيفيته، احمده حمد عاجز عن نعمة وصفته، متوجه اليه ببيوت انواره وصفوته،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الذي من اوقع عليه سمة الإدراك، وقع في هوة الإدراك،

واشهد ان محمدا عبده وخير شمس طلعت من الرسالة في افلاك، وزارها بالوحي والتأييد املاك، ووازرها لافاضة السعادة وبلوغ الارادة لاهوتون (٤) للنجاة ملاك،

صلى الله عليه ما تناوب سكون وحراك، وتبين توحيد واشراك،

وعلى وصيه الباسط لوليه السبب الى الجنان فرقي، ومن اذا نازله الباسل تزلزل من الباسل الجنان فرقا، علي ابن ابي طالب معق النفوس من اسارها ومطلقها، ومعق الدنيا الدنية ومطلقها،

وعلى زوجه وعرسه المختارة لايداعه وغرسه الزهراء البتول فاطمة، الغادية معرفتها من رضاع الشرك فاطمة،

وعلى المنشقين من ذلك النور، الاتين من جبل الطور، الحسن الستر والحسين الشهيد المستور،

وعلى علي زين العابدين موئل الاوابين اليه العابدين، والنقمة على الجاحدين المعاندين، وعلى معدن العلم المنصوص عليه من الرسول بيقره، مربع البيان ومستقره، محمد بن علي الذي ابان الله فضله ورفع عن كل شوب وفضلة، وجعله للمهتدين قبلة، وعلى جعفر بن محمد الصادق، ذي الشرف الفائق في دين الله والرائق، وعلى اسمعيل بن جعفر ذي المقام الانور، والفضل الاشهر، الحائز من الفخر النصيب الاوفر، الناهي ولاؤه عن الفحشاء والمنكر، وعلى محمد نجله الناجي من استظل بظله وجاده وابل احسانه الصيب، وبعثه فائض امتنانه الزلف لديه المقرب، وعلى من اجنهم غسق الاستار، واشعتهم في شيعتهم متشعشة الانوار، وتواصلهم بالاصل والاسحار، وعلى شمس الغرب المجلية لذلك الحندس والكرب، وعلى القائم بامر الله تعالى الفاطمي الاواه، وعلى نجله المنصور (٥) المشهور، والمعز ذي المجد العميم، الهادي الى الصراط المستقيم، معد ابي تميم، وعلى العزيز بالله والحاكم بامر الله والظاهر لاعزاز دين الله والمستنصر بالله والمستعلي بالله والامر باحكام الله المنقولين الى دار كرامة الله، والنازلين بفناء رحمة الله، اباة مولانا امير المؤمنين الواضح هداه للمستبصرين، عبد الله ووليه الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، المحبوب بالامامة في الصبوة والمؤتى، الفاروق بين الاحياء والموتى، امام العصر وصفوة المخض والمعصر (٦) عين الحياة والمعنى، فلورودنا اياها دعانا واطعنا، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، اما بعد . . .

125. Mahajjat al-Rashād (p. 47)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مفضل دينه على كافة الاديان، موجد العوالم ومظهرها من حكم العدم الى حقيقة الكيان، واشهد ان لا اله الا الذي عقل العقول بعقل العبودية عن النهوض في ميدان عظمته لحراك، وختم على البصائر بخاتم الربوبية ان تطمع الى باهر جلالة بادراك، فقصار الموحّد العارف الاقرار بالهوية المتعالية بغير حد ولا صفة، وغاية اللبيب الفطن الاعتراف بالعجز عن الدرك اذ هو حقيقة المعرفة،

فسبحانه من اله خرت الوجوه لجلال كبرياءه متذللة ساجدة، واضحت العقول الصافية بمعرفتها حقيقة ابداعه موحدة له وعابدة،

واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله خير رسول ارسله لامته هاديا، والى سبيل النجاة الاقوم داعيا،

صلى الله عليه وعلى اخيه ووصيه الذي اعلن النص عليه في يوم غدير خم وقام به مناديا، فاصبح له في امته خالفا ولقمامه في الشرف والفضائل تاليا، علي ابن ابي طالب مأول الكتاب ومترجمه، والمتصدق في حال ركوعه بخاتمته،

وعلى فاطمة البتول الزهراء، اشرف من وطئ من اناث البشر ظهر الغبراء،

وعلى ولديها الحبوبين من الله تعالى بعظيم الفخر، والمشارك في حبهما الفاجر والبر، الحسن المستودع لرتبة الامامة العالية، والحسين المستقر لفضيلتها السامية،

وعلى الائمة من ولد الحسين ابن علي الذينهم فضائلهم مشهورة، وبحار علومهم وحكمهم مسجورة، وبهم نعم الله على خلقه تامة، واياديه وفضائله بهم شاملة عامة،

وعلى من انتهى شرفهم الزاكي اليه، واستقر فضلهم السامي عنده ولديه، السعيد من استمسك بمتمن حبل ولائه، ويجدود دينه اتباع، وركب في سفينة العلمية المنجية من طوفان الضلال والبدع، والها لك من مال عنه وبعده الشريف من عنقه خلع، وسلك نظام الامامة بجحد عالي مقامه تتر ولحيلها الذي امر الله به ن يوصل قطع، مولانا وسيدنا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم اللاحب

لاشباعه طريق النجاة المهيّج²²، المنادي بشيعة الى الفلاح فبشرى من له لبي ولدائه الى ما يحبيه من موت الجهالة اسمع، وسلم عليه وعليهم اجمعين، سلاما متصلا الى يوم الدين،

اما بعد، ايها الاخ، اسمعك الله في اولاك واخراك، وحاطك بكلايته مما تخشاه وتحاذره وتوالاك، فانك ذكرت ان كثيرا من الخوان المتقلدين عهد امام الزمان ربما سهل في القيام بشيء من الموضوعات الشرعية، وتغافل عن اداء الواجب في التكليفات الوضعية، وسألت ان اشرح لك في ذلك ما لعله يكون للواقف عليه من سنة الغفلة موقظا، ولمن ذكرته منهم على القيام بما فرض عليه الله محرضا، فاعلم ايها الاخ انه لما طال وامتد الاستتار، وعمت الفترة....

126. Risālah li al-Sultān al-Khaṭṭāb (p. 106)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اما قبل،

فالحمد لله الذي حمده احق ما بدي به وختم، واولى ما افتتح بذكره واتم، احمده حمد العارف قدر ما خوله من النعم، واشكره شكر المتحقق كنه ما نوله من القسم، حمدا يفيضي للوارد منه ببلوغ المراد والغرض، وشكرا يفيضي بالصادر عنه الى اداء الغرض المفترض،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله ايقانا واجبادا، وتنزيها له عن مناسبة ما اوجد قولنا واعتقادا، سالكا نهج المشبئين المنزهين، تاركا سبل المعطلين والمشبئين، شهادة المخلص في تحقيقها، العارف بجدودها، القائم بحقوقها،

واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله ﴿ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق ليظهره على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون﴾، وايده من باهر المعجزات ووضح الايات بما يتلفق ما نافكون، صلى الله عليه صلوة تدوم وتبقى، يسعد معتقدها في المعاد ولا يشقى، وعلى آله الذين طهرهم من الرجس، وفرض مودتهم على الجن والانس،

اما بعد،

²² المهيّج الطريق الواضح البين

127. Risālat li ba'd al-du'āt (p. 179)-In the time of the Fatimid Imam al-Mustansir (d. 487/1094)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله جاعل قلوب العلماء اوعية لغرائب العلوم، والسنتهم مطالع انوار الحق لذوي الحلو، فهم حفظة اسرار الملكوت، وهم
لبوت اذن الله ان ترفع ويذكر فيها اسمه سدة البيوت، وهم مفاتيح اغلاق التنزيل، ومصابيح ناشئة التاويل، فمن آمن بهم فاز
بجزيل الثواب، ومن تخلف عنهم وقع في بحر العذاب،

نحمده اذ جعلنا من اشياهم، وفقنا لاتباعهم، واخرجنا بهم من مجار التيه، ونجنا من مهامه الشرك والتمويه، وعصمنا من
الشبهات المضلة، والاهواء المسترلة،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الذي جعلهم اعلاما لدينه، وقواما بواضح حججه وبراهينه،

واشهد ان محمدا فلك الحكمة الدوار، وسحاب الرحمة المدرار، صلى الله عليه من نبي باهر برهانه، قائم سلطانه، عظيم
شانه،

وعلى اخيه ووصيه وقرينه، الا في النبوة وصفيه وخدينه، سيف الله الشهير، ويومه على الاعداء العيوس القمطير، وابي الائمة
النحارير، قدر الله الغالب، علي ابن ابي طالب، قائد الغر المحجلين، وامام المتقين، والمشفقين من خشية ربهم الوجلين،

وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما انوار الظلم، واخيار الامم، واولياء المنعم، آباء مولانا وسيدنا معد ابي تميم ذي الفخر العظيم، والعز
العظيم، والمجد المشيد، والشرف الطريف والتليد، الهادي الى النعيم المقيم، والصراط المستقيم، المنقذ من عذاب الحميم،
الدائم الاليم، الامام المستنصر بالله امير المؤمنين، وولي المؤمنين، وعلى ابائه الطهر، وابنائهم الزهر، وعلى لواحقهم مستخلصي
الارواح من ظلم الجهالة، الدالين الى معرفة توحيده باحسن الدلالة، ومخرجي تابعيهم من سدف الشك والضلالة،

اما بعد، فاني لما رأيت أكثر الاخوان بالامور الدينية متهاونين، وللحقوق المعنية لبعضهم على بعض مهملين، وكان حقا قول العالم
المؤمنين اخو المؤمن لا يبه وامه لقول النبي صلح "انا وانت يا علي ابوا المؤمنين"، وجب علينا ان نبين ما تعين من حقوقهم الواجبة،

...

128. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd, Ithbāt al-Naṣṣ 'alā al-Musta'li (p. 213) [5th Dāṭ-
'Alī b. Muhammad's mentor-]
(sent to Muhammad al-Mahdī)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم هـ ط

الحمد لله المتعالي عن الصفات والاسماء، الذي من مبدعاته من له الارتفاع والاسماء، المحيط بكل شيء علما، المسبغ على العباد
بانمة الرشاد نعما، المبلغ لهم بهم الى ماوى طاب بعد حربهم سلما، نظمهم بعد طول التبدد في سلك الرضى نظما، وافضى بهم
الى طود من الحق شامخ الشرف اشما،

وصلى الله على من حاز من النبوة والرسالة اجزها نصيبا وافضلها قسما، محمد الناطق يوم الغدير بما كان للدين مكلاما،

وعلى اخيه ووصيه وآية العظمى، علي ابن ابي طالب الكاشف عنه في المروج غما وهما،

وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الماحين جهلا والعالين علما، وعلى مولانا وسيدنا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم القاسم بين اولياءه محض
الحكمة قدما، مخولهم النعيم المقيم وكان قضاء حتما،

ايها الاخوان، الزموا المعاني عند بروزها في الالفاظ بقبول انوارها، تجدوها مانحة مصون اسرارها، . . .

129. al-Risālah al-Lā'ihah li ba'd al-du'āt (p. 235-in the time of the Fatimid Imam
al-Mu'izz d. 365/975)

الحمد لله الذي ابدع بامره الحامدين، وخلق بقضائه الشاكرين، وفطر بقدرته العارفين، وذراء بمشيته الذاكرين، وبراء
بجوده السابقين، وقرب بطوله المقربين، وارسل بفضله المرسلين، واختار من بين عباده المصطفين رسلا مبشرين
ومنذرين، وانبياء محبتين، وائمة مهدين، وخلفاء راشدين، ادلة وهداة لعباده الصالحين، فله الحمد كله حديثه وازله، لا
حمد في العالمين الا له، لا منة على عبادة الا منه،

احمده معترفا بالعجز والذميصير، استغفره من الصغير والكبير، واؤتمن به متيقنا بان لا تحيط به الاوهام، ولا تدركه
العقول والافهام،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده ولا مبدع للعالم الا هو، اجل واعلى مما به نصفه، واكبر واعظم عما نذكره، اشرف
واجمد مما نمجده، واولى بالحمد مما نحمده، منزّه عما يحظر ببال بريته، مقدس عن جميع صفات خليقته،

ونشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله وامينه على وحيه وتنزله اصطفاه بسابق علمه وارتضاه من جميع خلقه سفيرا الى الثقلين، وهاديا لهم افضل النجدين، وداعيا الى ارشد السبيلين، مبشرا للمؤمنين، ومنذرا للجاحدين، مجبولا على الخلق العظيم، مطبوعا على طبع الكريم، احمد المرسلين كافة، واكرمهم على الله خاصة، احسن العالمين في علمه، واحلم الكاظمين عند غضبه، وارحم العافين عند قدرته، واشجع المجاهدين في صولته، واسمح المباذلين لما في يده، حتى امره قدس اسمه ﴿لَا تَبْسُطُهَا كُلَّ الْبَسْطِ فَتَقْعُدَ مَلُومًا مَحْسُورًا﴾، فصلوات الله عليه وعلى آله افضل الصلوات الطيبات، وبركاته اكمل البركات الزاكيات، وتحياته اجمل التحيات الناميات،

وعلى وصيه العلي الحكيم، في ام الكتاب القديم، النظير في فصل الخطاب الفاضل الكريم، العزيز العليم، الباذل في الله، واعلى الخلق بعده من عباد الله، واعظم الناس قدرا عند اولياء الله، واجهدهم في سبيل الله، واقلهم لاعداء الله، واولاهم بالامر من بعده، واحراهم لحله وعقده، واعلمهم بالتنزيل، وابينهم للتأويل، واهداهم الى سواء السبيل،

صلوات الله وتحياته وبركاته موصولا بلا انقطاع، دائما بلا امتناع، متصلا بلا امد ولا غاية، ولا حد ولا نهاية، عليه وعلى الائمة من ذريته المهديين، آباء مولانا الشريف المعز لدين الله، والقائم من بعده بامر الله، الناصر لحزب الله، المؤيد بالنصر والتمكين من عند رب العالمين، قاتل ابليس اللعين، ومبدد حزب الشياطين، صلوات الله واكملها وابقائها، واجزل البركات واسناها، وانبل التحيات وابهاها، عليه وعلى ذريته خالدا ابدا، دائما سرمدا،

اما بعد، فانا لعلنا برغبة الاخ الفاضل، زاد الله له البركة، وافاض عليه الرافة والرحمة، في اقتنا الجواهر الباقية، اكثثار الزخائر الصافية، والصعود على المراتب العلية...

130. Risālah li al-Ḥasan b. Muhammad, al-Dā'ī al-Mayhadhī (p. 268)
sent to jamā'at ahl al-Rayy

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم، وبه نستعين،

نسخة كتاب الحسن بن محمد الميهدي، الداعي الى جماعة اهل الري، كتبت يا مشياخي واخلاتي، اطال الله بقاءكم، وادام عزكم، وجمع على الهدى والتقوى امركم، ونعم الله عندي بالاسلام والايمان والهداية والايقان السابغة،

و﴿الحمد لله رب العالمين﴾، ﴿الذي هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدي لولا أن هدانا الله﴾، ونسأله أن يصلي على خير الأولين والآخرين، محمد رسوله والطاهرين من آلّه، وأن لا ينزع قلوبنا بعد إذ هدانا الله، ويرحمنا في دنيانا وأخرانا بجوده وكرمه، ...

Dā'ī 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd (d. 612/1215)

131. *Dāmigh al-Bātil wa Ḥatf al-Munādil* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مظهر دين الحق على الدين كله ولو كره المشركون، مؤيده يبراهين الصدق وإن نافاه الآفكون، دافع باطل الجاهلية الأولى بمعجزات رسوله القاهرة، ومحمد لهب عتوها وعنادها بمواضيه الباهرة، ومسكت شذو خطبائها بمحكم آياته القاطعة الباهرة، حتى استقاد جاحيها بين مخلص طائع، ومتهور غاش لنفسه بالتناق مخادع، ودخل الناس في دين الله أفواجا، والحب لهم مصطفىاه صلى الله عليه وعلى آله في دياجير الشكوك مسلكتها للنجاة ومنهاجا، وقتن لهم قوانين شرعه محكمة المباني، ومنحهم بواهر الفاظه الحكيمة متضمنة درر المعاني، وأهمهم ركوب سفينة النجاة هربا من طوفان بدع المبتدعين، وامرهم بدخول باب مدينته العلمية معينا لهم قاطعا بذلك دعوى المدعين، فقال صلى الله عليه وعلى آله، 'أهل بيتي فيكم كسفينة نوح، من ركبها نجا، ومن تخلف عنها غرق وهوى'، وقال 'أنا مدينة العلم وعلي بابها، فمن أراد المدينة فليأت الباب'، ونص على اجر الهداية العايد على فاعله اجره في العقبى بقوله تعالى ﴿قُلْ لَا اسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَى﴾، ...

Majālis al-Nuṣḥ wa al-Bayān [Ms.]

132. Majlis 101*

Analyzed in chapter-VI (p.226ff)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم²³

(1) الحمد لله الذي وجلت قلوب العارفين من مخافته، وعجزت عقول الواصفين عن تعاطي صفته، ووقفت مطايا الأفكار بالمرجفين إلى الإحاطة بجلال عظمتيه، ورد العجز من يروم نفوذا في آفاق كبريائه وإن كان من المسبحين الصّافين استعبرا بأذيال خيرته،

²³ The text of this Tahmīd was corroborated in two manuscripts from the *Da'wah* library, referred to as Manuscripts A and B. The discrepancies in both texts have been indicated in the footnote.

used to In Manuscript B- added: وبه نستعين

²⁴ In Manuscript A-: صافّة

(2) وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا الَّذِي شَمَلَ عَدْلُهُ كَافَّةَ بَرِيَّتِهِ، وَنَطَقَتْ شَوَاهِدُ الْآفَاقِ وَالْأَنْفُسِ عَنْ كَوْنِ دِينِهِ هُوَ الْحَقُّ
الْمُؤَسَّسُ عَلَى مِثَالِ مَا أَنْشَأَهُ مِنْ خَلِيقَتِهِ²⁵،

(3) وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا عَبْدَهُ وَصِيَّتُهُ الْمُخْتَصَّ لَهُ بِإِطْلَاعِهِ عَلَى غَيْبِهِ أَكْمَالًا²⁶ لِنُبُوَّتِهِ، الْمُصْطَفَى الْمُخْتَارَ لِتَلْيِغِ
رِسَالَتِهِ²⁷، الْأَمِينَ عَلَى وَحْيِهِ الْمُنَزَّلِ عَلَى قَلْبِهِ الْمُضْطَلَعِ بِحِمْلِ أَعْبَاءِ أَمَانَتِهِ - صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ صَلَوةُ تَرْفِيهِ مِنْ مَحَلِّ
الْقُدْسِ إِلَى اسْمِي غُرْفِهِ وَأَعْلَى ذُرْوَتِهِ، وَتَقْضِي بِاتِّصَالِ كَلِمَةِ الْإِمَامَةِ فِي عَقِبِهِ الطَّاهِرِ وَذُرِّيَّتِهِ²⁸،

(4) وَعَلَى وَصِيَّتِهِ وَارِثِ²⁹ عِلْمِهِ وَبَابِ مَدِينَتِهِ، وَمُنْتَجَبِهِ الْمُتَقَرَّبِ مِنْ بَيْنِ³⁰ كَافَّةِ الصَّحَابَةِ لِلْخِلَافَةِ عَنْهُ فِي أُمَّتِهِ،
وَمُبَيِّنِ مَا بَسَطَهُ مِنَ الْأَوَامِرِ وَالنَّوَاحِي فِي غَرَاءِ شَرْعِيَّتِهِ، عَلِيِّ ابْنِ أَبِي طَالِبِ الْمُقَوِّضِ بُنْيَانِ الْكَفَرِ بِقَاهِرِ سَطْوَتِهِ،
الْمُفْجِرِ لِاتِّبَاعِهِ مِنْ زَاخِرِهِ الْمُقَدَّسِ بِتَابِعِ عِلْمِهِ وَحِكْمَتِهِ،

(5) وَعَلَى الْإِنَّمَةِ مِنْ ذُرِّيَّتِهِ قُرْتَاءِ الْكِتَابِ³¹ الْكَرِيمِ وَتَرَاجُمَتِهِ، وَخَزَائِنِ سِرِّهِ الْمَعْنَوِيِّ صَيَانَتَهُ لَهُ عَمَّنْ لَا يَسْتَحِقُّهُ
وَحَقَّقَتُهُ،

(6) وَعَلَى هَيْكَلِ النُّورِ³² الْإِمَامِيِّ وَمَهْبِطِ التَّائِيدِ الْقُدْسَانِيِّ وَمَطْرَحِ أَشْعَتِهِ، وَالْقَائِمِ لِلَّهِ فِي عَصْرِهِ عَلَى الْعِبَادِ بِحُجَّتِهِ،
الْإِمَامِ الطَّلِبِ أَبِي الْقَاسِمِ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ اللَّاحِبِ لِدِينِ الْحَقِّ مُسْتَقِيمِ مَحَجَّتِهِ، الْمُقِيمِ بِحُجَّتِهِ وَدُعَاةِ الْمُبْتَوِّينِ فِي
أَقْطَارِ الْأَرْضِ الْبَرَاهِينِ الْبَاهِرَةِ عَلَى صِحَّةِ دِينِهِ بِقَوَاعِدِ آدِلَتِهِ، وَسَلَّمْ عَلَيْهِمْ أَجْمَعِينَ، سَلَامًا مُتَّصِلًا إِلَى يَوْمِ الدِّينِ، -

²⁵ 41:53

سَنَرِيهِمْ آيَاتِنَا فِي الْآفَاقِ وَفِي أَنْفُسِهِمْ حَتَّى يَتَبَيَّنَ لَهُمْ أَنَّهُ
الْحَقُّ أَوْ لَمْ يَكْفِ بِرَبِّكَ أَنَّهُ عَلَى كُلِّ شَيْءٍ شَهِيدٌ

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فصلت

²⁶ In Manuscript B: إكماله

²⁷ 5:67

يَسْأَلُهَا الرُّسُلَ بَلِّغْ مَا أَنْزَلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَغْتَ
رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ

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المائدة

²⁸ 43:28

وَجَعَلَهَا كَلِمَةً بَاقِيَةً فِي عَقِبِهِ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَرْجِعُونَ

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الزخرف

²⁹ In Manuscript B- added: وارث

³⁰ In Manuscript B- omitted: بين

³¹ In Manuscript B: القرآن

³² In Manuscript A: هيكل النوراني

ايها الاخوان، عَمَرَ اللهُ صُورَكُمْ الدِّينِيَّةَ بِمُتَّالِي فَوَائِدِهِ، وَغَمَرَ نَفُوسَكُمْ التُّطَلِّيَّةَ بِمُتَوَالِي مَسَاعِدِهِ،
إِنْ خُبُولُ الْمَنَاءِ تَطَرَّدُ فِي حَلَكَةِ السَّبَاقِ لِاقْتِنَاصِ الْمُهْجِ . . .

133. Majlis 101 End-excerpt

والحمد لله على ما جاد به من متواصل النعم، والخروج الى حقيقة الوجود بواسطة اوليائه الهداة من العدم، وصلى الله (على)
اشرف من وطئ الثرى بقدم، واجل من اختص من دار القدس بافضل المنح واجزل القسم، محمد القائم في عالم الانس مقام
العقل في عالم الابداع، المكني عنه بالقلم الكاشف بنور بيانه عن اطاعه من طخياء الضلال متراكم الظلم، وعلى وصيه عالم
العلم، الهاطلة سماء رحمته على شيعته من الفوائد الملكتوتية بعزالي الديم، علي بن ابي طالب المبيد بذوي الفقار جموع الشرك
وعباد الصنم، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الهداة الامم، وسادات كافة الخلائق من العرب والعجم، وشموس الهدى الطالعة في سماء
الدين ممزقة لغياهب الضلال والهم، وعلى القائم بعدهم بحفظ دين الله الاقوم، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين الراقى من
مجد الامامة على الذرى واسنى القمم، اللابث في كهف التقية انتظارا لبلوغ الكتاب الى الاجل المحتوم الامم، وسلم عليهم اجمعين،
سلاما متصلا الى يوم الدين، حسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل،

134. Majlis 102 –excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مبدع الذوات الروحانية متساوية في كمالها الاول، ومنشئ الاول، ومنشئ الصور الابداعية وجاعلها مختارة لما
تكتسب من الكمال الثاني بحسب طاعة المفضل للافضل، مجري قضية العدل في برته في ماضي افعالهم
والمستقبل . . . وارثي من مقام النبوة الى اسمى المنازل واعلى القلل، اصفى من اعلن بالدعاء الى خير العمل، صلى الله عليه
صلوة ترفعه الى اعلى مراتب الانبياء في عالم الازل، وتصل الى حبل الامامة في عقبه الطاهر ما اتصلت الاواخر بالاول، . . .

135. Majlis 103 –excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رافع درجات ذوي الاستبصار على قدر مبلغهم من العلم في الدين، وصانغ نفوس اهل الولاء باكسير اهل الحقائق
المستفادة من ائمة الحق الهادين، المقيمين من الحجج والدعاة في كل عصر الى طاعته تعالى للخلائق منادين، . . .

136. Majlis 103-End-excerpt

الحمد لله مسري رحمته على السنة انبيائه المتكلمين بشفاء علته الدينية، . .

137. Majlis 104 –excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مفجري ناييع الحكمة من السنة ائمة الهدى، وجاعلهم بعصمة من لاذ بهم من الهالك الابدي والردى، الذي اعتد الفكر عن طلبه الاحاطة بكيفية ابداعه للمبدعات في حنادس ظلم الحيرة مترددا، فضلا عن ان يتناول الى معرفة جلالته الربوبية التي يجودونها بابا من العظمة موصلا . . .

138. Majlis 106 –excerpt

. . . وعلى الائمة من ذريته سفن النجاة من طوفان البدع، . . . وقرناء الكتاب الكريم وتراجمة تاويله المستنبط منه المنتزع، وعلى من افضى اليه شرف النص فالبس تاجا منه، . . . اللاحب بمن اقامه من حججه ودعائه للحق سبيلا واضحا ومنهاجا،

139. Majlis 106- End-excerpt

. . . وعلى الائمة من ذريته قرناء التنزيل وخزنة التاويل والهداة الى سواء السبيل، الذين لم تحل الارض في كل عصر من هاد منهم الى النجاة ودليل، وعلى زبدة الزمان والعصر، المتوج من النص الامامي في حال المهد تاج الفضل والفخر، الالابث في كهف التقية الى انقضاء مدة الستر، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، العدة لمواليه ليوم الجمع والذخر، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، . . .

140. Majlis 108 –excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المبدع العوام على اختلافها خلقا وامرا . . . صلى الله عليه صلوة تدوم على مر الليالي وتترى، وتريده (تزيد) عند بعثه المقام المحمود جلالا ساميا وفخرا، وعلى وصيه الرامي عن بيت الله الحرام للاصنام ومبددها هشيما لها وكسرا، القائل غرا غيري للبيضاء والصفراء، علي بن ابي طالب المستخرج بحر التنزيل من حقائق التاويل درا، الكائن ولاء كزنا ناعما وذخرا، المفروضة ولايته يوم غد يرخم على كافة المسلمين بدوا وحضرا، الذي ما اظلت بعد رسول الله افضل منه الخضراء وما اقلت الغبراء، وعلى الائمة من ذريته اهل الذكر الذين افترض الله سؤالهم وسمى جدتهم المصطفى في كتابه الكريم ذكرا، وجعلهم هداة الخلق على توالي الايام يتلو عصر كل امام منهم عصرا، وعلى الخليفة من بعدهم ذي العمرين عمر الستر وعمر الكشف المطلع به

الله تع عقب ليل الامتحان فجر(ا)، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، المتضمن لبوئه في كهف التقية من اسرار الحكمة
اللاهوتية معنى غامضا، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، سلاما متصلا الى يوم الدين،

141. Majlis 108-End-excerpt

الحمد لله الذي امرنا بالدعاء وتكفل لنا بالاجابة، وفتح للراغبين اليه بفيض رحمته ابوابه، ...
وعلى وصيه علم الهدى وبجر الندى والمبيد بذى الفقار لمن تجبر واعتدى، علي بن ابي طالب (؟الى) اشرف من نص بعد
رسول الله وارتنى، المستخرج من بحر التنزيل دررا، ومن الفاظ الشريعة زيدا، المنقذ ولاءه (؟) من قناطير الشرك الابدي
والردى، وعلى الائمة من ذريته نجم الحق الطوالع، وغيوث الرحمة الهوامع، وعلى القائم بعدهم بما به قاموا من هداية السابق من
فنون الشرف والفضائل الى كل غاية، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين الكاشف يراهن من اقامه من حججه ودعائه
حنادس الضلال والغواية، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، سلاما متصلا الى يوم الدين،

142. Majlis 109 –excerpt

الحمد لله المتعالي عن مسمى الاوهام والافكار، الذي له ما سكن في الليل والنهار، ﴿وكل شيء عنده بمقدار﴾، مؤسس دينه
على مثال خلقه في التعقب بين الاعلان والاسرار، والظهور تارة والاستار، لما اقتضته حكمة واوجبه عدله من خفي
الاسرار ...

وعلى مستقر الفضائل ومجمع الانوار، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين القائم بمن اقامه من حججه ودعائه على العباد
حجة الله العزيز الجبار، المانع شيعة من جزيل فوائده حلي المعارف وحلل الاستبصار، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، سلاما متصلا الى
يوم الدين،

143. Majlis 110 –excerpt

... (في الصلوات على الامام الطيب) والمقيم على صحة الدين الحنفي بمن نصبه من حججه ودعائه باهر البرهان، الامام
الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين ...

144. Majlis 111 –excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي هدى عباده بكتايبه الصامت والناطق، واخرجهم بظلمة بوساطة رسله الى سعة العلم من ضنك المجهل
والمضائق، وانعم عليهم بتالي الهداة في متابع الاعصار لاقامة المحجة بهم على الخلاق، ...

145. Majlis 111-End-excerpt

والحمد لله جاعل حمده مفتاحا لما يتلوه من الفوائد المتتاليات، ومصباحا يستضاء به في ظلم الشبهات، ويستوجب المزيد من حمده من جزيل الخيرات، وصلى الله على محمد الراقي من الفضل اعلى المنازل وارفع الدرجات، الحلي بما جاء به من عند الله موت الجهالات، وعلى وصيه علم الهدى الشامخ الذرى، وخليفته من بعده على كافة الورى، علي بن ابي طالب المفروضة ولايته على جميع من (ب)راه الله من المسلمين **(وذكرى)**، القاصم من دين الجاهلية بسيفه ولسانه العرى، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الذين اعتدوا المسترقي السمع رصد، الرامين بدوامع الحجب كل من عاند الحق واعد، وعلى القائم بعدهم بالخلافة يحيم الرحمة القدسية والرافة، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين الامن وليه في الدنيا والآخرة من كل فزع ومخافة، وسلم عليهم اجمعين
سلاما متصلا الى يوم الدين،

146. Majlis 114 -excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مؤيد الحق وناصره، ومدحض الباطل وقاهره . . .

147. Majlis 114 -End-excerpt

الحمد لله الكبير المتعال، المتفضل بالنوال قبل السؤال، المنقذ عباده من هفوات زلهم بمن اختصه من صفوته بفضيلة
الارسال، . . .

148. Majlis 119 –excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اخص محمدا بالتشرف والتفضل على كافة البشر، واقتض الصلوة عليه فيما انزلت من محكم السور، وبعثه بكتابه الكريم الى الابيض من الخلق والاحمر، وجعل اهل بيته مهيمين على ما تركه من الذكر الحكيم والشرع المطهر، واشهد ان لا اله الا هو شهادة منجية قائلها في المحشر . . .

149. Majlis 120 –excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اعترف بالعجز عن درك جلال عظمه هو حقيقة الادراك، والتعاطي لوصفه بصفات خلقه الاستعارة للضرورة
ضرب من الاشراك، . .

*Dā'ī Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 668/1268)*³³

150. *al-Risālah al-Kāmilah* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله شكرا على جزيل نعمائه، وفائض آلائه، حمد معترف بالعجز عن القيام بشكر ما أولاه، مقر بالقصور عن الثناء على ما اسداه،

واشهد ان لا اله الا من تعالى عن الصفة وتجال، وتنزه عن ان تجد صافيات الفكر الى حقيقة نعتة سعة في المجال، فمتى طمحت الى ادراكه بوصف ابصار البصائر، تلقاها شعاع تعاليه فأكمه منها النواظر،

وصلى الله على المتسنم من الشرف اعلى ذروته، والمتوكل من المجد يافوخ³⁴ قمته، سيدنا محمد خاتم النبوات بشريف نبوته،

وعلى وصيه، وكفو ابنته، وعيبة علمه، وباب مدينته، علي ابن ابي طالب النافخ روح الحياة في جسم شريعته،

وعلى زوجة، سيدة النساء اللابسة بعد ايها جلاب البث والاساء، فاطمة الزهراء، خامسة اصحاب الكساء،

وعلى النجباء من نجلها، والصفوة المختار من نسلها، القائمين في شريعة جدهم بعقد امورها وحلها، وعلى من انتهى اليه شرفهم

السامي، وحاز مقامهم الاعظم الامامي، الذاب مواده السارية عن دين ابائه الحامي، حجة الله على العالمين، مولانا الامام الطيب

ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، سلاما متصلا الى يوم الدين،

اعلم ايها الولد، نور الله بالمعارف الحقيقة (ب) بصيرتك، ورفع في المراتب الدينية درجتك، والبسك من توفيقه سرا بالاضافيا،

واوردك من معين علم الائمة الطاهرين موردا صافيا، . . .

Dā'ī Idrīs 'Imād al-Dīn (d. 872/1468)

151. *Risālat al-Bayān limā wājib fī ma'rifat shahr Rajab* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين

الحمد لله مبدع العقل بالاحدية مستقردا، وجاعله في حجاب ائست عن ادراكه العقول الابداعية متوحدا، ولن ابدعه في كماله

وتمامه مقدسا متوحدا، والى هوية من اوجده وابدعه مستندا، ونور كلمته الازلية مؤيدا وبها متحدا،

³³ Maju' in his *Fihirst* and Poonawala in his *Bibliography of Ismaili Literature* cite 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. al-Walīd (d. 682/1284) as the author, unlike the manuscript I accessed.

³⁴ [يافوخ] [أفخ]: مُلتقى عظم مُقدم الرّأس وموخره

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله الذي ابدعه في غاية التمام والكمال، وسما ان يوسم بسمة وجل عن الاشباه والامثال، ذلك الله لا اله الا هو الذي من ابداعه الكبير المتعال، واشهد ان محمدا رسوله الذي اصطفاه من البرية، وجعله خير رسول وذريته افضل ذرية، ونقله في الاصلاب الطاهرة والارحام الزكية، وبعثه بالملة الحنفية هاديا الى القبلية المكية،

صلى الله عليه من نبي رفعه الله الى اسنى المقامات العلية، واحيا به متبعيه من الميعة الجاهلية،

وعلى اخيه وابي عترته وشريكه في الفضل الانبوت، علي ابن ابي طالب وصيه وخليفته في امته، ولسان صدقه المبين لغامض علمه وحكمته، النافع روح الحيو في جسم شريعته، الفائز من تولاه وكان من شيعته،

وعلى فاطمة الزهراء البتول، بعلة الوصي وابنة الرسول، مشكاة الامامة الطالعة انوارها، والزبدة الشريفة الاسلامية البادية اسرارها، وعلى نجليهما سيدي شباب اهل الجنة، والعدة الواقية لولييها من نار الجحيم والجنة، الحسن المستودع انوار النبوة والرسالة، والحسين مستقر الامامة الباقية في عقبه بواضح البرهان والدلالة، وعلى الائمة من نسله الاطهار، والصفوة من نجله الاخيار، شمس الهدى المنيرة والاقمار، وصفوة اهل الاكوار والادوار،

وعلى من انتهت فضائلهم اليه، ووقعت دلائلهم الشريفة عليه، صاحب العصر والزمان، وولي اهل الاسلام والايمان، الامام من نجل مولانا الامر امير المؤمنين الطيب ابي القاسم، الباقية الامامة في عقبه الى قيام القائم، وسلم عليهم اجمعين، تسليما باقيا الى يوم الدين،

152. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār wa Funūn al-Āthār vol. I [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين، خالق الناس اجمعين، الذي رفع السماء وسطح الارضين، بلا ظهور ولا معين، واهمل المعصرات بالماء المعين، واصطفى رسوله محمدا خير المرسلين الدعاة الى ما اعدده من الثواب في الجنات المبشرين، والمنذرين لمن عصى الله بالعقاب والحذر، واجتنبى من ارتضاه من النبيين واختارهم للارشاد لكافة العباد والتبيين،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله واحدا احدا، اختار انبياءه واوليائه للارشاد والهدى، واتخذ بهم عباده من الهالك والردى، ثم اتجب منهم من جعله على جميعهم بما فضله به مفردا، وسماه في التوراة والانجيل احمدا ومحمدا، بعثه والناس في ضلالهم سدى، وفي شركهم وجهالهم شعاعا بددا، يعبدون الاوثان من دون الرحمن ويهيمون في مهامه الكفر والطغيان، ويدنون غير خالق الانس

والجان، ويعصون الله سبحانه وطيعون الشيطان، فهدى الله تعالى به الى خير السبل، وابتعثه جل وعلا على حين فترة من الرسل، ودعا به الى افضل الشرائع والملل، وارشد به من مال عن طريق الآخرة وضل،

واشهد ان محمدا رسول الله الذي اقام به خير الاديان، وانزل عليه آيات الفرقان، وارسله ليهدي به الثقلان، وخاطبهم على لسانه بقوله تعالى ﴿يا معشر الجن والانس ان استطعتم ان تنفذوا من اقطار السموات والارض فانفذوا لا تنفذون الا بسلطان﴾، واشهد انه رسول الله الذي ارسله ﴿هاديا ومبشرا ونذيرا، وداعيا الى الله باذنه وسراجا منيرا﴾،

صلى الله عليه من نبي دمر الله به الكفار تدميرا، وآتاه على جميع انبيائه فضلا كبيرا، واورث متبعيه جنات وحريرا، فنجرون فيها انهار النعيم تنجيها، واصلى معانديه وجاحديه سعيها، وجعل وصيه علي ابن ابي طالب له معينا ونصيرا، وشريكا الا في النبوة ووزيرا، واخا كهرون من موسى وظهيرا، وانزل فيه مع الرسول وفي بعثته وابنيهما ﴿انما يريد الله ليذهب عنكم الرجس اهل البيت ويطهركم تطهيرا﴾، واوضح الله فضله على لسان رسوله وجعله شهيرا، وانزل فيه ﴿ويطعمون الطعام على حبه مسكينا ويتيما واسيرا﴾،

صلى الله عليه من وصي جاهد الكفار والمنافقين، وآتم الله بولائه النعمة واكمل الدين، وجعل ذريته الذين فيهم الامامة الى يوم القيمة هم الباقين، واختارهم ﴿على علم على العالمين﴾،

وعلى ولديه الطاهرين، وفرقيه الزاهرين، ابي محمد الحسن وابي عبد الله الحسين، سبطي من اوحى الله اليه فقال سبحانه ﴿ولا تتخذوا الهين اثنين﴾،

وعلى الائمة الاطهار من ذرية الحسين بن علي، الذين لله منهم في كل زمان صفي وولي، اختاره الله في اوانه لامة جده يلي، فجددوا من شريعة جدهم ما يلي، واورثوا مولودا عن والده مقامه الامة العلي، فمنهم من اظهر الله نور برهانه الجلي، ومنهم من احتجب احتجاب الشمس في الليل الدجوجي صابرا على ما ابلي،

وعلى وارث مقامهم الطاهر، الباقية كلمة الامامة في عقبه الى اليوم الآخر، فمن نجله صاحب العصر والزمان، وولي اهل الدين والايمان، والنجاة لمتبعيه من العذاب والامان، فعليهم افضل الصلوة والسلام، ما اظلم ليل داج، وطلع نجم وهاج، وزينت السماء بالنجوم والابراج، واضاءت الشمس وسطعت انوارها في الارض ذات الفجاج،

اما بعد، فان الله تعالى وجل كبريائه لما بعث انبياءه المرسلين، واقام بهم دينه في الاولين، لم يمكن في حكمه وعدله ورحمته وفضله ان يجعل تعالى كبرياؤه لانبيائه اوصياء وخلفاء وهداة من بعدهم من انبياء واولياء لهم الله اختار

واصطفى، ويخلي امة محمد صلى الله عليه وعلى آله ممن يهديهم ويخلفه بعد ان قبضه اليه صلح فيهم مع كون الله قد ختم بنبوته النبوات، وجعله آخر الرسل الهادين الى النجاة،...

153. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār wa Funūn al-Āthār vol. II [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله حمدا يقضي بالمزيد من نعمه، ويدر علينا متوالي جوده وكرمه، وصلى الله على محمد خير رسوله خلقه من عربيه وعجمه، وعلى وصيه علي بن ابي طالب قاضي دينه ومنجز وعده، وعلى الائمة من ذريته الخالفين له من بعده، وسلم، الباب الثاني في ذكر سيرة الوصي علي امير المؤمنين سيد البشرية بعد نبيه . . .

154. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār wa Funūn al-Āthār vol. VII

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله العزيز الحكيم، وعلى سيدنا محمد وآله افضل الصلاة والتسليم،
ذكر المستنصر بالله . . .

155. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār wa Funūn al-Āthār vol. VIIa

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين وعليه توكل

الحمد لله الذي هو على نعمه مشكور محمود، خالق الوجود من عدم خير موجود، وصلى الله على خير ناشيء ومولود، محمد خير شفيع في اليوم الموعود، وعلى وصيه المثير على الكفار والمنافقين نار الحرب ذات الوقود، علي بن ابي طالب هازم الاحزاب والجنود، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما ظل الله الممدود، المؤكدة بطاعتهم المواثيق والعهود،
(ذكر المستعلي بالله ص 187)

156. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār wa Funūn al-Āthār vol. VIIb

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين

الحمد لله الذي جلت نعمته عن العد والحصر، الأمر مع طاعته وطاعة رسوله بطاعة اولي الامر، وصلى الله على رسوله الذي نعمة في كتابه بالذكر، محمد الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر، وعلى وصيه علي بن ابي طالب قاتل اهل الكفر، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما سادة اهل البدو والحضر،

(ذكر الامام الأمر بأحكام الله، ص 218)

157. 'Uyūn al-Akhbār wa Funūn al-Āthār vol. VIIc

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مصرف الامور، ومخالف أيام الدهور، الذي جعل اولياءه متعاقبين في السر والظهور، كما جعل الظلمات والنور، وجعل الظل والحرور، وصلى الله على رسوله المبعوث بالكتاب المسطور، والمنعوت فضله في التوراة والانجيل والزبور، وعلى وصيه دامغ كل كفور، علي ابن ابي طالب الفائز متواليه يوم الحشر والنشور، وعلى الائمة من ذريته اولى الفضل المشهور، القاتل فيهم جدهم "ان منهم الظاهر الموجود والخفي المغفور"،

(ذكر الامام الطيب ابي القاسم أمير المؤمنين)

Hasan b. Nūh al-Bharūchī (d. 939/1533)

158. Kitāb al-Azhār- vol. IV [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله العظيم شأنه، القاهر برهانه، الباهر بيانه، الثابت دينه واركانه، المقهور عدوه وشيطانه، الواهي مكروه وعدوانه، المهذوم عرشه ونيانه، المحقوق سره واعلانه، عند قيام حجج اولياء الله المستسكين بحبله المتين، الراجين بشهب بيانهم رؤوس الالبسة والشياطين، المدحضين يرايينهم الواضحة مكيد ابليس اللعين، القاتلين ﴿الحمد لله الذي نجانا من القوم الظالمين﴾،

وصلى الله على خاتم النبيين، وسيد المرسلين، وامام المتقين، وقائد الغر المحجلين، الصاعد يوم الغدير بالايضاح والتبيين، بأن علي ابن ابيطالب وصيه وخليفته على كافة المسلمين والمؤمنين، بحضور الجم الغفير الذين عددهم قدر نيف وسبعين، لوقبلوا ذلك ما ضل احد الى يوم الدين، ولا هلك هالك مع الهالكين، ولكن لم يقبلوا ذلك لاجل ان حليت الدنيا في اعينهم، وراقهم زبرجها كما في الخطبة الشمشقية ذكر امير المؤمنين علي ابن ابيطالب،

وعلى وصيه وابن عمه وقاضي دينه ومنجز وعده، وزوج بنه، وابي ذريته، وموضح رتبته، ومبين شريعته، علي ابن ابيطالب الصابر على ظلم الظالمين، واعداء المعتدين، ولم يتنازع فرعون الامة وهامانها واتباعهما فيما قد توثبوا على كرسي الوصاية والامامة، وغضبوا رتبة الرئاسة والزعامة، الذي هو احق به منهم صيانة للشريعة الغراء عن التغيير، وانهدام قواعدها عند الجم

الغفیر، الذین هم اجهل من البهائم والحمير، بنزولها من الرتبة التي هي اعلى الفرقدين الى الثرى، وخوفا على رجوع امة نبيه محمد صلح اتكاسا بالفهقرى، وارتدادا من الاسلام واهله الى الورى، لكونها قریب العهد من الجاهلية لم تمسك من حبل اليقين باوثق العرى، من اجل ذلك تركهم على ما هم عليه من التنافس على حطام الدنيا يتكالبون، وعلى طلب الرئاسة والقلنسوة يتحاربون، وباسم الدين والاسلام تموها وتديسا على جهلاء الامة يتلاعبون، كما ذكر امير المؤمنين في خطبة الشقشقية الواردة في كتاب نهج البلاغة حيث قال "كانهم لم يسمعوا الله سبحانه بقوله ﴿تلك الدار الآخرة نجعلها للذين لا يريدون علوا في الارض ولا فسادا والعاقبة للمتقين﴾"، بلى والله لقد سمعوها ووعوها، ولكن حليت الدنيا في اعينهم وراقهم زيرجها، الى آخر الخطبة المذكورة،

وعلى الائمة الطاهرين الاخيار، المصطفين الابرار، وسلم تسليما،

(وانا لما ذكرنا واوردنا ما اوردناه فيما تقدم من كتابنا هذا ولوحنا ما يوجب من حقوق امير المؤمنين علي ابن ابيطالب مع على كافة الناس بوجيز القول، اردنا ان نبين مثالب الظالمين المعتدين المغيرين دين الله الجاحدين فضل اولياء الله،

159. End-

والحمد لله الذي اظهر على السنة اولياءه ابهر البراهين والبيان، الذین الجموا بها السنة فصحاء الانس والجان، وبينوا اشكال الاحاديث والقران، وادحض اقوال اهل الظلم والعدوان، وابطل كيد اتباع الشيطان، الذین قنعوا بالبهرج عن الدر والعقيان، وضيعوا طاعة الرحمان، والتزموا بطاعة الشيطان، فعليهم غضب الله الواحد المنان،

وصلى الله على سيد الاولين والآخرين، محمد خاتم النبيين والمرسلين،

وعلى وصيه وابنه عمه وزوج بنته، وهرونه في امته، وابي سبطيه وعترته، ومؤول كتابه وشريعته، علي ابن ابيطالب الفائق على جميع صحابه بالاخلاق الفاضلة ونجابته، وبالعلوم الباهرة وبراعته،

وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما المتنجين الاخيار، صفوة الله العزيز الجبار، الباقية بهم كلمة الامامة مستمر الازمان والاعصار،

وعلى مولانا وصاحب عصرنا، وخلاصة دهرنا، الامام من ذريته، مولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين، وعلى ابائه الطاهرين وابنائهم الاكرمين المنتظرين الى يوم الدين، سلم عليهم اجمعين، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، ونعم المولى ونعم النصير، ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم، يتلوه الجزء الخامس من كتاب الازهار.

Indian Phase

Ḥabīb Allāh b. Mahmūm b. mullā ‘Alī bhāi b. mullā nājī b. mullā Adamjī Sihpurī
(11th-12th/17th-18th C)

160. *Risālat al-Izhār wa al-Tabyīn fī al-baḥṭh ‘alā Butlān I’tiqād al-Firqah al-Sulaymāniyyah wa Fasādihi wa Fasādi Da‘watihim* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله محق الحق ومبطل الباطل بالاظهار والتبيين بالرسول والائمة المهديين صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين،

اما بعد ايها المؤمنون الموقنون المعاهدون فالاعلام اليكم من اقل العبيد، واصغر الصغير، ثبته الله على طاعته
وطاعة وليه والحدود... رأيت الناس قد مالوا * الى من عند المال، فمن لا عنده المال * فعنه الناس قد مالوا

Hasan b. ‘Alī Khān b. Tāj (early 11th/17th C)

161. *al-Risālah al-Muzayyanah al-Mūshāh fī Sīrat Sayyidnā Dā‘ūd jī b. Qutub Shāh* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله جاعل اوليائه صفوة العباد، الهادي بهم الى دار السلام والمعاد، المنتقذ ببيان علومهم من طوق عالم الكون والفساد،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله الذي ارسل رسله ليهدوا الخلاق الى سبيل الرشاد، ويوضحوا معالم الدين بالحجج والبراهين لكل طالب
مرئاد، وان محمدا عبده ورسوله خير نبي شهد لتبوته الاشجار والاحجار الجماد، وافضل (من) اتى بالمعجزات وبلغ الشريعة
واجتهد في ابلاغها باغذ (؟) الاجتهاد،

صلى الله عليه من نبي هدى الخلاق بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة لمن ضل عن الحق وحاد، واتعظهم من نوم الغفلة والسنة تحنتا
وشفقة عليهم لكي ينالوا الفوز والظفر بالمراد،

وعلى اخيه ووصيه المنصوص عليه في يوم الغدير والجمع الغفير من اهل الامصار والبلاد، القائم بجهاد الناكثين والقاسطين
والمارقين حق الجهاد،

وعلى البطل الزهراء الانسية الحوراء ابنة قبلة الركن السجاد، الموداة بعد وفاة ابها عن نكص علي عتبيه وصار من اهل
الارتداد،

وعلى البدرين الساطعين والقمرين اللامعين اللذين اجتهدا في احياء شريعة جدّهما ذي الفضل والسداد، المصاب احدهما في سبيل الله عزوجل بالسم **المدسوس** عليه من عند ابن آكلة الأكباد، والمقتول ثانيهما بالسيوف والرماح والسهام من فته المعين يزيد الطاغى لعنه الله عند اشتداد الجلال،

وعلى الائمة من ذرية الاخير منهما الهادين بعلومهم الشافية اهل الاغوار والانجاد، الذين احتملوا اذى من اذاهم في الله عزوجل واطهروا الدين على رغم ذوي الفسوق والالحاد،

وعلى وارث مقامهم السامي الحائز للمفخر الامامي المعني بقول الله سبحانه وتعالى ﴿ **انما انت منذر ولكل قوم هاد** ﴾، المحتجب المستتر عن عين الناظرين ﴿ **ليمحص الله الذين آمنوا ويمحق الكافرين** ﴾ لعوهم والعناد، الهادي بمن نصبه من الدعاة اليه لهداية الخلائق وتثقيف كل مناد (؟)، القائم بهم حجج الله سبحانه على كافة الانام من اهل الخصيص والاطواد، الداعين الى الدين الحنيف بما استفادوه من العلوم اللطيفة كافة العباد، صلى الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين ما نادى بحجى على خير العمل مناد، وسلم عليهم اجمعين سلاما متصلا متواترا ابد الآباد،

اما بعد ايها الاخوان، ثبتكم الله على طاعة داعي ولي الزمان، المنصوص عليه من الماضي قدس الله روحه قبله، الحائز شرفه وفضله، الكائن له في وقته في كل ما حازه من الفضائل الا في السبق مثله، صاحب الجزائر الثلث، وهادي هدايتها المذكور (الذكور؟) والاناث، الجامع اسرار الكتاب الكريم والمعاني، المؤيد من الله سبحانه بتأييده القدسماني، الخازن للعلوم التاويلية المصونة في القرآن، المبيِّن لها لمستحقها باعذب اللفظ واطيب البيان، بحر العلوم والحقائق، مفتاح الكنوز المعنوية والدقائق، حاوي الخصال المحمودة والشميم، حائز الاخلاق الموصوفة والكرم، ذي الوجه الوسيم المتلالي السامي على ذروة كيوان في المعاني على اسمى المنازل والرتب، المجتمعة عنده تاويلات الانباء والكتب، سيدنا ومولانا وسفينة نجاتنا برهان الدين والدنيا داود بن قطبشاه بن جوخ بن علي يوسف (يونس؟) طول الله سبحانه عمره وصار له في كل امره خير مؤنس، وادام ايام دولته وفخره واشهره في العالمين محاسن صيته وذكره بحق محمد وآله الطيبين الطاهرين صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين،

ان اقل مماليكه المحتاج حسن بن علي خان بن تاج، ثبته الله عزوجل على طاعته وطاعة اوليائه في ارضه وسمائه، لما عاين من عجائب ما خوله الله سبحانه من المعجزات وشاهد وابصر بعين حده وبصيره نفسه من الدلائل المبررات في كل المشاهد مما شاهده من المؤمنين من كان حاضرا وسمعه عنهم من كان غائبا مسافرا...

162. Risālat al-Na'y al-Yamāniyyah [Ms.]

Qtd. in *Risālat al-Muzayyanah*-Written on behalf of Dā'ī Da'ūd b. Qutub Shāh informing the people of Yemen about the demise of his predecessor Da'ūd b. 'Ajab Shāh

ثم انه طول الله عمره كتب في الثامن والعشرين من الشهر المذكور كتابا الى مشايخ اليمن يخبرهم فيه بما جرى عليه من المصيبة الفادحة الكارثة والداھية الجارحة من دواھي الزمن، ولم يبق من الموسم الا الايام الاواخر القلائد، وكان حي سيدنا قدس الله روحه كتب في حال صحته قبل مرضه كتب اليه مع من سار في الاوائل، فكتب سيدنا طول الله

عمره اليهم بخبر وفاته واجراء امور الدعوة الطيبية على ما كانت عليه في حال حيوته، وان حي سيدنا قدس الله روحه نصبه في شريف مقامه ونص واختصه باقامته اياه في منيف (٢٤) محله بما هذا هو القص:

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه وبوليہ استعين واستمد التوفيق في احياء دعوته على النهج القويم، والثبات والاستقامة على الصراط المستقيم، ﴿كل من عليها فان، ويبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال والاكرام﴾،

الحمد لله الذي تفرد بالبقاء، وقهر ما دونه بالفناء، وجل بجلال كبريائه والمجد والثناء، وعز بعز عظمته والنور والسناء، الذي من اطاعه بطاعة حدوده الداعين الى توحيد القائلين بهداية عبادته بالبشرى له بنيل جميع ما له وجميع المنى، ومن عصاهم مبغضا (؟) وتعدى امرهم وخالفهم فالويل له وال... (؟) بما قصره وال (ال) نار،

صلى الله على سيدنا المصطفى خير من شرع الشريعة فكان فيها صلاح الدين والدنا،

وعلى وصيه المرتضى علي ابن ابي طالب الذي قام بتاويل كتابه فاوضح الحق بنور بيانه مبرهنا،

وعلى الائمة الاطهار قرناء القرآن والامنا،

وعلى ولي الزمان، صاحب العصر والامان (الوان ؟)، الذي سرت مؤاد تأثيراته في صفوة اهل الايمان، - وان خفي عن اعيننا الشحمية اللعينية لكثافت ضباب الابتلا وسعا (دة ؟) الامتحان، - الذين هم حججه ودعائه للخلق الى دين الله الملك المنان،

واشهد ان لا اله الا الله الذي جعل الموت على خلقه حتما، وقضاء سابقا وامرا نافذا فيهم وحكما، كما ذكره في كريم كتابه

ووسيم خطابه لنبيه خير من ... (؟) لربه الذينهم العالمون العاملون القاتون بقوله تعالى ﴿انك ميت وانهم ميتون﴾ ويقول

منبها للمتذكرين الذينهم بالحقيقة العابدون الزاهدون، ﴿وما جعلنا لبشر من قبلك الخلد افان مت فهم الخالدون﴾، ﴿كل

نفس ذائقة الموت ونبلوكم بالشر والخير فتنة والينا ترجعون﴾، فاعظ به المتمثلون لامره ولكلامه السامعون، ويقول سبحانه مبينا

للمتقين الفاترين ولاهل الويل والثبور، ﴿كل نفس ذائقة الموت وانما توفون اجوركم يوم القيمة فمن رزح عن النار وادخل الجنة

فقد فاز وما الحياة الدنيا الا متاع الغرور﴾،

واشهد ان خير من قام لهداية الخلق وعرفهم معالم ... (التوحيد ؟ الحق ؟) في عهده وايامه بنفسه ثم فرض ذلك عند (؟)

انتقاله من عالم الخلق الى وصيه خير خلق الله عز وجل بعد من جنه وانسه، ثم جعلها كلمة باقية في عقبه الى يوم القيمة واحدا بعد

واحد، امام بعد امام، ولد خلف والد، ضاعف الله عز وجل عليهم صلواته وسلامه (و؟) رادف أكرامه وإنعامه لاسيما على صاحب العصر، وولي الامر، الخفي عن اعين الناظرين بذاته، وان ظهر نوره بحججه ودعائه، سلاما دائما متصلا الى يوم الدين، ﴿يوم يقوم الناس لرب العالمين﴾، آمين، آمين، آمين،

فبعد، فصدور القطعة الحقيرة، والقطعة الصغيرة، المقلقة بقلوب اهل الايمان، والمفكرة المحيرة لاداء فرض السلام، وواجب التحية والاکرام، من مملوك آل محمد والى الاخوان الداخلين في حرم امام الزمان، والثابتين على الولاية الصحيحة والقائمين بالامانة الصريحة، الثاربيين من مناهل الدعوة العلوية، والكارعين من عين الماء الحوية الطيبية، اهل الجزيرة اليمنية، ذات البركات السنية، لاسيما الموالي الكرام، والمشايخ العظام، والحدود الفخام، خصوصا المولى الامير، ذي اللواء الشهير، والبخت العالي المنير، الامير بالحقيقة الكبير الاوحد، سيف حجة ولي الله عليه السلام والمعتمد، فخر الدنيا والدين، الامير عبد الله بن محمد سلمه الله تعالى و...

163. *Risālat al-Munīrah wa al-Diyā'— fī Akhbār al-Du'āt al-Nagariyyūn, wa dhikri ābā'ihim min Bhārmal fī khamsati abwāb wa 'ishrīna fuṣūl, fīhi akhbār al-ẓālim awrang zayb al-la'īn, wa ẓulmihi li al-mu'minīn fī zamānīh (Ḥabīb allāh b. Bābūjī ? 12th/18th C)* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مبدع الاحد كاملا، وجعله على مبدعاته ومخترعاته غاليا (؟)، وصير المنبعث الاول له من جميع مخترعاته تاليا، ولسامي مجده ثانيا، باعث الرسل والانبياء رحمة لكافة الانام واحدا بعد واحد تاليا، وجاعل الائمة خلفاء راشدين للاولياء نحوه نعمة من الله سابغا طاريا، وامرأة عليهم وفيضا تماما وفضلا كاملا ساريا، وعمارة للآخرة والاولى، ولحكمة بالغة لا يعرفه الا الراسخون في العلم بمن اطلعهم الله على غيبه صافيا، والشكر والثناء له باتقانه فراعة الاسلام وبناء الايمان بالدعاة المطلقين في وقت استتار الامام ولحفاظة دينه واعيا، لان لا يقولوا ما جاءنا من بشير بالجنة ونذير من النار امرا ناهيا، احمده حمد من عرف قدر نعمته فشكر واجاب لمن كان الى طريق الرشد والهداية له داعيا، واثنى عليه ثناء لا ينفد مداه ابد الآبدين ودهر الداهرين جاريا، وابجله تبجيلا ومجده مجدا ساميا،

واشهد ان لا اله الا هو الحي حارت العقول الابداعية عن ادراك عالي عظمته فلا يدركه احد راميا،

واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله اشرف من اتجبه من الانبياء ناشيا، واعظم من ايديهم بمواد بركاته القدسية حاضيا، واكرم من قال حي على الفلاح مناديا، وافضل من صيرهم لبناء الدعوة مواسيا حاميا،

صلى الله عليه صلوة زاكية لا تقنى مدى الاكوار والادوار ناميا، خير من ارسل رحمة للانام وهاديا، وعلى اخيه ووصيه وخدنه
وقربته الا في النبوة حاذيا، علي ابن ابي طالب الذي جعله الله معيننا ووزيرا صالحا موازيا وواليا، يقوم مقامه اذ نص بذلك باذنه
يوم غد يرخم بين جمع كثير وخميس حاديا، بعدما انتجبه لنفسه اذ واخا بين جميع اصحابه مواخيا،

وعلى الائمة من ذريتهم الذين لا يبقى منهم طرفة عين زمانا (؟) خاليا،

وعلى مولانا وصاحب عصرنا المحبوب بالتأييد والفتح والنصر في حله الطفولية على جميع الاعالي والاسافل ساميا، الامام الطيب
ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين الذي رقا سامي فخار المجد وقل الشرف وحائق الفخر راقيا، وقام او من يقوم من ولده اماما الى قيام
القائم خلف مقام سلف نعمة من الله تع الى خلقه منة سابعة من الله في كل وقت سواريا،

ثم التعظيم الاعلى والابغ والتكريم الاوفى الاتم لمن قام فينا بامرنا ص لرتبة الاطلاق حاويا، ولبناء الدعوة حافظا ومراسم الدعوة
الغراء صانيا، مغرسا في حيطان دعوته اشجار العلم والحكمة حتى قام كل منها على ساقه بعدما كان راسيا من قبل كان ازمان
عطشها معاهدا لها وسقيها ساقيا، الملقب بنور الدين والمسمى بنور محمد بن الامين بن حي مولانا كلیم الدين شيخ موسى الذي
قام الى الله والى وليه جميع الخلاق داعيا، المكى ابو عبد الله الذي قر الله فيه عينه وجعله له لسامي رتبة تاليا، طول الله عمره
وانال مراده وانار دعوته واكب اضداده واباد حساده ويهلك اعدائه ويدمر مناويه ومن كان له قاليا، ويحيق بال فرعون وقته
اشد العذاب لسوء مكروه ويكون بيته عليه حاويا، واجرى امور الدعوة للفاطميين في رخاء وسرور وبهجة احسن نظام تاليا،
ويثبتنا وجميع مواليه في طاعة المفروض مع طاعة الله وطاعة رسوله وطاعة وليه في ارضه الذي كان عليهم من الله راعيا،
فان شكر النعمة واجب على من ازلت اليه، . . .

In time of Dā'ī Ibrāhīm Wajīh al-Dīn (d. 1168/1754)

164. *Majmū' al-Fiqh* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين، والصلوة على رسوله سيدنا محمد وآله اجمعين، وايد الله بتأييده الواكف، وتسديده وتوفيقه العاكف،
سيدنا ومولانا وحيه الدنيا والدين، قدوة الموحدين، ابراهيم بن مولانا عبد القادر حكيم الدين، طول الله عمره وزاد دولته، ونور
دعوته، بحق سيدنا محمد وآله صلعم،

وبعد فهذا منتخب في الفقه من كتب اهل البيت صلعم، ليكون كله في مجلد واحد . . .

Qamruddīn b. Dā'ī Hibat Allāh al-Mu'ayyad (early 13th / 19th C)

165. *Risālat Dāfi'at al-Aḥzān wa Qāshi'at al-Ashjān fī Sirat al-Dā'iyyayn ilā Imām al-Zamān* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي اسبغ علينا بآياديه الجسام، واوسع علينا بغوامر افضاله والانعام، بان جعل آباءنا دعاة الحق الكرام، وهداة الخلق الى دين الله الملك العلام، وصيرهم سادة للانام، وقادة بهم الى طرق الرشاد وسبل السلام، ونصيهم للهداية والنجاة اعلاما، واقامهم باوامر الشريعة الغراء ونواهيها قضاة وحكاما،

نحمده اذ جعلنا من المتبعين لسيرهم الحسنة ومقتبين بآثارهم، ومقدين بهم ومسترشدين لمناهم، ومستوقدين بجزوتهم ومستنيرين بنوارهم، ومهتدين بهدايتهم ومقتبسين بانوارهم،

ونشهد ان لا اله الا هو الذي وسعت على المذنبين رحمته وبره، وعم على العاصين عفوه وسره، فنسأله ان يلحقنا بآبائنا الصالحين في معادنا، ويرقيتنا الى درجاتهم وان قصرت بنا اعمالنا، ونأمله ان يجمع شملنا في مآلنا، لاتباعنا اياهم بالايمان فلا يقطع رجاءنا ولا يخيب آمالنا، انجازا لوعده وتصديقا، واثباتا لمصدق قوله وتحقيقا، كما قال في كتابه المبين، وهو اصدق القائلين، ﴿والذين آمنوا واتبعهم ذريتهم بايمان ألحقنا بهم ذريتهم وما اتاهم من عملهم من شيء كل امرء بما كسب رهين﴾،

ونشهد ان محمدا سيد المرسلين، واشرف النبيين، وشفيع المذنبين، الذي بشفاعته يزكو معادنا، القائل لفرط شفقه على ابنائه "اولادنا اكبادنا"،

صلى الله عليه وعلى اخيه ووصيه صفوة اهل المشارق والمغارب، امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب، سيد الاوصياء، الناجي بولايته شيعة ذوو الاخلاص والصفاء، الذي اختار لحاق رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله رجاء لما عنده من الزلفة والقربة، فقال عند وقوع الضربة، "فزت ورب الكعبة"،

وعلى الانسية الحوراء، البتول العذراء، التي حين اسر اليها ابوها صلعم ان قد حضر اجلي بكت، فقال لها اما ترضين ان تستبشري انك اول لاحق بي من اهل بيتي وانا لك نعم السلف فضحكت،

وعلى قرتي عين الرسول، وثمرتي فؤاد البتول، السيدين الامامين، السندين الحمامين، مولانا ابي محمد الحسن ومولانا ابي عبد الله الحسين،

وعلى الائمة الطاهرين، شمس الملة النبوية وبدور افق الدين، من علي بن الحسين زين العابدين، الى الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، صلوات الله عليه وعليهم اجمعين،

وامارنا الله تعالى ببقاء سيدنا ومولانا، وعماد ديننا ودنيانا، قدوة الموحدين، وباب النجاة للوافدين، سيدنا الشيخ يوسف نجم الدين، ابن المرحوم سيدنا ومولانا زكي الدين، طول الله عمره وادامه مسرور الجنان، بحق سيدنا محمد وآله ائمة الازمان، عليهم الصلوات الساميات والتحيات الناميات من الخالق الديان مدى الاحيان،

اما بعد فاني لما تصفحت سيرة جدي الشريف، وسيدي المنيف، الشيخ الفاضل النظيف، عبد القادر حكيم الدين، التي فيها سيدي الشريف الزاهد الاواه، الشيخ لقمان ابن الفقيه العلام حبيب الله، تاقت نفسي الى تأليف سيرة جدي الشريف سيدنا ومولانا وجيه الدين، وسيرة والدي المشفق المنيف سيدنا ومولانا الشيخ هبة الله المؤيد في الدين، . . .

Written on behalf of Dā'ī 'Abd al-Ṭayyib Zakiyy al-Dīn (d. 1200/1785)

166. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah-11?*^H [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

وبه نستعين في كل حين وإنه لي خير ناصر ومعين

الحمد لله مبهر العقول والاذهان في كيفية عجائب ما اظهره من اعلام قدرته واقسام فطرته * الدال بمحكمات صنائعه من سمواته وارضه وما فيهما وفوقهما من الجواهر البسيطة والمركبة والاعراض اللازمة والزائلة على كبرياته ووحدته * المسبغ على جميع ما ابدعه واخترعه بمننه الغامرة والطاف رحمته الكاثرة من خزائن افضاله وكرمه ونعمته * الموضح لعباده مسالك توحيده وتقديسه واحكام عبادته وطاعته التي هي من دون غيرها غاية قصد الباري في خلقه الخلق لهداية اوليائه وصفوته *

احمده حمد مستمسك بالعروة الوثقى من طاعتهم فرسخ مراسي رجائه للفوز بالحلة الرفيعة وحسن الصنيعة في جنته * وامن مما يترقبه مخالفوهم والناكسون على الاعقاب والحرفون عن طاعتهم وولائتهم للنجاسة التي عجت في طينتهم

في اول الاسباب من شديد عذابه ومؤبد نقمته * واشكره على ما هداني وارشدني بمعرفة حدوده الى حقيقة توحيده وتجريده شكر معترف بالخشوع الكامل والخضوع الصادق لجلالته وعظمته *

واشهد ان لا اله الا هو المعزز ان يحاط اعلام ما تختص به فردانيته بهواجس الخواطر فضلا عما يتحرك به الشفتان شهادة مخلص لسيرته * واشهد ان محمدا خير نبي انبا بالغيوب براهين الصدق مما اشتمل عليه الدار الآخرة من انوارها السنية والآنها وروحها وريحانها عدة وذخيرة للعاملين المحسنين لولاء اهل بيته * وافضل مبعوث هداية ورحمة للعالمين فشرح فيهم شرائع العدل والاحسان واسسها على مصالح المعاش والمعاد وجعلها سلما ووسيلة لكل مؤمن موقن الى مقام آخرته * صلى الله عليه من نبي الواصل على الانام من اتى ويأتي في الوجود الى يوم القيمة حبل فيضه وهاطلا من سحاب منته *

وعلى اخيه وابن عمه ينبوع انواره وقبر اسراره ووارث فخاره وجامع آثاره وبيت علمه وحكمته * المشرقة معالم مناقبه النوارية شروق الشمس البازغة على كتمان العدو لها جحودا وعنادا، واخفاء الولي لها ايضا لما لزمه من عهدة الثقة دلالة على ترئس سهم حظوته بالوصاية والامامة وتنج غرته بتاج الخلافة والكرامة لشيعته * امير المؤمنين مولانا علي ابن ابيطالب حجة الله العظمى ونعمته السابغة من حيث وقفت على سر الحكمة في خلق السموات والارض وما بينهما وقتحت ابواب المعارف في مبدء النفوس ومعادها وكيفية اتصالها ومفارقتها من اجسادها بما كشفه من الاسرار المرموزة في كتاب رسوله وشريعته * صلى الله عليه من وصي محله من جسم الدين والايمان محل الروح وبسطوات براهينه انحلت عقد مكائد الابالسة واعلى منار الاسلام بتشديحه رؤوس الابطال الكفار بطعان عسالة ومهند مشرفيته *

وعلى عرسه المتوقدة توقد النور والضياء من مشكاتها انوار القدس وسرجه الالهيون فاطمة الزهراء الزاهرة مكارمها ومعالمها على كل من في العالم من بنوته *

وعلى ولديها الامامين السبطين المستخلصين من الزبد الاسلامية والايمانية المورثين للطايف الشعشعانية المتفرعة من الغرسة المصطفوية والمرتضوية ابي محمد الحسن مستودع سر الامامة وابي عبد الله الحسين الباكية كلمتها في عقبه الى يوم القيمة في اطائب ذريته حفاظ دين الله وحملة اماته ومستبطي الاسرار الدقيقة ومستشهدي الافاق والانفس على صدق ما رسم جدهم واوضاع شرعه وقتنه ابوهم على قضايا العقول حسبما يحلو به مراياها من قوانين دعوته

المعنيين بإفاضة علومهم وحكمهم في خلاص من لبابهم وقد رقبته ربة ولاءهم من مظلم قعر بحر الكون والفساد الى
اعلى ذروة النور وطامي لجته *

صلى الله عليهم وعلى وارث مقامهم وحافظ عقد نظامهم شمس عالم الدين مركز حياة قلبه مصداق قوله تعالى الواقع موقع
الميعاد لنبيه صلح ﴿انما انت منذر ولكل قوم هاد﴾ من هدايته وحملته سره وخزنته * المحتجب عن ظواهر العيون
احتجاب الشمس الطبيعية بالليل ليزدوج الدين بالخلق ويصح الوجدانية لرب الارباب بعظيم قدرته * الحاضر بحدوده
المختارين المصطفين بالامر والاذن في الدعوة اليه ع وعلى رتبته ليتصل حبل الهداية في خفيه كاتصاله في جهته *
وسلم عليه وعليهم ما اضاء بانوارهم حنادس الضلالة والجهالة وطهرت ساحة ارض المقدس مما للشرك والكفر من
الرجس واخضرت بزروع القدس لعزته وآتاه ع الذي مطايا اوهام الضمائر عن تقحم عقبة ادراكه بكلالة العجز
والخيرة موقوفة وابواب التكليف لمتعاليه هويته بانموذجها لجلالاتها وهم بهارة سلطانها بالانسداد المطلق مالوفة *

نسئل بمن تقدم ذكر بما يعطر مجلس الدعوة الطاهرة أنفا ومن تجلت فيهم من تلك العقول الصورية القدسية ومن فوقهم
ومن دونهم من المقامات الجثة الابداعية الى انقضاء دورهم الروحاني ومقامات النطقاء والاصبياء والائمة والدعاة
المسندة اضافتهم اليهم الذي هبت بهم اجمع نسائم التهليل والتوحيد عاصفا ان يجعل مواد لحظاته والبركات دائمة
الاتحاد في السكناات والحركات بالاخوان المؤمنين الفضلا * المتسمين بسمة شريف الولاء لامام العصر نعم الشيع
ونعم المولى * الملحقين بنقطة من نوره فاحالتهم انوارا بعد ان اظلمت جواهرهم بظلمات الهيولى * المحققين بسلوكهم
الطريقة المثلى بالبشرى والدرجات السنية في الآخرة والاولى * الوارثين مكارم الايمان من الاصلااب الكرام والامهات
المطهرات بالحظوة الاولى * الدائنين لله بحقيقة توحيدِهِ وتنزيهه وغيرهم لما يتجاوز في ذلك اما تشبيها او تعطيلًا *
المتعصمين باذبال دعاة الحق وليل الستر صاحب ذليلا * وفاء منهم لما عاهدوا الله عليه وولاء اهل بيت نبيهم فارولئك
هم الفائزون بقدر الفوز المعلى * اولهم الشيخ الشامخ الشهير الواصل اليهم لتأكيد اسباب الدعوة لهم الى وليه الله
والتطهير المرز في السياسة والتدبير المهتر بالمساعي الصادقة في رفع منار الدعوة مع انه طبها الخبير فرقد سماء
الدعوة الغراء وبدرها المنير وسيع اليبدين في الله بالنوال الغفير المتجافي عن مضاجع كل سرائر المنوه الصيت لدى
كل داني ونائي ملا يوسف بهائي ابن المرحوم ملا فيض الله بهائي (ترتيب؟؟).... وسائر من استوطن من بلد اورنكاباد
حرسه الله من كل شر وفساد من جماعة الشيعة الدائنين بمحبة العترة النبوية عم من الله افضل الصلوة والتحية وان
يقبهم من حوادث الدهر وصرفه المفضع ويضع لهم من صلاح الاحوال والقيام بشرائط الايمان والديانة احسن الوضع
كما جعلهم لالبان دعوة الحق من الرضع وفي رياض النجاة من الرتع واخصب رباهم ببركات جوده المبسوط الموسع
واوصل اسباب رشادهم بعاقبه حميد المآدب والمرجع بحق صحفه الاولى واسرار كتابه وحملته عليهم صلاته وسلامه
الارفع *

اما بعد فان مملوك آل محمد الجاعل عبوديتهم له اسنى الفخر واعلى الشرف المتوجه نحو مسجدهم الحرام المعنوي
الاشرف يبلغكم سلام الله الزكي المتأرجح باعطار اليمن الايمن واکرامه المحتوي من المكارم على كل الفن سلام واکرام
يقضي لاقسام الفضل والمنن ويتكرر تكرار اوقات الزمن وهو يحمد الله ويثني اليكم الله الذي لم يزل جوادا رحيمنا
كريما على ما عنده من سبوغ نعماءه وعوارفه وشمول مننه والطافه وتمهيد المعارف له ولاهل حضرته والتمكين لهم
في التتزه في رياض حكمته مدى اوقات غدوة الدهر وعشيتة وفتح باب العافية والصلاح والفلاح من كل اقسامه

وجہاتہ حمداً وشکراً یكون قاضیا بدوام فضله ومنته بل مفيضاً بالزيادة من عواطف رحمته ويسئله وهو خير مسؤول
بجملة من دنا وعلى من الوسائل الذي تكفل بالاجابة والاسدعاف لمن توسل اليه بهم من داعيه والوسائل ان يجعل حبل
نوائله ونوافله عندكم موصولاً الى الابد ويمهد لكم وحفظه المحيط وفيضه البسيط اوطاء المهد انه ولي الخير ودافع
عادية الضير .

فصل- ومما ينهي اليكم ويلقيه عليكم وهو تاديتہ وشرحه لان الدين النصيحة علينا من الله ومن وليه سلام الله عليه من
الواجب الحتم وانتم معشر الاخوان الملتزمون القيام به وبمقتضاه بالعزم الابرم مع انه من هذا الكتاب في سطورہ غاية
غرضه وزبدة محصولة ونتيجة غرضه...

Al-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Sayfī Ibrāhīm b. al-Shaykh Jiwā bhāi (13th/19th C)

167. *Risālat al-Libās* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي ﴿خلق الانسان في احسن تقويم﴾ ، ثم هداه وجعله ﴿يمشي سويًا على صراط مستقيم﴾ ،

وصلى الله على عبده ورسوله الاتي بجوامع الكلم، محمد المحبوب بحقائق المعاني وغوامض الحكم، وعلى آله الراسخين في
العلم والحلم، والكاملين في العقل والفهم، وسلم عليه وعليهم اجمعين، سلاماً متصلاً الى يوم الدين

اما بعد ، فقال السيافي ابراهيم بن الشيخ جيو بهائي ...

Al-Shaykh Qutub b. Sulaymānjī (13th/19th C)

168. *Muntaza' al-Akhbār* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي لا يبلغه غوص الفطن الغائصة، ولا تحكم بالخلوص الى معرفته حاكيات العقول الكاملة لا الناقصة،

وصلى الله على موالينا محمد وآله الزبدة الطاهرة الخالصة، الذين آتاهم الله من شؤون الكمال ما يقصر عن كنهه فحص النفوس
الفاحصة،

وبعد ، فهذا منزع في الاخبار، ومختصر في الآثار، انتزعت من كلب متفرقة، وبسطته على اخبار مسممة، وذلك بعد ان
تصفحت كتباً في الاخبار ذات عدة ...

169. *Al-Majālis al-Ṭayyibiyyah al-‘Ashūriyyah, In time of Dā’ī ‘Abd-‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817)*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل الموت حكمة لينال المتقون منازل الكرام في دار السلام، ويحل العاصون لاوليائه في محل البلاء والشقاء والآلام، فتبارك الله لا اله الا هو ذو الجلال والاكرام،

وصلى الله على محمد الممدوح بالتبجيل والتفخيم، الممدوح بقول الله تعالى ﴿وانك لعلی خلق عظیم﴾، وهو الذي انار الله به الدين، وختم به النبيين، وجعله خير خلقه اجمعين، كما قال صلى الله عليه وعلى آله "انا سيد البشر وسيد ولد آدم ولا فخر"،

Written on behalf of Dā’ī ‘Abd ‘Alī Sayf al-Dīn (d. 1232/1817)

170. *al-Masā’il al-saifiyyah wa al-masā’il al-zayniyyah* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي خلق كل شيء فقدره تقديرا، احمده واشهد ان لا اله الا الله ﴿الذي خلق من الماء بشرا فجعله نسبا وصهرا، وكان ربك قديرا﴾، واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق بشيرا ونذيرا، ﴿وداعيا الى الله باذنه وسراجا منيرا﴾، صلى الله عليه وعلى اخيه ووصيه امير المؤمنين علي ابن ابي طالب الذي جعله له معينا ووزيرا، وعلى ما اراد الله من اظهار دينه ظهيرا ونصيرا، وعلى مولانا فاطمة الزهراء، الانسية الحوراء التي جعل لها من المجد مكانا خطيرا، وعلى ولديها الامامين، مولانا الحسن ومولانا الحسين، الخاترين من الامامة نعيما وملكا كبيرا، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما الذين اذهب الله عنهم الرجس وطهرهم تطهيرا، وعلى سيدنا ومولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين المؤتي الحكمة وفصل الخطاب طفلا صغيرا،

171. *Majmū‘ al-fiqh-vol.I* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعلنا من ارباب اليقين، وصيرنا من المعتصمين بحبله المتين، الذي جعل علم الفقه اشرف العلوم، وندب اليه في كتابه المبين، فقال سبحانه جل من قائل ﴿فلولا نفر من كل فرقة طائفة منهم ليتفقهوا في الدين﴾، وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد رسوله المصطفى الذي هو الله العين والوجه، القائل "لكل شيء عماد وعماد هذا الدين الفقه"، وعلى وصيه علي بن ابي طالب الذي ساد عجم الخلق وعبره، القائل "لو اتيت بشاب من شيعتي لم يتفقه لاحسن اديبه"،

وعلى الأئمة من ذريتهما الذين استبانت بهم معالم الإيمان والاسلام، واستقامت بهم لدين الله جميع الحدود والاحكام، وعلى خليفتهم المستتر في كهف النقية لكي يمتاز المؤمنون من المنافقين الذينهم في طغيانهم يعمهون، والفصل آيات الهداية على السنة دعائه لقوم يفقهون، سيدنا ومولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، وعلى ابنائه الاكرمين المنتظرين الى يوم الدين، صلوة وسلاما متصلا دائما في كل وقت وحين، ومتعنا الله ببقاء مالك امرنا، وداعي عصرنا، ذي الفضل العظيم، القائل في منظومه الارق من النسيم،

وخير العلم علم الفقه فا قصد * على تحصيله قصد العليم

سيدنا ومولانا عبدعلي سيف الدين، نجل الحي الراقي الى اعلى غرفات المخلدين، سيدنا ومولانا زكي الدين، ووقفنا لوفاء عهوده ومواثيقه والقيام بجميع لوازمها وختم لنا على طاعته بالخير فانهما الامور بخواتمها بحق سيدنا محمد وآله الطاهرين، صلوات الله عليهم اجمعين،

اما بعد، ...

172. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1213H* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي فاز للجلالة وجهه المتقادون الخاضعون، وسعد لنور عظمتهم الساجدون الراكعون، وعز عند سناء كبريائه المذللون المتواضعون، ونجى الى احكام عبادته وتقديسه عن صفات بريته ونعوت خليقته الملبون السامعون، وسمى في درجات الفضل والفلاح لذكر تسبيحه وتهليله الصادعون، وخسر المعاندون الذينهم لرقابهم عن ربقات الاذعان والطوع خالعون، وفي اودية الخسر والحزى والجحود والاحاد تائهون واقعون، وضل الملحدون العاة حين اغواهم شياطينهم الارجاس الخادعون، شعر—

تبارك الرحمن سبحانه	لنوره امر العلى خاضعون
والرسل والصفوة من خلقه	لعزه نفوسهم واضعون
يا عابدين لسنا وجهه	انكم في جنّة وادعون
وفي رياض القدس اذ جاءكم	آجالكم في غبطة راتعون
هل يستوي معاند جامع	لمن هم لربهم طائعون

احمده اذ رسم مراسم العبادات ليفوز بتضاعف الاجر والمثوبة فيها العابدون الطائعون، ويعلو سلطان عزته وعظمته حين يتظاهر بالتهليل والتقدیس فيها المتظاهرون المسارعون، ويسدل من محسوسها الجماد على معقولا من حدود العز والجبروت العلماء المسارعون، الذين يدخلون البيوت من ابوابها وهم على رقابهم نير الذل والتعبد واضعون، واشكره اذ جدد فتوح الاسرار والایات فوضع نفوسا طيبة من اخلاقها الحكيمة اللدنية الراضعون، ونفع بمناقبها لمقتبسي انوارها القوامون النافعون، ودفع بها عن القلوب ظلمات الجهل والعمى الدافعون، فأتسع بنية الذخائر القدسية منهم بمحاسن التقى والرياضة الواسعون،

واشهد ان لاله الا الذي اظهر الصنائع التي عجز عنها الصانعون، واقام الاكوان والعالم ليرجع اليه لاعتراف الربوبية التامة المحضة الراجعون، وينحسر عن طغيانهم في الحادهم الذينهم لاحكام الاخلاص في الاداء لحقوقها والمعرفة بمجودها تابعون،

واشهد ان محمدا نبيه الذي انبا به النبيون المبعوثون الشافعون، ورسوله الذي ﴿ارسله بالهدى ودين الحق﴾ فلا يظني نوره المطفئون، ولا يجمع شرعه القامعون،

صلى الله عليه من نبي فاز ثمر المفاخر لمزارع العمل باوضاع ملته الزارعون، واستوفى بركات الهدى والنور بين عترته وكتابه بالطاعة والاخلاص الجامعون، صلوة توصلها اليه وتصعد نحو اسنى مقامه بها املاك السماء المبلغون الرافعون، وعلى اخيه ووصيه الذي وضع للدعوة اليه والدلالة عليه للاوضاع الواضعون، وشرع معالم الشرع لظهوره منها مقاما الهيا وهيكل ربايا الشارعون، امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب الذي عد بيعة نصه في مجمع الغدير واعلن بها بصوته فلبى المهاجرون والانصار نحن المباعون، ثم اختلفوا الرئاسة دنيوية وقاموا يدلسون التدليسات الحارثية ويتنازعون، تبا لهم انهم في الضلال والعدوان الشانعون،

وعلى فاطمة الزهراء البتول العذراء التي رجال الامامة من سماء خيرتها وطهارتها الطالعون،

وعلى ولديها الامامين وسبيلها الهمامين ابي محمد الحسن وابي عبد الله الحسين المتجري عليهما بالمظالم الامويون الابلسة القاطعون،

وعلى الائمة من ذرية الحسين الذين اشباعهم من دروع علومهم واسرارهم دارعون، ومن مناهد حكمهم وحقائقهم
كارعون، حين مخالفوهم في معاطيش الجهل والعمى جامون جاثعون، اباء مولانا الامام الطيب المستاثر دعاة الفضل
والجد فهم لحمى دعوته عن شرور الشياطين مانعون، ولسيوف براهين آيات العلوم اللدنية لعدائهم يقارعون، المتوجه
اليهم ومقلدي قلايد بيهتهم فحوى قوله سبحانه ﴿ **قد افلح المؤمنون الذينهم في صلوتهم خاشعون** ﴾،

173. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1214H* [Ms.]

Analyzed in chapter-VI (p.239ff)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم³⁵

(1a) الحمد لله —

المُؤَخِّدِ	بِخَصَائِصِ	الْحَمْدِ	وَالثَّنَاءِ
الْمُتَفَرِّدِ	بِآيَاتِ	الْجَلَالَةِ	وَالسَّنَاءِ
الْمُتَّصِدِ	بِسُلْطَانِ	الْقُدْرَةِ	وَالْكِبْرِيَاءِ
الْمُتَجَرِّدِ	بِأَعْلَامِ	الْغَلْبَةِ	وَالْفَنَاءِ

(1b) ذَلِكَ اللهُ الَّذِي —

ذَلِكَ	لِعِزَّةِ	عَظَمَتِهِ	رِقَابُ	الْمُظَلَّاءِ
وَحَرَّتْ	لِسُلْطَانِ	كِبْرِيَائِهِ	بِطَاعَةِ	السُّجُودِ
وَحَشَمَتْ	لِثَوْرِ	وَحْدَانِيَّتِهِ	صُدُورُ	الْأُولِيَاءِ

³⁵ In Manuscript B-added: وما توفيقي الا به ولا استمدادي الا من وليه وابن نبيه. (This is the Dā'ī's 'alāmah – illustration of another *risālah* written in Dā'ī 'Abd-'Alī Sayf al-Dīn' time (*Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* 1224H) with the 'alāmah written by the Dā'ī is presented in the thesis Plate-VIIa.

³⁶ In Manuscript A: كبرياء

(1c) شعراً —

تَبَعَرُفِي سَنَارَبِ السَّامَاءِ وَمُبْدِعُ كُلِّ ذِي قُرْبٍ وَنَاءِ
تَحَارَتْ فِيهِ أَفْكَارُ الْبَرَايَا وَغَارَتْ عَنْهُ أَبْصَارُ الرُّوَاءِ
هُوَ الْبَارِي وَلَا بَارِي سِوَاهُ وَلَا مُضَيِّ لِحُكَّامِ الْقَضَاءِ
وَلَيْسَ يَجُوزُ فِيمَا³⁷ كَانَ يَقْضِي وَيَجْرِي مِنْ نَعِيمٍ³⁸ أَوْ بَلَاءِ
عَلَا بِجَلَالِهِ وَدَنَا بِلُطْفِ وَخَصَّ هُدَاتَهُ بِالْإِسْطَفَاءِ³⁹
فَعَابِدُهُ سَلَى عَنْ خَوْفِ خُطْبِ وَعَاصِيهِ يُقَاسِي لِلشَّقَاءِ

(1d) ذَلِكَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي —

لَقَحْتُ عِبَادَتُهُ⁴⁰ فِي نُفُوسِ الْعَابِدِينَ لَقَاحُ النُّورِ وَالضِّيَاءِ
وَجَلَلْتُ طَاعَتُهُ⁴¹ عَنْ صُدُورِ الْمُطِيعِينَ ظَلَمَاتِ الْأَضْدَاءِ
وَسَهَّلْتُ مَحَاسِنَ ذِكْرِهِ وَتُدَيْسِهِ وَتُسْبِيحِهِ⁴² لِلذَّاكِرِينَ الْمُسَبِّحِينَ الْمُقَدِّسِينَ
أَوْعَارَ سُبُلِ الْمَفَازِ⁴³ وَالْإِرْتِقَاءِ

(2) أَحْمَدُهُ إِذْ —

جَعَلَ الْإِيَّامَ الْفَاضِلَةَ مُخْتَصَةً بِشَانَاتِ الْفَضْلِ وَالْبَهَاءِ، وَضَاعَتْ فِيهَا أَجُورُ الطُّلُوعِ الصُّومِ الْقَوْمِ الْعَبْدِ⁴⁴ فِي الْجَهْرِ وَالْخَفَاءِ،
وَجَعَلَ صَامِمَاتِ مَوَاسِمٍ⁴⁵ تَكْبِيرَهَا وَتَهْلِيلَهَا مَثَلًا عَلَى حُدُودِ دِينِهِ الصَّفْوَةِ النُّطْقَاءِ، الَّذِينَ كَمَى عَنْهُمْ لَكُونُهُمْ مُعْرِفِينَ سَبِيلِ
طَاعَتِهِ وَتَقْوَاهُ⁴⁶ بِالْكَلِمَاتِ وَالْأَسْمَاءِ،

³⁷ In Manuscript A: فما

³⁸ In Manuscript A: فنعيم

³⁹ In Manuscript A: بإسطفاء

⁴⁰ In Manuscript A: لعبادته

⁴¹ In Manuscript A: محاسن وجهه الكريم وتديسه

⁴² In Manuscript A: المفازين

⁴³ In Manuscript B: مراسم

⁴⁴ In Manuscript A: طاعتهم وتقواهم, In Manuscript B: سبل طاعتهم وتقواهم. However there seems to be a transcription error here and most likely intended text based on the semantic and logical flow of the text seems to be طاعته وتقواه.

حَمْدًا قَاضِيًا بِتَضَاعُيفِ النِّعْمَاءِ
وَشُكْرًا كَافِلًا بِزَيْدِ **الْأَلَاءِ**

(3) وَأَشْهَدُ أَنْ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا الَّذِي —

الْجَمِّ أَنْ يُعْبَرَ كُفَّهَ جَلَالِهِ السِّبْنَةُ الْفُضْحَاءُ
وَأَفْحَمَ أَنْ يَرْتَقِيَ إِلَى سَمَاءٍ وَحْدَانِيَّتِهِ أَوْهَامِ **الْأَذْكِيَاءِ**

وَرَدَّ بُرْهَانُ رُبُوبِيَّتِهِ كَيْدَ الْمُلْحِدِينَ النَّاكِثِينَ عَلَى أَعْقَابِ الْخُسْرِ وَالْخَطَاءِ،

شَهَادَةٌ مِنْ عَرَفَ بَاطِنَ ⁴⁵ حُدُودِهَا وَأَدَّى أَحْكَامَ أَسْرَارِ **حُقُوقِهَا** فَفَارَزَ ⁴⁶ بَرَكَاتِ الْإِخْلَاصِ **وَالصَّفَاءِ**، وَأَنْصَبَغَ بِصِبْغَةِ اللَّهِ وَمِنْ
أَحْسَنَ ⁴⁷ مِنْهُ صِبْغَةً ⁴⁸ لِنَفُوسِ الرُّشْدِ **وَالنَّقَاءِ**،

(4a) وَأَشْهَدُ أَنَّ مُحَمَّدًا الْمُعْظَمَ مَقَامُهُ لَمَّا احْتَوَى عَلَيْهِ مِنْ آيَاتِهِ الْكَمَالِ الْكَلِّيَّ عَلَى الرُّسُلِ **وَالْأَنْبِيَاءِ**، النَّامِي مَحَاسِنُ
بَرَكَاتِهِ وَمَآثِرِهِ لَكُونِ شَرْعِهِ مُشْتَمِلًا عَلَى جَمَاعِ الْمَزَانِ وَالْمَيَامِينِ عَلَى أَرْبَابِ الشَّرَائِعِ **الْأُمْنَاءِ**،

(4b) صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ صَلَوةً تُكَافِي أُجُورَ ⁴⁹ هِدَايَتِهِ فِيمَا آدَى مِنَ الْأَمَانَاتِ وَأَنْهَى **بِالنَّبَأِ**،

⁴⁵ In Manuscript B-added: معاني حدودها

⁴⁶ In Manuscript A: مفاز ببركات

⁴⁷ In Manuscript A: فأحسن

⁴⁸ 2:138

البقرة 138 صِبْغَةً اللَّهُ وَمَنْ أَحْسَنَ مِنْ اللَّهِ صِبْغَةً وَتَحَنُّنًا لَهُ عَابِدُونَ

⁴⁹ 42:23

الشمورى 23 ذَلِكَ الَّذِي يُبَشِّرُ اللَّهَ عِبَادَهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ قُلْ لَا
أَسْأَلُكُمْ عَلَيْهِ أَجْرًا إِلَّا الْمَوَدَّةَ فِي الْقُرْبَى وَمَنْ يَقْتَرِفْ حَسَنَةً نَّزِدْ لَهُ فِيهَا
حُسْنًا إِنَّ اللَّهَ غَفُورٌ شَكُورٌ

(5a) وعلى أخيه ووصيه الذي اختص منه بفضل الوصاية والأخاء، المنيب ذاته من الزيد **واللباب** من صور⁵⁰ المقامات والرسل والأوصياء، المنزل فيه آيات الذكر منصحة لما تفرّد به من شأان الفضل **والعلاء**، علي أمير المؤمنين الضارب دونه أبطال الكفار في حومة الهيجاء، النافع في شخص شريعته روح التأويل الجالي عن نفوس شيعته ظلمات ليل الظواهر الليلاء⁵¹،

(5b) صلى الله عليه من وصي—

شهد بفضلِهِ الموالون والأعداء
ودان بإمامتِهِ الإنس والجِن
وتطق بولائتِهِ الناطقون والعجماء

وتجلى به كلياً بآيات العزة⁵² والإقْدَارِ مَكُونُ الأكوانِ ومُنشِئُ الأشياءِ،

(6) وعلى عرسه النورانية **الخوراء**، بضعة الرسول المنشئة من نوره **الوضاء**، أرض البركات المهترئة بحدائق مقامات الأنوار **الأجلاء**، مولانا فاطمة **الزهراء**،

(7) وعلى ولديها الإمامين الذين—

فتح الله بهما بركات الإمامة بأحسن الفتح **والإخراء**
وسلسل منهنهما فيوض الأنوار الأزليّة فلا مفاض⁵³ لها **ولا انقضاء**

أبي محمد الحسن وأبي عبد الله الحسين الجاري عليهما بطشات مظالم الأيالة **الخبثاء**، الواقع على ناسوتيهما واقع السّم النافع **والسيف والنبل والسمراء**، ممن ظهروا من خباثت العقدين في الصورة الألفية لسابق القضاء،

⁵⁰ In Manuscript A: قصور

⁵¹ In Manuscript A: الليل الظواهر البلاء

⁵² In Manuscript A: العز

⁵³ In Manuscript B: مفاض

(8) وعلى الأئمة من ذرية الحسين حجج الله على عباده **والخلفاء**، الطالعين في سماء الشريعة والدعوة شمسها الدينية **الكاشفة للظلماء**، الكائنين بأشعة علومهم الملكوتية مراكز الحياة الأبدية لنفوس شيع الولاء، فإنها مبادئها⁵⁴ وبها معادها عند طارئ القوت والفناء،

(9) آباء مولانا الامام⁵⁵ الطيب المنتهي فيه من الأدوار قوى الإعتلاء، الناطق اسمه المفضل الميمون⁵⁶ شاهداً بإمامته لمطابقة أعداده أعداد آياته⁵⁷ الذين أشرق نورهم **وأضاء**، المرجي لعمق حكمة الحكيم **الديان** أسرار **الستر** وال**خفاء**، المقيم دعوته بدعائه المهدين⁵⁸ مباني رشدنا على تواتر أوقات الصباح **والمساء**، الحافظين نظام حقايقها **وأسرارها** حفظ المهيمين⁵⁹ **الأدلاء**،

(10) وعلى الأئمة القائمين من نسله اللآئين في كهف **الستر** وال**تقية** لعلبة سلطان الضراء، وغلو استطاره⁶⁰ شرر أشرار فتنة أبالسة البغي **والفحشاء**، المدينين دعائهم من مواد فضيلهم ما⁶¹ تقووا به على إقامة دعوتهم الغراء، وإدامة معالم **السيح** وال**تهليل** على وجه الغبراء،

(11) وعلى صاحب الزمان وحجة الرحمن الموقفة عليه نصوص آياته بأوفا الوفاء، المتقية فيه من **القوة** والأ**نوار** ما ظهرت آثاره في دائرة دعوته من حيث غلو سلطان **علومها** وأ**عمالها** بأقصى شانات الإستيفاء، وسلم عليه وعليهم سلاماً متكرراً بالبركات الخارجة عن **العد** والإ**حصاء**،

(12) ورحمة الله ورضوانه على دعاء **الستر** الباسطين ذراعهم لدى كهف **التقية**⁶² ليدبوا عنه خطوب أهل **الشحناء**، الداعين إليهم بعلومهم الباطنية **وفرائد**هم **الملكويتية** دعوة انتهت في عموم بركات **الغفر** وال**رضاء**، المقاسين في إقامة معالم هدايتهم مظالم أهل **الظلم** وال**عدوان** وال**خفاء**، فجزاهم الله من قوم⁶³ علت حسنات قيامهم **وانتهت أقصى الإبتلاء**، وبهم

⁵⁴ In Manuscript B: مبداءها

⁵⁵ In Manuscript B-added: الامام

⁵⁶ In Manuscript B: لأياته

⁵⁷ In Manuscript A: المهديين

⁵⁸ In Manuscript A: المهيمين

⁵⁹ In Manuscript A: استطار

⁶⁰ In Manuscript A-added: ما

⁶¹ 18:18

وتحسينهم أيقاظاً وهم رقود وتقلبهم ذات اليمين وذات الشمال وكلبهم باسطة ذراعته بالوصيد لو أطلعت عليهم لوليت منهم فراراً ولملت منهم رغباً

⁶² In Manuscript A: قوام

تَثَبَّتْ أَقْدَامُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَنْ غَرَائِمِهَا وَانْحَفَظَ نِظَامُ وَجُودِ الْهُدَى لِأَهْلِ الْإِهْدَاءِ، جَزَاءً قَاضِيًا يَغْلُو دَرَجَاتِهِمْ فِي مَجَامِعِ الْأَنْوَارِ وَبَرَائِخِ الصَّافِينَ الْأَنْبَارِ وَعَوْدَةِ أَنْوَارِ فَيُوضِيهِمْ⁶³ عَلَيْنَا فِي كُلِّ إِنْاءٍ، وَلَكَ مِنْهُمْ مَعْنِي بِمَا نَدَّبَ اللَّهُ إِلَيْهِ عُصَبَ الْإِيمَانِ مِنْ إِجَابَةِ دَعْوَتِهِ⁶⁴ حِكَايَةً عَنِ الْجِنِّ الْمُرْمُوزِ عَنْهُمْ بِأَهْلِ الْبَاطِنِ وَالْإِخْتِفَاءِ، ﴿يَا قَوْمَنَا أَجِيبُوا دَاعِيَ اللَّهِ وَآمِنُوا بِهِ يَغْفِرَ لَكُمْ مِنْ ذُنُوبِكُمْ وَيُجِرَكُمْ مِنْ عَذَابِ أَلِيمٍ، وَمَنْ لَا يُجِبْ دَاعِيَ اللَّهِ فَلَيْسَ بِمُعْجِزٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَيْسَ لَهُ مِنْ دُونِ اللَّهِ أَوْلِيَاءُ﴾ (46:31-32)

مَعَشَرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ لَقَّحَ اللَّهُ بَصَائِرَكُمْ لِقَاحِ الْهُدَى وَالنُّورِ، وَأَزَالَ عَنْكُمْ مَا لِلرَّدَى وَالْعَصِيَانِ مِنَ الدَّيْجُورِ، انْقَرُوا عَنْ الدُّنْيَا وَشَهَوَاتِهَا قَبْلَ النُّفُورِ، وَاسْتَحْقِرُوا خَطَايَاهَا فَإِنَّهُ مُحَقَّرٌ، ...

174. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1215H-excerpt* [Ms.]

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ⁶⁵

الحمد لله المقدس ان يشام بإبصار البصائر برق عظمته، والمتعالى ان يتعكس في قواريب الافكار اشعة شمس حقيقته،

وعلى الائمة من ذرية مولانا الحسين... من مولانا علي بن الحسين زين العابدين الى امام ذا العصر والزمان، شمس كواكب الحدود والاعيان، روح هيكل مناسك الايمان، مركز نشأة نفوس الاعيان، زهرة خضرة حديقة الاسلام، لب قشور الاجسام والاجرام، علم آباءه الائمة الاعلام، المستحيل وجود توهمه في الانام، الذي جعله الله لرحمته سبحانه، وعظمته وكبريائه حجابا، ولكتاب حكمته كتابا، ولصفوة خلقه مابا، لعمري انه ضروري الوجود مع غيبته، لمكان آية دعائه فينا ودعوته، وفق ما تحقق ان الله غير مختلف في الهيته مع عدم رؤيته، لضرورة وجود ما تعين في الخارج من بريته، بقية البركات للباقيين، نظام ميامن الماضين،

وامتزجت الصلوات الممتدة من آفاق سموات المقامات المتفردين بشرف الاستقرار، بنيرات دعائهم الفائقين اصباح دعوتهم حين غروبهم بالاستتار، والمستوين باخمس ملتهم على هامة المحيط الاعلى شادخين قمم اعداءهم الاشرار، لله درهم لو كان حاولهم شوقهم الى لقاء اسلافهم على المصير حيث استقر بهم في الخلد القرار، لكفى من الشواهد

⁶³ In Manuscript B: فيضهم

⁶⁴ In Manuscript B-added: من إجابة دعوتهم

⁶⁵ This *risālah* is quoted in full by STS in his *risālah* 1373H. Four phrases beginning with *la 'amrī innahu ḍarūriyy al-wujūd*... have been quoted in the *ṣalawāt* section in STS's first *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah* 1335H.

على غاية ما تعاطوه في الدين من العناية ما يشاهد لهم من الآثار، كم ذلّلوا وكربوا أرض الحق بعد أن كانت بورا وأنبتوا حقائق شرائعه وفجروا من علومها الأنهار، هلم جرا من مبدء سلسلتهم وأول عدتهم، من مولانا ذؤيب نخبة أبيه موسى إلى ختام كما لهم، ونظام جلالهم، وقطب دائرة درايتهم، ومركز محيط هدايتهم، ومج بيضة فضائلهم، وحب أكام شمائلهم، وتاج هامة مجدهم، وعقد جيد رشدهم، سراج الخاطبين، عصمة القانطين، رأس الموحدين، سنام المجردين، سيدنا مولانا وعمادنا الشيخ محمد يوسف نجم الدين، نخبة أبيه الفذ مولانا الشيخ عبد الطيب زكي الدين، من صلوة تشرف بهم على ما انطووا عليه من الاستواء في صفوف المقامات الهيين، وتحية تقضي بجلالتهم إلى ما راودوه من الحلول في جوار منتهى الكليات الابداعيين،

معشر المؤمنين، اسعدكم الله بانصباب عزالي انعامه، واكرمكم بتنفس نسيم الهامه . . .

175. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1221H* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم⁶⁶

الحمد لله الكبير المتعال، الملك القدوس شديد الحال، الباري المصور منشئ السحاب الثقال، الذي خلق العالم في ستة أيام وما مسه من ملال، فذلكم الله ﴿له دعوة الحق﴾ ﴿وما دعاء الكافرين الا في ضلال﴾،

وصلى الله على عبده المحبو بالذكر الحكيم، الرؤف بالمؤمنين الرحيم، وارسل بالهدى من لدن حكيم عليم، المبعوث بالحنيفية البيضاء والقران العظيم، محمد رسول الله الصادع بما امر وهو على صراط مستقيم،

وعلى وصيه الذي اوتي رحمة من عنده وعلم من لدنه فصل الخطاب، ومكن له في الارض وآتاه كل شيء من الاسباب، وشد ملكه وجعله مهيمنا على الاحزاب، ونصّبه علما للدين وعلمنا ليوم الحساب، امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب المنعوت بذى الطول شديد العقاب،

وعلى بضعة رسوله التي جعل التطهير لها جلبابا، مد عليها من العصمة حجابا، فاطمة الزهراء التي لم يجعل لها من قبل اترابا،

⁶⁶ This risālah entitle *al-Balāgh al-Sayfī*, is quoted in full in STS's risālah 1375H, *Balāgh al-Du'āt al-Fātimiyyīn*. The beginning of this risālah is sure to have been one of the sources of inspiration for STS's first risālah 1335H.

وعلى سبطيه السراجين في افق العلياء، الذين من الله عليهما وامدهما بالهدى والسناء، وما زادهما ما نالهما الا امانا
وتسليما في السراء والضراء امير المؤمنين ابي محمد الحسن وامير المؤمنين ابي عبد الله الحسين سيدي الشهداء،
وعلى الائمة من ذرية الحسين الذين انعم الله عليهم بالحكمة وآتاهم ملكا كبيرا، اولئك المصطفون الاخيار الذين
اخلصهم بمخالصة ذكرى الدار وطهرهم تطهيرا،
وعلى وارث فضلهم خليفة الرحمن الذي يحكم بين الناس بما اراه، ونزل السلام عليه يوم ولد وانزل السكينة على مهده
ووجده نبيما فاواه، وكفى عنه بالطور ﴿وكتاب مسطور والبيت المعمور والسقف المرفوع﴾ سماء، وان هو الا ﴿امام
مبين﴾ يشهد على كل انسان بما علم يوم اتاه، امير المؤمنين الامام الطيب ابي القاسم المضاهي في الفضل محمدا رسول
الله جده وعليه اياه، وسلم عليهم اجمعين،
اما بعد، فهذه الرسالة بلاغ لمن آمن وآثر التقوى...

176. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1224H* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي انوار ربوبيته ساطعة، وآثار الوهية لامعة، فالعقول له شاهدة ولعزة جلاله خاشعة،
احمده واشهد ان لا اله الا هو الذي الطاف جوده واسعة، وعناية هداة دينه فؤاد الضلالة صادعة، وشمس حقيقة
توحيدِهِ من مطالع السنن طالعة، ونفوس المتسكين مجبلة في رياض حكمهم الموقنة راتعة،
واشهد ان خير عباده واكرم رسله الذي خصائص مجده رائق، فهو ينبوع البركات التي تيمنت بها مغارب ومشارق،
محمد الهاشمي الذي نطق بروائع الحكم وجوامع الكلم فما مثله ناطق، واوتي من الكمال النفساني ما هو على كمال
الانبياء قبله فانق،
صلى الله عليه وعلى اخيه ووصيه الذي ناسب اصله في طهارة الناسوت ولطافة اللاهوت اصله، وغلب فضل سائر
الوصيين فضله، ولطف في تاويله عن محكم التنزيل وصله وفصله، امير المؤمنين علي بن ابي طالب الذي هو عروة الله
وحبله، المحتوم وصله،

وعلى عرسه الحوراء التي تخصص بها من مكارم المجد ملحها، وتكون من جوهر النور الثاقب شبها، فاطمة الزهراء
الرائقة محبتها مدحها، اللاحقة بابها في اقرب الزمان لحاقا تم لها به فرحها،

وعلى ولديها الامامين المشتملين على ملابس الكرامة الفاخرة، والطالعين كوكبي الامامة المهدي بهما سبل الاخرة،
والبارزين درتي اللجة الهيولانية الزاخرة، مولانا الحسن ومولانا الحسين الضاربين على ضميم الفئة الطاغية الساخرة،

وعلى الانمة من ولد الحسين الاتقياء الاعلام، البرة الحاليين من جدهم الذي هو شجرة النور والازل محل الشجرة من
الشجرة، الممتازين بجوهر كمالهم الشعشعاني فالفرق بينهم وبين الناس كالفرق بين الدرة والمدررة، المستخلصين من
معدني الشريعة والكتاب صنوف الجواهر الحكيمة المنتشرة، الكاشفين بضياء تفهمهم ظلمة الجهالة المعكورة، الملقين من
برهان علمهم الباهر ما يلقف افك السحرة،

وعلى خير خلفهم ومقر شرفهم الحال منهم محل الزهرة من الروضة الخضرة، شمس الرشاد المري تأثير بركاته بتوسط
كواكب دعائه قاصدا به ارقاء النفوس المنحدرة، مولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، صاحب الطلعة
المباركة المنتظرة، وسلم عليه وعلى ابناؤه الاكرمين، سلاما موصولا بهم الى يوم الدين،

وبعد، فقد علمتم معشر المؤمنين بما تقدم اليكم وتكرر من لامح البيان...

Written on behalf of Dā'ī Ṭayyib Zayn al-Dīn (d. 1252/1827) by 'Abd-'Alī 'Imād al-Dīn

177. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1237H-excerpt* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم⁶⁷

﴿الحمد لله الذي خلق السموات والارض وجعل الظلمات والنور ثم الذين كفروا بربهم يعدلون﴾، احمده وانزهه من
افك الشبهة والمعطلة الذين يشبهون ويعطلون، لا يناسبه شيء وكيف يكون بينه وبين ما ابدعه مناسبة، ﴿بدع
السموات والارض انى يكون له ولد ولم تكن له صاحبة﴾، سجدت له الجباب وخرت له الوجوه، ﴿ذلكم الله ربكم لا
اله الا هو خالق كل شيء فاعبدوه﴾، لا تخفى عليه كيف اتم، ﴿وهو معكم انما كنتم﴾، قريب من الاشياء بعيد

⁶⁷ This Ṭahmīd embraces a unique rhetorical system wherein each couplet is comprised of two phrases, both rhyming at the end, with at least one of them an unmodified Qur'ānic verse. This system is continued throughout the Ṭahmīd and even through the *matn* of the *risālah*. The Ṭahmīd is fairly long and only an illustrative excerpt is presented in the appendix.

عنها، ﴿يعلم ما يلج في الارض وما يخرج منها﴾، كل شيء يمكن دركه الا كنهه، ﴿كل شيء هالك الا وجهه﴾، تسبح له الافلاك بادوارها والاملاك بانوارها تسبيحا لا تقارب فيه وهنا ولا فتورا، ﴿وان من شيء الا يسبح بحمده ولكن لا تفقهون تسبيحهم انه كان حليما غفورا﴾، الذين حادوا عن الادلة لا يقولون كيف هو ولا يفقهون، ﴿الله يستهزئ بهم ويمدهم في طغيانهم يعمهون﴾، والذين عند حدهم يقفون يقولون، ﴿سبحنه وتعالى عما يصفون﴾، لا يرد امره الذي به يتحرك المتحركون، ﴿واذا قضى امرا فابنا يقول له كن فيكون﴾، ﴿ومن آياته ان خلقكم من تراب ثم اذا اتم بشر تنشرون﴾، ﴿ومن آياته يرسل الرياح مبشرات وليذيقكم من رحمته ولتجري الفلك بأمره ولتبتغوا من فضله ولعلكم تشكرون﴾،

احمده واشهد ان لا اله الا الله احد، ﴿الله الصمد﴾، الذي لكمال العلم بان هويته ثابتة فقط من غير صفة تلحق به او حالة تجري عليه كالرضى والسخط، ﴿اشهد ان لا اله الا هو والملائكة واولوا العلم قائما بالقسط﴾، ...

178. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1244H* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم⁶⁸

الحمد لله مالك الملك * ذي الوجه السالم من الهلك * ورب العرش القائم على الماء * والكروسي المحيط بالارض والسماء * خبر بين (?) من اعلام العلماء * وجاعل اللوح تحت فيض القلم والقلم تحت نور الوحدة * فارفع كل منهما ارتفاع الهضبة على الوهدة * فسبحانه وتعالى ولا اله الا هو ذاتا بحة * فمنعة (?) على العقول ان تدركها بنة *

وتبارك له الاسم الاعلى * والعلي من اعلى * والجليل من اولى * الذي هو نعم النصير ونعم المولى * الهادي بصفاته للذي هو اولى * فاولى لمن لم يعرفه ثم اولى * وسواء عليه ان يقطع عملا اولا * ان قبول الاعمال بمعرفة بدل الابدال (?) ومن هو مالك للفترة * واله فيه كل فكرة * عالم بكل شيء * لا يعزب عنه مثقال ذرة * ومن انت فيه لآثار الالهية واجد * وفي كل شيء له آية تدل على انه واحد *

احمده واعبده واؤمن به فردا بحتا *

⁶⁸ The author of this *risālah* is the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholar 'Abd-'Alī 'Imād al-dīn. A part of this *risālah* is quoted in the *risālah* of STS 1340H p. 72 (*malik al-mulk...*).

واشهد ان لا اله الا من كان ولم يكن هو ولا لاهو * ومن لا يعلم ما هو الا هو * من عَمَّ في العدل * وخصص في الفضل * وشرف قدر العزيز الجبار والقدوس السلام * اذ اراه جماله وخاطبه بعض الكلام * واتخذة اولاً بطاته * اذ تبين فطاته * ثم ارتقى به الحال حتى كان مكاته * وملك خزاته *

افلا تبحث عن مثل هذه الرموز * لتجد مفاتيح الكنوز * اولا تحرص ان تكون صورتك ملكوتية * وهيتك (ن)؟ وصفك (جبروتية) *

واشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله المتعالي جدًا * ذا النسب الفاخر اباً وجداً * قال صلى الله عليه وعلى آله ما حمى الدين من وراثته مقامه حام * نقلت من كرام الاصلاب الى مطهرات الارحام * محمد المنشق له القمر جهارا * كما ردت لوصيه الشمس مرارا * وكيف لا ينشق لمن جمع فضل الاستقرار الى فضل الاستيداع * فحل لعالم الطبيعة محل العقل لعالم الابداع * ومن كان هذا محله فطويل لحكمته باع * والعالم كله له منطاع * واحمد الحمد الحامد المحمود بكل ما يحمدونه * والعبد العابد الناظر اليه معنى المعبود الذي يعبدونه * والسيد الابطحي الاريحي المبشر في الانجيل فهم يعرفونه ولا يعبدونه * فصلى الله وسلم عليه صلوة كل صلوة دونها وسلاما كل سلام دونه،

وعلى وصيه الذي مثلت به الحكمة شخصاً للرئين * وروحا للمراتين * وبان بتاويله المثل من المثل * والحسوس من المعقول * واطردت الفروع على الاصول * ووقع الحصول على الحصول * فالشرعة كانه حديق خضراء * وروضة غناء * والكتاب كانه لسان ناطق * ينطق بالحقائق ويكشف عن اسرار الخالق المكونة في الخلاق * ويفتح للراسخين في العلم من كل علم اصولا * بل يلي عليهم من كل كتاب فصولا * ويقيم على المخالفين من هذا السواد الاعظم صيحة * اذ لا يجدون عندهم لقوله تعالى ﴿ ما فرطنا في الكتاب من شيء ﴾ صحة * ذلك بانهم قوم بور * وابن يصح للشمس عند الخفافيش نور * وهو صحيح العين لناظريه * والحق كالنهار لولا مكابرة مكابريه *

افتري هذه البركات تجري عيونها * وتقوم للعقول عيانها * لولا صادفت منه—من هو مقام الله القائم فيه * ويتبوع فيض كلمته الفاض من فيه * ونور وجهه الكريم المري المري لرائيه (?) * وفارس حلبة توحيد الذي لا احد فيها يجاريه * وعلام اسرار غيوبه الذي كاد لباريه يباريه * ﴿ سبجانه وتعالى عما يشركون ﴾ * ولا اله الا هو خالق السموات والارض ﴿ فاني يؤفكون ﴾ * فحوى القلم الكاتب في اللوح ما كان وما يكون * المقسم به الله الذي لا

يدركون * حيث قال ﴿ن والقلم وما يسطرون﴾ * فاعظم بما اقسم الله به لو شعرون * واقسم لا يكون الا بما
يكرم على القسم (نن القسم؟) كما لا يجهلون * ولكن ههنا لا يتالبون * وقد عرفت بحمد الله منه قلمه ونونه *
ونظرت بعين قلبك منه الى البحر الذي كان كل بحر نونه * فاحمد ربك على هذه المعرفة وهذا النظر * والتزم منه
بذيل من التزامك بذيله عين النعمة وعين التطفر * واما الاصنام المتخذة من دون الهه فدعها وذرف * واكفر بها ولا
تحذر * فسيعلم عبدتها اي مال تول انفسهم اذا ذهبت شذر مذر * لا وعزة من لا عزيز غيره * ولا مرجو الا
خير * وليس في الدنيا ولا في الآخرة منجى للناجين * ولا ملجأ للاجين * غير من جعل الناس كلهم اليه محتاجين
* فهو محط رجاء الراجين * ونوره من استضاء من الداجين * ذلك امير المؤمنين * وامام الموقنين * سراج
الاولياء * المسمى في التوراة ايليا * لم يخل من صورته مكان * وكان ولا كان ما كان * صفة الجوهر الازلي بلا
مرية * ومثال العقل الكلي بلا فرية *

*

وعلى عقيلته العاقلة * العالمة الفاضلة * العالمة همها * الزاكية شيمها * المنيف مفخرها * الشريف جوهرها
* الكامل ادبها * الفائق حسبها * مولانا فاطمة المفطور على ولائها وولاية بعلمها والائمة من نجلها من كان جوهره
تقيا * ومن كان تقيا كان تقيا *

وعلى الائمة من ولدها الطاهرين نفوسا وجسوما * الراجين علوما وحلوما * عمهم الاكبر * من تم به لهم المنفر
* مولانا الحسن العالي في المعالي حيث لم يعله السهى والثريا * الفائح من سجايا كرمه ما اخجل رياه كل ريا * ابو
محدد الممتلي من الحسن كل اموره * امتلاء افاق الهدى من باهر نوره * وابوهم الاعظم * من حيت بنفخته
الاعظم * طود الامامة الاشم * وبدرها الاتم * وبجر السماحة الغطم * واسد الحماسة الغشمشم * مظنة
اللاهوت القدساني * المحيط بالسر اللدني احاطة كلية * ومثابة الخمير الابداعي المفيد للعجين النوراني بساطة كلية
* مولانا الحسين العالي منصبا * الكائن للائمة ابا * فهم به وبأخيه العالي * في خصب المعالي * ولاسيما جدهم
الرسول * فهم به في غرر من الفخر وحجول *

علماء الهدى واعلامه * وحكماء الدين وحكامه * المحكمة بهم احكامه * واعمد الملة * وائمة الامة *
وادمغة الحكمة * وافئدة الرحمة * وانوار الله المنير من اقتبس منهم * والمظلم من حجب عنهم * لا حقيقة للحق
الا لديهم * ولا مصير للامور الا اليهم * وما اثنى الله الا عليهم * ولا صرف اموره الا على يديهم * فما اوفى

واوفر حظهم من كرامة الله * وما اعلا واكبر مقامهم الذي قاموه باقامة الله * الذين لو شاؤوا لقالوا "انا كنا مع آدم"
* وقالوا بنا ما اوجد الله وما اعدم * وما احسن ما قيل ثناء على معاليهم * وشكرا لايادهم *

اتمة للهـدى اساطين	ججاج للورى سلاطين
اصلهم النور نور مبدعهم	واصل من كان غيرهم طين
ان الذين لحقهم ظلموا	لاريب في انهم شياطين
لعلمهم وسعت ميادين	لفضالهم سبقت برادين ⁶⁹
بيض بهاليل سادة نبيل	غر ججاجحة ميامين
آل علي وآل فاطمة	وآل ياسين جل ياسين
ان الذين يجبرهم انسوا	فبالحقيقة هم اناسين
لهم من العلم ما يخص بهم	وذلك العلم فيه تسكين
وعندهم علم كل مسألة	وعندهم للكتاب تبين
من اجلهم كان للسماء وللـ	ارض وللتقلين تكوين
اتمة قادة لسالفهم	نص على خالف وتعين
حووا خصال النبي فهي لهم	على امامتهم براهين
ما فرط الذكر في مدائحهم	فما عسى ان يفيد تضمين
دعوتهم مستجابة ولهم	اذا دعوا في السماء تأمين
بهم للملة جدهم ابداً	قامت على ساقها ... طين
وللشريعة والكتاب بهم	تقوية ابداً وتحصين
لم يخل من سران رحمتهم	حين ولا من وجودهم حين
ما خلقت لسواء شيعتهم	جنات عدن وحورها العين
احبيتهم فادم محبتهم	ان محبتهم هي الدين
وخذ نصيبك من معالمهم	ان معالمهم افنانين

⁶⁹(البرذون): يُطلق على غير العربي من الخيل والبيغال، من الفصيلة الخيلية، عظيم الخلقة، غليظ الأعضاء، قوي الأرجل، عظيم الحوافر. (مج). (ج) نَزَائِدُ مَنْ الْقَامُوسُ الْمُحِيط

واعمل بأقوالهم وما فعلوا
فأنها للهـدى قـوائـن
وانظر الى الغر من مناقبهم
فأنها للنهي بـاتـين
واشكر لهم انعماءك ولو
لم يقض من حرف شكرهم لين

وعلى خلفهم الحاوي لفضل سلفه * الموفى عليهم بزيادة من شرفه * العظيم فضلا ونضلاً⁷⁰ * والحكيم قولاً وفعلًا
* والجديد فرعاً واصلاً * والوحيد علماً وعقلاً * والفصل في الخطاب فصلاً * والواصل بين المفترقات وصلاً *
مالك الملك يعطي ويمنع من يشاء * ورب كل شيء يفعل ويصنع ما يشاء * والمتحد بالكلمة العلية * والعلة الازلية
* فلا ترى فرقاً بينه وبينها * ولا تجد عينه الا عينها * صاحب البركة والسكينة * ومثل مثل السفينة * وينبوع
الحياة الباقية الذي من لم يشرب منه مات * وقابوس النور الالهي الذي من لم يقبس منه كابد الظلمات * واشرف
كلمات الله التي لا تنفد ولو كانت البحار مداداً * واعظم اسمائه الذي من ظفر به طال سبعا شداداً * وآية الكبرى
لمن توسم * ونعمته العظمى لمن بولائه توسم * الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين الذي فم سعادة عصره تبسم
* ونسيم فيض قدسه هب لمن تبسم *

ابي الامام الحاضر من ولده الذي هو صفوة هذا العالم * ولا اكرم منه ولا اعلم * ولقد حيت احكام السنة والفرض
بضوافي بركات عنايته * وتحركت سواكن الكتاب والحكمة بخوافي حركات عنايته * وعزت بين وجوده كلمة
الراشدين والراشدات * ورغمت انوف الجاحدين والجاحدات *

وبلغت الدعوة مبلغ الثريا بمساعي الدعاة الهداة * الذين هم له بمنزلة الالة والاداة * يصنع بهم ما يشاء وما له ضد
ولا نديد * صنائع محكمة بعضها ببعض شديد * وخارجها لداخلها شهيد * وهذه الالات نواطق ولها فضل
عديد * وباع في الكمال مديد * وبعضها لبعض وديد * ولها ابدا يوم جديد وصنع جديد *

ولكم صقلت خاطرك وكشفت عنك غطاءك فبصرك اليوم حديد * واذا كانت هذه الالات بهذه الحالات من
عجائنها * فما ظنك اذا بقدره صاحبها وربها والصانع بها * انه والله لعظيم القدرة * ومن له صنائع الندرة * لا

⁷⁰نُضْلُهُ يَنْضُلُهُ نَضْلاً سَيْقَةً وَغَلْبَةً فِي النُّضَالِ. من لسان العرب

صانع لهذا العالم غيره * ولا يرجى الا خيره * فقل في هذا الصانع بالحقيقة ما عسى ان تقول * وانظم له هاهنا
المقول * لعله يطرب العقول *

امام حق به بانته براهين	به تبين ما ياء وما شين
امجد به ابن حسين عمه حسن	والام فاطمة والجدي ياسين
بمثله باهت الارض السماء كما	بمثله باهت الجن الاناسين
مبارك الوجه معصوم له مدد	من السماء وايحاء وتلقين
قطب الزمان ولي الله يخدمه	سعد وعين واقبال وتسكين
وللسماوات تامين بانجمها	وبالامام لاهل الارض تامين
هو الامام لديه كل مكرمة	وعنده لكتاب الله تبين
به لشرع رسول الله تقوية	به لبيضة دين الله تحصيل
له من العلم ما بالحلم زين كما	له من الباس قد زانه لين
وانه ابن رسول الله وهوله	ريحانة وبنوطه رياحين
مضى يفوح شذا اخلاقه فاذا	لا الورد ورد ولا النسر ين نسرين
ان كان اخفاء كهف من ثقبه	فسوف يدوا؟ اذا اتى له حين
الجوهر الازلي البحت كان ولا	كاف بها كانت الدينار لا يزن؟
مدبر الكل حامي الكل حامله	رب الملائك منها الروح جبرين
ذو العرش والكبرياء الفرد ليس يفي	بحمده الوصف ان الوصف تخمين
ان الامام ضروري الوجود به	لحكمة الله قد قامت موازين
به السماء به الارض التي دحيت	به العباد به الدنيا به الدين
له بدائع تصوير وفي يده	لعالم الدين تحريك وتسكين
وبالدعاة له عز لدعوته	كما بهم لمغاني الدين تزين
وهم قواه وهم آلات صنعة	له بها ابدا صنع وتحسين
يشيدون رسوما للهدى رسمت	لا نابهم ضجر فيه وتوهين

تَا اللهُ مَا كَرَمْتَ الْاِاروَمَتَهُم
ان الكرام اروماتهم ميامين

فصلى الله عليه صلوة تشمله هو والائمة من ابناؤه الآتين شملا * يشت المعاندين لهم والعائين متصلا (?) * مسمما
الى يوم الدين * يوم لا يفوز غير من دان بهذا الدين *

اما بعد معشر المؤمنين * ان المحجة التي اتم عليها هي المستقيمة بحمد الله لا عوجاء * فلا يكن في خدورك
حوجاء يوما ولا لوجاء * قد اخذ بكم ليها وامرتم بالسير فيها اياما وليالي آمين * ولكم ضمان اولياء الله بانتهاء
سيركم الى الجنة فاسكنوا الى ضمان الضامين * ...

179. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1246H* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه استعين في جميع الأمور⁷¹

الحمد لله الفرد الأحد، الواحد الصمد، مقیم السماء بلا عمد، وحاني قراها الى امد(?)، جل عن والد وولد، وحل
بالبلد الامين فياله من بلد، ووجد بكل مكان، ولاسيما بالبيت ذي الاركان، فيا لسعادة من وجد وجد من جد، وابن
يحد من حد(?)، ﴿وله الجواري المنشآت في البحر كالاعلام﴾، ليجري فيها اليه من كان من اولي الاحلام، ان حج
بيته حطة للآكام، وعزة للاسلام، ومن رزقه فليشكره لولي الانعام، ومن قدر فليحج كل عام، ولا حج لأمثال الانعام، ذي
الجلال والاکرام، الذي هدى بالرسول الابطحي الاريحي ما هدى من وجوه الحلال والحرام، وعرف به ما عرف من
مناسك الاحلال والاحرام، فله الحمد المتولي المتابع المتالي على اياديه الروائح والغواصي، ومننه الخواصي والبواصي، لا اله
الا هو الحمود بكل لسان، الموجود بكل مكان، المدعو بكل جنان، ذو العرش والكرسي، ورب الجوهر القدسي، الذي
ادركه العقول الكاملة بالعجز عن درك ادراكه ان حقيقة هويته لمحجوبة عن ذوي الاشراك، الذي وقعوا للبغي والمنكر
والفحشاء في الاشراك، افلم تتل في الكتاب الذي قرناه للرحمن محبوبون، ومن بني شيان محروبون، ﴿كلا انهم عن
رهبهم يومئذ لمحجوبون﴾، فهي والله صفتهم لا تعدوهم، والى غير النار لا تحذوهم،

واشهد ان لا اله الا من القاتل هذا من دونه اله، لم يتخطه ضلال في امره ولا سفاه، نضر الله فاه... (?) ما اقبح ما به
فاه، والى الدردوه نغاه، فما اخبث ما خفاه،

⁷¹ The author of this *risālah* is the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholar 'Abd-'Alī 'Imād al-dīn.

واشهد ان جميع قوى من ارتضاء للرسالة واصطفاه، وخفي له من سر الملكوت ما خفاه، محمد المحمود خيما وخصالا،
الحامد لله غدوا وأصلا، حمدا تبارك وتعالى، وتضاعف وتوالى، بمقتضى نواله الموالى المستحق لصفات الحمد كلها
استحقاقا، الحق بكلماته الحق الذي هو أبو السبطين احقاقا، رسول الله الصافي الصادق، صدق اخيه المصافي له
المصادق، ذي النطق الحقيقي الصامت لديه كل ناطق، المنخرسة عن صفته لاهل المناطق المناطق، على ان كل حجر
ومدر السنه بنبوته نواطق، -شعر

صَادَ النَّبِيُّ الْإِرْحِيُّ الَّذِي	أَظْهَرَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَى غِيْبِهِ
كَانَ ثَقِيًّا مِنْ عِيُوبِ الْوَرَى	تَقَاوَةُ الْإِبْرِيْزِ مِنْ عِيْسِهِ
قَدْ خَفَتِ الْإِجْبَلُ فِي حِلْمِهِ	وَقَلَّتِ الْإِجْجَرُ فِي سِيْبِهِ
وَالِدُ أُمِّ الْحُسَيْنِ السَّيِّ	كَانَتْ مِنَ الْمَأْكُولِ مِنْ سِيْبِهِ
الْمُصْطَفَى أَدْرَكَ فِي مَهْدِهِ	مَا أَدْرَكَ إِبْرَاهِيمَ فِي شِيْبِهِ
الْمَاجِدُ الْأَصْلُ إِلَى فَرْعِهِ	وَالطَّاهِرُ الذَّيْلُ إِلَى جِيْبِهِ
قَالَ إِنَّا أَوَّلَى مِنْ إِبْرَاهِيمَ	بِالشَّكِّ أَنْ الشَّكَّ مِنْ رَبِّهِ
أَبْدَى بِرَغَمِ الدَّهْرِ دِينَ الْهَدَى	وَلَمْ يَلْهَمْهُ الْهَوَلُ مِنْ رَبِّهِ
وَجَازَ إِذْ أُسْرِيَ لَيْلَا بِهِ	مَا قَامَ جَبْرِئِيلُ مِنْ هِيْبِهِ
أَنْسَ لِلْأَلَاءِ السَّيِّقِينَ بِهِ	مَنْ كَانَ فِي الْعَشَوَاءِ مِنْ رَبِّهِ
ذُو كَرَمٍ غَمْرٍ وَذُو رَأْفَةٍ	أَدَّتْ بِذِي رِيْبٍ إِلَى رَبِّهِ

لا آدمي منه احلم، ولا بالله اعلم، واين منه آدم، واين منه نوح، وهو لما منحه منوح، ام اين منه ابراهيم، ومنه له
التفهيم، ام اين منه موسى، وبارشاده وضع ناموسا، ام اين منه المسيح عيسى، وبايده ساق من الاعجاز عيسا، وانما
قيل له المسيح لكونه لوصله يسيع، وقد قيل له هؤلاء خير منك فقال لا والله كذبتم انا خير منهم اجمعين، حتى اذا قيل
له ولكن نوح خير منك لانه ركب السفينة فجرت على الجودي، فقال صلى الله عليه وآله اعطاني ربي خيرا من ذلك
اعطاني الله الكوثر وهو نهر ي السماء السابعة مجراه من تحت العرش عليه الف الف قصر لبنة من ذهب ولبنة من
فضة حشيشها الزعفران ورضراضها الدر والياقوت لي ولأمتي،

فصلى الله عليه وعلى كفوّه، وثانيه المضاهي له في معانيه، ومن جعل متن ما نزل عليه مشروحا، وكان لجسم ما شرعه روحا، ولفلك دعوته نوحا، ولفلك رسالته يوحا، وكاد اليه ان يوحا، شعرا

اسميا كان لله العلي	انت بالله الولي ابن الولي
عدملي الجمد عادي العلى	صفة العقل الشريف الاول
لا قسى الا علي هكذا	سمعوا فيه نداء من علي
اوتي العلم على اقسامه	فلهذا قال ما شئت اسئل
روح قدس في مصفى بدن	عقل كل في مسوى هيكل
انه والمصطفى المختار في	شيم الجمد عديلا محمل
شرح الجمل من تنزيله	والهدى في الشرح لا في الجمل
لا ترم عقلك يوما شأنه	انه بالعقل ما لم يعقل
جل من ابدع منه مبدعا	ابدع الاشياء طرا فاعقل
ليس عقل عاقل رتبة	انها من عزه في معقل
غير خاش عبده لسوانه	ذو خطيات كوزن الاجبل
اي خطب فادح لا ينجلي	حين يدعى يا علي يا علي
انما العالم مطواع له	ماله عن حكمه من معدل
امة عن حبه عادلة	مالها في حشرها من موئل
فضل مولانا علي ما به	فطقت آي الكتاب المنزل
يا له من فاضل سالت على	يده نفس النبي المرسل
انما الجنة يسري نشرها	حين يتلى فضله في الحفل
فعليه صلوات الله ما	فاح في العالم ريح المنديل

ان له والله من المفاخر ما لا يطيق يعبر بالسنتهم المعبرون، ومن المآثر ما لا يقدر يحبره بأيديهم المحبرون، لقد جلت معاليه وجمت، كما عمت اياديه وتمت، واتسعت في الطول والعرض، اتساع ملكوت السماء والارض، ومعاجزه غير ذات رواية، ومكارمه غير ذات نهاية، وقد شاعت وذاعت في الاقطار، وبلغت مبلغ الشمس في رابعة النهار،

وعن ابن عباس رض قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وعلى آله اتاني جبرئيل بدرونك من الجنة فجلست عليه، فلما صرت بين يدي ربي فكلمني وناجاني فما علمت شيئاً الا علمته عليا فهو باب مدينة علمي، وعلم محمد صلى الله عليه وآله ما روي في ان الخضر وموسى عليهما السلام كانا على شاطئ الفرات قاعدين، واذا عصفور وقع على قصبه يراع، فانحنت به الى ان شربت من الفرات، فقال الخضر اتعرف معنى هذا العصفور والقصة والبحر، قال لا علم لي الا ما علمتني، قال اعلم ان مثلي ومثل هذه القصة ومثلك مثل العصفور، ومثل هذا البحر مثل محمد صلى الله عليه وآله سادس النطاق وعلمه، وانك كالطائر الآخذ بمنقاره من بحر محمد،

*

وكان صلوات الله عليه يصلي كل يوم الف ركعة، ولم يخل بصلوة الليل ليلة حتى في ليلة الهير، كما كان يصلي الف ركعة وصيه ومن هو سمي، وما كان صلواتهما الا لشيئتهما الجارين على شريعتهما، وكان امير المؤمنين من الشحاء في مقام لم يقمه سواه، وما سمع بمن ساواه، وكفى فيه بقول من ناواه، لو تملك ابن ابي طالب بيتاً من تبر وبيتاً من تبن لانقذ تيره قبل تبته، هذا فلكونه صلى الله عليه وآله صلى الف ركعة لكل ليلة، واعتق لله الف عبد، وقتل في سبيل الله غير الف، وجرح في ذات الله الف، جرح من غير جرم، وكونه اتحد بحمد القائم المترتب في مرتبة الف، وكون فضائله غير الف، ذكر اسمه العلي الف مرة لكل بلية، فكسر غير آفة، وجبر غير عيلة، وقد فدى بنفسه دون نفس النبي في كل معترك فحاز فخار غير مشترك، شعر-

والذي واساه في احواله	صهر طه واخوه المرتضى
والذي شاببه في حاله	الذي شأكله في شأنه
والتي والفضل في افعاله	الهدى والفضل في اقواله
عجب الخياط من سراله؟	اولا تعجب عما اقتاتاه
كفرار المعز من ريباله	فرت الابطال من سطوته
كتبقي الماء في غرباله	وتبقى ماله في كفه
بمعاليه كصب واله	واله حق الموالاة وكن
ليس محتاجا الى اجلاله	*فاذا اجلته اجلت من
فلقد كان بلا امثاله	ليته كان بلا اضداده

ما بنا او ما بكم من نعمة	فلعمري هي من افضاله
ما تقى الكفر سوى اسيافه	ما تقى الفقر سوى انقاله
حسبنا ان قد تمسكنا به	وباعلام الهدى من آله

فصلى الله عليه وعلى عرسه الفاضلة الشريفة بيتا، وفرع الشجرة المباركة الزيتونة الصافية زيتا، التي خرجت من صدف بطنها درر الكرامة، وطلعت من افق حجرها شمس الامامة، فياله من مطلع وصدف، ذهب بكل فخر وشرف، وازهدب كل غيبه وصدف، وياله من ربحانة قلب الرسول الذي كان ابدا يذكر تفضيلها، ويكثر تقييلها،

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فصلى الله عليها وعلى ولديها الامامين، والسيدتين الهمايين، والعلمين العلامين، والقلمين الفهامين، الملكين الغضامين، الملكين الكرامين، مولانا الحسن الزكي المؤتمن، والجوهر العالي القدر الغالي الثمن، والقمر البدر المنير السر والعلن، والامام الفرد المزدوج بكل خلق حسن، فياله من ذي الاسم الشريف حسن، ومولانا الامام الاعظم، والهمام المعظم، الذي لعمر من بالنبوة محمدا اكرم ما كان منه احد اكرم، ولو كان رساه بعمامة الامامة تعمم، وبيته الملك تقم، فهو معدن المكارم القدسانية، التي لا يبلغ مبلغها قمر ولو تم، ولا بحر ولو طم، ولا علم ولو شم، وحسبها مفخرة ان كان النبي صلى الله عليه وآله طال ما اياه واخاه الحسن شم، والى صدره الشريف ضم،

سئل النبي صلى الله عليه وآله اي اهل بيتك احب اليك، قال الحسن والحسين، وقال يقول لفاطمة ادعي لي ابني فيشمهما ويضمهما اليه،

روى الترمذي، وسئل بعض الصحابة عن المحرم يقتل الذباب، فقال يسألونني عن قتل الذباب وقد قتلوا ابن بنت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله، وقد قال صلى الله عليه وآله، هما ريحائتي من الدنيا، وهما سيدا شباب اهل الجنة،

وفي رواية اخرى، سأله رجل عن دم البعوض فقال من انت، قال من اهل العراق، قال انظروا الى هذا يسألني عن دم البعوض وقد قتلوا ابن النبي صلى الله عليه وآله، وسمعت رسول الله صلى الله عليه وآله يقول هما ريحائتي من الدنيا،

وعن جعفر ابن محمد صلوات الله عليه، قال قال الحسن ابن علي عليهما السلام لاصحابه ان الله مدينيتين احدهما في المشرق، والاخرى في المغرب فيهما خلق لله لم يهوا بمعصية له قط، والله ما فيهما ولا بينهما حجة لله غيري وغير

اخى الحسين، وهكذا قال الحسين عليه الصلوة والسلام في يوم الطف لاصحاب ابن زياد، ما لكم تناصرون علي، والله
لئن قتلتموني لتقتلن حجة الله عليكم، لا والله ما بين جايقا وجابرصا ابن النبي احبج الله به عليكم غيري،

فصلى الله عليه وعلى آله الائمة من ذريته الميامين، امناء الله الامين، وقطان بلده الامين، وآله المبين، فخرهم كالنهار
المبين، المتين امرهم كجبل الله المتين، المفتر ثغر مجدهم كاللؤلؤ الثمين، المنتشر نشر حمدهم كالياسمين، اسباب الحق التي
لها كمال العز وتنام السنا، المرتقى بها الى حيث عظمت العرش وملكوت السماء، وارباب الصدق الصادق فيهم ان
تقول ازارهم العظمة ورداءهم الكبرياء، وان جاز الله اسماء يحوزها مجوز فهم لله اسماء، وليخدم جنابهم القدسي
الواسع حيث لم يسعه الكرسي بابيات نظمت في ثأهم فاثبت لهم هاهنا، ولو انه صدى ما اثنى عليهم الهنا، شعر-

ائمة نجباء ما لهم مثل	وبالحري الاعادي مثلهم مثل
ائمة ليس منهم للورى بدل	وهم من المصطفى والمرضى بدل
لهم مكارم لا تحصى لكثرتها	كانها قطر غيث حين ينهل
ولو على غاية للجود قاصية	وغاية الشيء مضروب بها المثل
اذا عجبت فمن مغنى مواهبهم	تنهل فيه ولا يلقى به بلل
سطوا اذا قوتلوا اعطوا اذا سلوا	احياوا اذا قتلوا اغنوا اذا قلوا
تالله ان محبيهم لفي امن	يوم الحساب ومغفور لهم زلل
في رتبة ودها الاملاك لو بلغوا	في رفقة ودها لونا لها زحل
في مخنق الدين حلي ان بدوا او هدوا	وفيه ان خفيت اشخاصهم عطل
فاهوا فلا غسل جالوا فلا امد	علوا فلا فلك طالوا فلا جبل
العرف ما عرفوا والنكر ما نكروا	والعلم ما علموا والعقل ما عقلوا
ولاءهم ما بمنغن دون واجبه	لا العقل لا العلم لا الاخلاق لا العمل
ائمة الحق ما بينوا سحرورا	ما قضوا فصلوا لما ولوا عدلوا
ليهن مبغضهم ان لا نجاة له	وان سجين في العقبى له نزل
الدين ما لم يكن من عندهم لعب	والعلم جهل ومحصول الهدى ضال
لله ما تركوا الله ما اخذوا	لله ما شربوا الله ما اكلوا

ان فاتهم امر دنياهم فلا جزع	وان تأتى لهم منها فلا جذل
في الله ما ضربوا في الله ما طعنوا	في الله ما قتلوا في الله ما قتلوا
المجد ما ورثوا والفضل ما كسبوا	والحق ما نطقوا والخير ما فعلوا
ججاج الدين ميمون تقييتهم	شم العرائن غر صفوة نبل
الليث في غابه من باسهم وجل	والغيث في مزنه من جودهم خجل
اهل الحقائق لم يدروا حقيقتهم	سدت عليهم الى تحقيقها سبل
كانوا ولا كان لوح لا ولا قلم	ولم يزالوا وفيهم لم يزل ازل
لله هم رسول الله دلل	للدين هم قبل للخلق هم علل
للزهد هم سرج للعلم هم لجج	للحلم هم مهج للمجد هم مقل
هم سادة نجب هم للهدى شهب	هم للندى سحب هم للعلی قلل
نالوا فلا امل جالوا فلا فشل	قالوا فلا خطل آلا فلا خلل
قال العداة سواء هم ونحن معا	وكيف يستويان السم والعسل
لوجه كل فخار وصفهم بلج	وفي عيون المعالي ذكرهم كحل

فصلی الله عليهم وعلى وارث فضلهم وعلى ثمرة دوحه نبلهم، ذي المجد الاصيل، والعز الاثيل، والفضل الجليل، والفخر الطويل، امام الموقنين، وامير المؤمنين، مولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم، بدر المعالم، وبحر المكارم،

من ترى ذا غيره النور على	وجهه والقدس في هيكله
نجل من قد انزل البدر ومن	نزل الاملاك في منزله
التقى في قلبه والعلم في	صدره والجود في انمله
ان فخر الدهر محبوب لمن	خر بالوجه على ارجله
ليته يظهر من انباء	من نرجي الري من منله
لا تقل في غيره مدحا ومن	قال فالترب على مقوله

وعلى الامام الحاضر من ولده، وافلاذ كبده، ذي البركات التي تمت تمام البدر، وعظمت عظمة ليلة القدر، الذي به وجه العصر ميمون، وجانبه مامون، ولو ان شخصه مكنون، فسيصف اقباله مسنون، فالعدو موهون، وبالافات مرهون، والولي الذي هو في دفتر عبیده مرقوم، نفسه بذكره ابدًا مقرون، وسوجه بالسرور ابدًا مشحون، صلوة دائمة لا تريم، وتقوم معه حيث يقيم، متصلة الى يوم الدين،

اما بعد، فمعشر المؤمنين، اسعدكم الله بتوفيقه لما يرضيه، وجعلكم الله من احمد فاستفاض ذكره في سمواته وارضيه،

...

180. *Risālah Ramaḍāniyyah 1248H* [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله المعتمد على امداد رسوله

الراجي بهم قبول سعيه وبلوغ ماموله⁷²

الحمد لله بجميع محامده الفاخرة على بحور من انعمه زاخرة، هو الذي سخر البحر لعباده ظاهرا وباطنا فترى الفلك تجري بامره ساخرة، ليبستغوا من فضل ربهم يحظون به في الدنيا والآخرة، سبحانه من اله خرت لكرام وجهه الوجوه داخرة، وم تذخر انفس من معرفة توحيد نفسه ذاخرة، بهرت العقول عظمة كبريائه فلم تجد سوى الاقرار بانه لا اله الا هو بدا، ووقفت عند هذا الحد من المعرفة ولم تعده حدا، بعد ما شدت مطايا افكارها في الفحص عن كنه معرفته شدا، فوجدت ان رامت الادراك او النفي من بين بدها سدا ومن خلفها سدا، ومن قدرة العقل الدراك اذا نهض للادراك ان يرتقي طبقا عن طبق، ويعتلي اقفا بعد افق، حتى اذا انتهت المدركات، سكنت منه الحركات، وعاد في فضاء كبرياء الله سبحانه مقصوص الجناحين، ولم يحن ان اراد تقدما او تاخرا عند ذلك سوى جناحين، فلم يرح حينئذ حتى يفيء الى عجز العبودية فيئا، و﴿يرد الى ارذل العمر لكيلا يعلم بعد علم شيئا﴾،

واشهد ان ﴿لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم﴾ الذي لا يرهقه سنة ولا اين، والازلي القديم الذي لا يلحقه مئ ولا اين، خلق الاشياء كلها ازواجًا، وجعل تزواجها دلالة على وحدانيته ومنهاجا، يسبح كل شيء بحمده، ويسجد كل شيء لمجده،

⁷² The author of this *risālah* is the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholar 'Abd-'Alī 'Imād al-dīn. A part of the main body of this *risālah* has been quoted by STS in his *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah*-1349H.

سبحانه له الاسماء الحسنى بدعوه بها العارفون من عباده العالمون، وتبا لقوم لا يحفلون بان يشركوا بالله وفقرؤا على الله وتعالى عما يقول الظالمون،

واشهد ان افضل الانبياء، واشرف الاصفياء، محمد عبده ورسوله الذي بعثه خاتماً للنبوّة، وجعله حائزاً لفضيلتي الابوة والبنوة، فمن آبائه مثل ابراهيم الخليل، ومن ابنائه مثل من يستوى على العرش الجليل، متجلياً في جلال الربوبية، متجلياً بكمال الالهية، ذلكم الرسول النبي الامي، الذي باسمه في كتب الانبياء المتقدمين سمي، وان جحد به من على قلبه بالبغض عمي، وعلى بصره بالحسد عمي، صفى الله الذي شق فؤاده وصفي، فانشق له البدر بنصفين، له ربّة سيادة عباد الله الصافين المصفين، وصار تحضره الملائكة صفاً صفاً عن التقاء الصفين، وسبح في كله الحصى، فالقاها على وجوه من عصى، كالقاء موسى العصي، محمد الحمود الموعود له في اليوم الموعود بالمقام المحمود، المشهود له بالسبق في شهادة التوحيد فهو المقصود بالشاهد والمشهود، ان الحجر دل عليه، والشجر سعى اليه، والحيطان تكلم بين يديه، والانسان والجن ملك يديه، وانطاعت له الطبايع فجرت بالماء منه الاصابع، وانقاد الفلك الدوار لحكمة الحتم، فردت لدعائه شمس الطفل ونزل اليه بدر التم، والملائكة تزوره ليلاً ونهاراً، والانبياء والاصفياء تتّيس من انواره سرا وجهاراً، وصلى بهم في السماء مقدماً عليهم ليلة الاسراء، ولقي ربه الجليل فاسري اليه اسرار غيوبه ايما اسراء، فله دره ما اعظم حاله واجل جلاله عند الله، فهو فوق جميع الكائنات وبعد الله،

صلى الله عليه وعلى من هو اخوه الذي لم يكن عن توخي رضاه طرفة عين باللاهي، ومن هو ابن كل مقام الهي واب كل مقام الهي، لم يقاس احد في ذات الله كمقاساتهم ولم يواس رسوله في اظهار كلمة الحق كمواساته، وهل كان غيره من احد، نصر الدين واباد المشركين في بدر واحد، واما خبر خير وقلم الباب، فما هو محير للالاباب، * وفي جميع مواطن الحروب، لم يزل كشف الكروب، ولم يزل مع رسول الله فلاق الهام، وهزام الجيش اللهم، حتى عاد جيشان الباطل مرفئنا، وجنب الحق باستعلاء كلمته على مضجع العزة والظهور مطمئنا، ودخل الناس في دين الله افواجا، وبار ردى الباطل وراج جيد الحق رواجاً، ذلك حبيب الله الذي زوجه في السماء، بحبيبة رسوله ذات الفضل والسناء، فزواج النور بالنور منهما، واسل الانوار الالهية لاضاءة عالم النفوس عنهما، اما ذاته الكريمة في اظهار المعجزات ذات علم، وهالك من بعضها خبر ير ذات العلم، وكيف لا يكون هو كذلك وهو العلي القدير، ومقام الله الاعظم الذي هو بكل ما تصفه من الصفات العليا جدير، وهو كتاب الله الكريم، وحجاب الله العلي العظيم، وباب المدينة العلمية، وربان

السفينة الحكيمة، ولي الله الذي ولّاه عند الله أفضل القربات، وتسييح اسمه رائد الخيرات، وذائد البركات، فسبح باسمه العلي الاعلى واتخذ لك خير دأب ودين، تحظى بكل ما تريده من امور الدنيا والدين،

وعلى من هي اللؤلؤ البيضاء، والجوهرة المشرقة الغراء، المستخلصة من معدن الشرف والعليا، مولانا فاطمة الزهراء، التي من شرفها على حواء ومريم العذراء، انها سيدة جميع من اقلت الغبراء من النساء واطلت الخضراء، وهي بعد ذلك بنت سيد الانبياء، وعقيلة سيد الاوصياء، وام الائمة السادة العظماء، فهل فوق لالاء هذه السيادة من لالاء، لا والله ذي النعم والالاء،

وعلى من هما قرنا عين الرسول، ودرتا صدف البتول، السيدتين الاميرين، والفرقتين المنيرين، والعليين الكبيرين، والعلمين الخيرين، احدهما مستودع اسرار النبوة، والسابق الى اخذ الكتاب بقوة، الامام المكرم المجدد، الموفق المسدد، مولانا الحسن ابي محمد، والاخر مستقر الانوار المتلالية، ومجمع المراتب المتعالية، الامام المؤيد باعلى قسط التأييد من عند الله، مولانا الحسين ابي عبد الله،

وعلى الائمة من ذرية مولانا الحسين السادة البهاليل، المعقودة برؤسهم من الامامة ابهى الاكاليل، آل محمد الكرام المصاليات، المجموع لهم صيت فضلهم الى صيت جدتهم فاكر به من صيت ضم الى صيت، وكيف لا وهم اصحاب النواصيت، المكونة من اشباه الدرر والياقوت، وهي المعبرة عنها بلسان التنزيل بالتواييت، الساكنة فيها سكينة الله التي سكنوا بها ذرى اللاهوت، فقول فيهم اذا يا نفس ما شئت، فهم مواقيت الله المعظمة فاعظم بها من مواقيت، وهم مرامي اقسام الكتاب الكريم، ومعاني اسامي الله العلي العظيم، وكل منهم قائم في عصره مقام الله وان لى عنهم لاه، **﴿ وفي السماء اله وفي الارض اله ﴾**، الا انهم هم العالون، عما يقول بغير علم فيهم الغالون، غير ان العقول في عظمتهم والهة، والافكار في جلالة مقاماتهم تائهة، وهم بيوت الله المسكونة، طاعتهم بطاعة الله وطاعة رسوله مقرونة، وسور الكتاب بفضائلهم مشحونة، ونجاة شيعتهم بشفاعتهم مضمونة، وهم الشجرة الزيتونة، المباركة الميمونة، وحسدة فضلهم فهم الشجرة الملعونة، وشياطين الانس بها مفتونة، الا ان ائمة الهدى من آل نبي الهدى هم جواهر القدس المكونة، وخزانة اسرار الله الذين فاز قوم ولايتهم في قلوبهم مخزونة،

فصلى الله عليهم وعلى خلفهم الطاهر، ونجمهم الزاهر، وبرهانهم الباهر، وسلطانهم القاهر، الامام الحال من عقد
الامامة محل اليتيمة العصماء، فله من اسماء الفضل والكمال اسمى الاسماء، مولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير
المؤمنين، وظهير الموقنين،

وعلى الائمة من ابنائه المتسلسلة فيهم كلمة الامامة من والد الى ولد، المقيمين من وراء الستر دعواتهم على ايدي
دعاتهم في كل صقع وبلد، فقاموا في مقامهم، بما فوض اليهم مثل قيامهم، وسدوا مسد انتمهم ومواليهم، في كفاية
اشياعهم ومواليهم، فبهم استوت الامور، وارتوت الصدور، ولقحت الافكار، وفتحت الابصار، وارتعت الحياض،
وامرعت الرياض، وجرت دعوة الحق تشق امواج الضلالات، وهم يقومون بهداية مستجيبها بواضح الدلالات، فله
درهم، وعليهم اجرهم، من دعاة طيبين، وحجب مقربين، وواصلتهم افضل صلوة الله، لانهم في البرية افضل دعاة الله،
ثم اذكى صلوة الله على من هو لامر الهداية الى الصراط المستقيم مقيم، مع انه بكهف الستر والتقية لخوف اعداء الله
مقيم، ذاك امام العصر المؤيد من الله بالجاري، فماله فيما له من ذلك من مجاري، وهو صفوة الخلق، و﴿له دعوة
الحق﴾، وهو قطب رحاها، وشمس ضحاها، وروح جـ...ها، ومعني اسمها، ولي الله الذي هو بكرم شخصه غائب
وبسواري بركاته ومواده حاضر، ووجه سعادة عبيده بنور عناته ناضر، وطرف آمال مواليه الى مشاهدة جمال وجهه
المبارك ناظر، وكرم الله على بلوغ امثال هذه الامنية عن قريب معين وناصر،

صلى الله عليه وعلى المنتظرين من ابنائه دراري النجوم، الى حين قيام صاحب الميقات المعلوم، وسلم عليهم سلاما
يدوم، ما تلي ﴿لا اله الا هو الحي القيوم﴾،

معشر المؤمنين، فتح الله عليكم سماء رحمته فتحا، وسطح لكم مهاده نعمته سطحا، ...

Written on behalf of Dā'ī 'Abd al-Qādir Najm al-Dīn (d. 1302/1885) by Miya Ṣaḥib
Walī bhāi-

181. Risālat al-Najm al-Thāqib [Ms.]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله المتقرد بالكبرياء والجلال والجبروت، والمتقدس عن تناول هويته بالصفات والنعوت، له ملكوت السموات والارض وما
بينهما فما اعظمه من ملكوت، قدر بالموت على جميع خلقه ووجهه الحي الذي لا يموت، اجد به ما وصف به نفسه تباركت

اسماء هرويا من التعطيل في السكوت، وواحدة من تلقاء حدوده الذين على قواعد معرفتهم لأركان التوحيد ثبوت، فهم رجال **﴿بيوت اذن الله ان ترفع ويذكر فيها اسمه﴾** فما أكرمهم من رجال وما أرفعها من بيوت، وأولياء الذين آمنوا يخرجونهم من الظلمات إلى النور والذين كفروا أولياءهم الطاغوت، دعاة آل محمد الداعين إليهم بصالحات أعمالهم وهم صموت، الحالين منهم محل الزمرد الأخضر من أحمر الياقوت، والرادين برقي بيانهم ما تلو الشياطين على ملك سليمان عصرهم من سحر هاروت وماروت، وفيهم سكينه من ربهم وعندهم بقية مما ترك آل موسى هذه الأمة وآل هارون في التابوت، وهم حملة عرش ربهم المكاني عنه بالدعوة الهادية والمنعوت، فهم حجب حجب جبروتية وأبواب العظمت، وهم الذين **نفتح فيهم من روحه** والمشتبهون بهم من أضدادهم صنم منحوت، مثل الذين اتخذوا من دونهم أولياء إلى أنهم مثل العنكبوت اتخذت بيتاً وإن أوهن البيوت لبيت العنكبوت،

وأشهد أن لا إله إلا الله الذي لا يعجزه من حاد أولياءه ولا يفوته وكيف يعجزه ما خلقه وكيف يفوت، وما يملئ لهم إلا ليتكامل أوزارهم وما يؤخرهم إلا لأجل موقوت،

وأشهد أن محمداً خير مرسل إلى الخلق بآيات ربه والفضل مبعوت (٢)، وأكرم محدود بالزلفى لديه من رسله وأشرف منحوت (٣)، ركب البراق فطوى السبع الطباق وأراه الله ما وأراه عن أصفياء من ملكوت عالمي اللاهوت والناسوت، نبت في حجر المكاني عنه يجبرئيل الذي جبره فيا له من أكرم منبت وياله من أكرم منبوت، صلى الله عليه من نبي نصره بعلي كما نصر **بداود طالوت**، وهما المشار إليهما والمدلول عليهما من أيام الله بالجمع والسيوت،

وعلى وصيه الذي قرن ولايته بولايته وولاية ربه فمودوده لهما مودود وممقوته لهما ممقوت، ودعوته الأرض الباطنة التي عليها قوام الانفس الزكية ومما أخرجت غذاءها والقوت، المستقيمون عليها العارفون المستبصرون والتاكبون عنها المضلون للرعايا والتحوت، فهؤلاء لهم أعالي الدرجات عند ربهم وهؤلاء لهم أسافل الدرجات من برهوت، أراه الله من غيب ملكوته ما وراء الحجاب، وردت له الشمس بعد الغياب، وعلمه النبي الف باب من الحكمة انفتح له من كل باب منها الف باب، وجعله إيا للمؤمنين فكناه بابي تراب، فيقول **﴿الكافري باليحيى كفت تراباً﴾** وإنى له ذلك وقد طوى الكتاب،

وعلى بعلة شبيهة مريم بنت خير المرسلين، إلا أنها سيدة نساء قومها وهذه سيدة نساء العالمين، فاطمة الفاطمة عن النار محبها، المدعوة لفضلها من أبيها بأم أبيها،

وعلى ولديها اللذين حازا من الامامة مقاما عليا، وورثا سببا ونسبا جدما واباهما محمدا وعليا، مولانا الحسن اول من قام في الدور المحمدي بالامامة، ومولانا الحسين الباقية كلمة الامامة في عقبه الى يوم القيمة،

وعلى الائمة من ذريته حجب الابداع العلية، المشرقة عنها الانوار الازلية، شمس الفضائل التي طلعت على البصائر فلا تغيب ابدا، وكلمات الله الناطقة التي لو كان البحر مدادا لنفد ﴿ **قبل ان تنفذ كلمات ربي ولو جئنا بمثله مددا** ﴾، تسلسلت الامامة منهم في عابد وياقر وصادق، فملؤ بانوارهم اقطار الارض مغاربها والمشرق، وتسلسلت بعدهم في ذريتهم في ليل الستر الغاسق، فما اقل منهم اقل الابطال مثله شارق، وهم الفتية الذين قالوا ﴿ **ربنا آتانا من لدنك رحمة وهي لنا من امرنا رشدا** ﴾، فضرب على آذانهم في كهف الستر ﴿ **سنين عددا** ﴾، ثم بعثهم الله بمهديهم الذي حق فيه وفي الائمة من ولده قوله وهو اصدق القائلين، ﴿ **ونريد ان نمن على الذين استضعفوا في الارض ونجعلهم ائمة ونجعلهم الوارثين** ﴾، فاشرقت ما ملكوه من الارض بنور ربها، واتقشرت اكام الحكم في ايامهم عن حبها، ولقد اختارهم الله ﴿ **على علم على العالمين** ﴾، واتقم بهم من اعدائه الظالمين، حتى انتهى منهم الى الامام العاشر، وهو مولانا الامر الباقية كلمة الامامة في عقبه الذين رجعوا الى كهف التقية والاستتار، واخفوا باشخاصهم الشريفة عن عين النظار، واسروا موادهم اللطيفة الى القائمين بدعوتهم فلا تنقطع منهم ساعة من النهار، ابناء مولانا الامام الطيب، وغمام البركات الصيب، سابع الاشهاد، الموتى الامامة في المهاد، واباء مولانا الامام الحاضر، يد الله المبسوطة ووجهه الناظر، امامي وولي عصري، والذي بامداده تأييد امري، شمس الملة النبوية، وثمر الدوحة العلوية، المرجو ظهور دولته ليملا عدله الارض عرضا وطولا، وليعيد بيروزه عن الستر ايام الظهور سيرتها الاولى، اللهم صل عليهم بافضل صلواتك، وحيهم باجزل بركاتك،

اللهم واذا صليت عليهم فصل على دعائهم الاخيار، الذين قاموا بدعوتهم من ظهورهم واستتارهم ﴿ **انا الليل واطراف النهار** ﴾، فامعت منهم اشعة انوارهم، ونبتت بهم ينابيع اسرارهم، فأكاف الدعوة بجياطهم محوطة، ونجاة شيعتهم بولائهم منوطة، وهم الربانيون بما كانوا يعلمون الكتاب وبما كانوا يدرسون، واليهم ندب الله المؤمنين بقوله في كتابه الذي تقرأون، ﴿ **واوحى ربك الى النحل ان اتخذ من الجبال بيوتا ومن الشجر وما يعرشون** ﴾، واباهم عنى ايضا بقوله ان كنتم تعقلون، ﴿ **وان عليكم لحافظين كراما كاتبين يعلمون ما تفعلون** ﴾،

معشر المؤمنين، واخواني الحسنين، الموفين بعهد الله وايمانهم، والموقوفون . . .

Syedna Taher Saifuddin (d. 1385/1965)

182. Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H: Daw' Nūr al-Haqq al-Mubīn

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

la الحمد لله الكبير المتعال (13:9) * رَبِّ الْعِظَمَةِ وَالْجَلَالِ * الْمَلِكِ الْقُدُّوسِ (59:23; 62:1) شَدِيدِ الْمَحَالِ (13:13) *

﴿لَهُ دَعْوَةُ الْحَقِّ وَالَّذِينَ يَدْعُونَ مِنْ دُونِهِ لَا يَسْتَجِيبُونَ لَهُمْ بِشَيْءٍ إِلَّا كَبَاسِطٌ كَيْفِيهِ إِلَى الْمَاءِ لِيَبْلُغَ فَاهُ وَمَا هُوَ بِيَالِقِهِ وَمَا دُعَاءُ الْكَافِرِينَ إِلَّا فِي ضَلَالٍ﴾ (13:14) *

lb نَحْمَدُهُ عَلَى مَا اسْتَبْعَ عَلَيْنَا مِنْ نِعْمَتِهِ * وَأَكْمَلَ لَنَا مِنْ مَنِّهِ * وَأَسَكَّنَا حَرَمًا آمِنًا مِنْ دَعْوَتِهِ * وَجَعَلَنَا مِنَ الْمُعْصِينَ بِعُرُونِهِ (2:256; 31:22) * السَّالِكِينَ طَرِيقًا يُؤَدِّي إِلَى جَنَّتِهِ * بِوِلَايَةِ خَيْرَتِهِ مِنْ خَلْقِهِ وَصِفَوْتِهِ * مُحَمَّدٍ نَبِيِّهِ وَالسَّادَةِ مِنْ عَتَرَتِهِ *

lc ونَسِيحَ لَهُ مِنَ الْهَ سَبِيلِهِ جَدَد * وَامْرَهُ رَشَد * وَهُوَ حَيَّ صَد * سَبْحَانَهُ مِنَ الْهَ قَوْلُهُ حَكَم * وَقَضَاءَهُ حَيِّم * وَارَادَتَهُ عَزَم * سَبْحَانَهُ مِنْ لَارَادٍ لِمَشِيَاتِهِ * وَ﴿لَا مَبْدَلَ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ﴾ (6:115; 18:27) * سَبْحَانَهُ مِنْ آيَاتِهِ بَاهِرَةٍ * وَقُدْرَتِهِ

الرعد 9 عَالِمُ الْغَيْبِ وَالشَّهَادَةِ الْكَبِيرُ الْمُتَعَالِ

الْحَشْرِ 23 هُوَ اللَّهُ الَّذِي لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ السَّلَامُ الْمُؤْمِنُ الْمُهَيَّمِنُ الْعَزِيزُ الْجَبَّارُ الْمُتَكَبِّرُ سُبْحَانَ اللَّهِ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ

الجمعة 1 يُسَبِّحُ لِلَّهِ مَا فِي السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِي الْأَرْضِ الْمَلِكُ الْقُدُّوسُ الْعَزِيزُ الْحَكِيمُ

الرعد 13 وَيُسَبِّحُ الرَّعْدُ بِحَمْدِهِ وَالْمَلَائِكَةُ مِنْ خِيفَتِهِ وَيُرْسِلُ الصَّوَاعِقَ فَيُصِيبُ بِهَا مَنْ يَشَاءُ وَهُمْ يُجَادِلُونَ فِي آلِهِ وَهُوَ شَدِيدُ الْمَحَالِ

البقرة 256 لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدْ

لَقَمَان 22 أَسْتَمْسِكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى لَا انْفِصَامَ لَهَا وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ وَمَنْ يَسْلَمْ وَجْهَهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَهُوَ مُحْسِنٌ فَقَدْ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَى وَإِلَى اللَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ

قاهرة* ﴿سبحانه وتعالى عما يقول الظالمون علوا كبيرا﴾^(17:43)* وكان الله بما يعملون خبيرا^(4:128 135; 33:2; 48:11)
*

II ونشهد ان لا اله الا الله الملك الحق رب العرش الكريم^(23:116)⁷⁸* ﴿وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤده حفظهما وهو العلي العظيم﴾^(2:255)* ﴿هو الله الذي لا اله الا هو عالم الغيب والشهادة هو الرحمن الرحيم﴾^(59:22)* ﴿هو الله الخالق البارئ المصور له الاسماء الحسنی يسبح له ما في السموات والارض وهو العزيز الحكيم﴾^(59:24)*

III ونشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله الذي ارسله ﴿شاهدا ومبشرا ونذيرا﴾ وداعيا الى الله باذنه وسراجا منيرا^(33: 45-46)*

IVa صلى الله عليه من نبي ارسله رحمة للعالمين^(21:107)⁷⁹* واورث خيرتها عند انتقاله الى دار كرامته عقبه الاكرمين*

IVb صلى الله عليه من نبي اوضح للهدى سننه* وخوطف بقوله تعالى ﴿ادع الى سبيل ربك بالحكمة والموعظة الحسنة﴾^(16:125)*

IVc صلى الله عليه من نبي بلغ رسالته^(5:67)⁸⁰* وادى اماته* وصدع بامره* وبين ما نزل اليه من حكيم ذكره* ونصح لعباده* والْحَبَّ طَرِيقَ رِشَادِهِ*

وَلَقَدْ كَذَّبْتَ رَسُولًا مِّن قَبْلِكَ فَصَبِّرُوا عَلَىٰ مَا كُذِّبُوا وَأَوْدُوا حَتَّىٰ أَنَا هُمْ	34	الأنعام
نَصْرُنَا وَلَا مَبْدَلُ لِكَلِمَاتِ اللَّهِ وَلَقَدْ جَاءَكَ مِنْ نَّبِيٍّ الْمُرْسَلِينَ		
وَتَمَّتْ كَلِمَتُ رَبِّكَ صِدْقًا وَعَدْلًا لَا مُبْدِلُ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَهُوَ السَّمِيعُ الْعَلِيمُ	115	الأنعام
وَأَتْلُ مَا أُوْحِيَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ كِتَابِ رَبِّكَ لَا مُبْدِلُ لِكَلِمَاتِهِ وَلَنْ تَجِدَ مِنْ دُونِهِ مُلْتَحَدًا	27	الكهف

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فَتَعَالَى اللَّهُ الْمَلِكُ الْحَقُّ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا هُوَ رَبُّ الْعَرْشِ الْكَرِيمِ	116	المؤمنون
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وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ	107	الأنبياء
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يَا أَيُّهَا الرُّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَّمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ	67	المائدة
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IVd صلى الله عليه من نبي انشق له القمر ^(54:1) 81 * وسجد له النجم والشجر ^(55:6) 82 * وشهد بنبوته الحجر والمدر *
وتصرف على ارادته القضاء والقدر *

Ive صلى الله عليه من نبي اتى صفوة الصفو ولب اللباب * وانتهت اليه الاسباب ^(1:166; 38:10; 40:36-37) 83 * وختم به
الكتاب * وحارت في كنه شانه الالباب *

IVf صلى الله عليه من نبي نزل عليه القرآن تنزيلا * وامره ان يرتبته ترتيبا ^(73:9) 84 * والقى عليه قولا ثقيلا * ﴿ان ناشئة
الليل هي اشد وطاء واقوم قبيلا﴾ ^(73:6) * وجعل له ﴿في النهار سبحا طويلا﴾ ^(73:7) * وامره ان يذكر اسم ربه ويتبيل
اليه تبتيلا ^(73:8) 85 * وان يتخذة وكبلا ^(73:9) 86 *

1 القمر افتربت الساعة وانشق القمر

6 الرحمن والنجم والشجر يسجدان

166 البقرة اذ تبرا الذين اتبعوا من الذين اتبعوا وراوا العذاب وتقطعت بهم الاسباب

10 ص ام لهم ملك السموات والارض وما بينهما فليترققوا في الاسباب

36 غافر وقال فرعون يهامان ابن لي صرحا لعلي ابلغ الاسباب

37 غافر اسباب السموات فاطلع الى اله موسى واتي لظنه كاذبا وكذلك زين

لفرعون سوء عليه وصد عن السبيل وما كيد فرعون الا في تباب

4 المزمّل اوزد عليه ورتل القرآن ترتيبا

8 المزمّل وانكر اسم ربك وتبيل اليه تبتيلا

9 المزمّل رب المشرق والمغرب لا اله الا هو فاتخذة وكبلا

Va صلى الله عليه وعلى وصيه * ووارثه ووليه * وعميده وعمدته * ونور غمته * وام امته * وزوج ابنته * وروح بدنه
ونور عينه * ومكمل دينه وقاضي دينه * وفاتح بدره وحنينه * وابي حسنه وحنينه * غياث المؤمن عند حينه * القاتل
غرا غيري لعسجده ولجينه *

Vb صلى الله عليه من وصي اقتلع الاصنام من الكعبة * وكفى نبه في الامور الصعبة * وانجز وعده * وهزم الاحزاب وحده
*

Vc صلى الله عليه من وصي هاجر المجرتين * وصلى القبلتين * وردت له الشمس مرتين * شهدت بفضلته مشاعر البيت
والركن والحطيم والمروتين * علامة ما بين الكفر والايمان * علامة تاويل القران * فالق اصباح البيان * فارس المنبر والميدان
* قسيم الجنة والنار * حجة الله العزيز القهار * قاصم ظهور الكفار * الذي اتى فيه وفي سيفه البتار * لاقتى الاعلى لا
سيف الاذو الفقار *

Vd صلى الله عليه من وصي ادى اليه النبي اماته * اذ امر بقوله تعالى ﴿ يَا أَيُّهَا الرُّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنْزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا
بَلَغْتَ رِسَالَتَهُ ﴾ (5:67) * فرقي الى المنبر هو وابو سبطيه * ورفعته حتى رأي بياض ابطيه * فاولاه من شرف النص ما اولاه
* وقال من كنت مولاه فهذا علي مولاه *

Ve صلى الله عليه من وصي له منزلة عند ربه لم تحظر على قلب بشر * وشان تعالى عن ان يحاط بالاوهام والفكر * هو
الاول والآخر والظاهر والباطن وهو بكل شيء عليم ﴿ (57:3) * سمي ذي العرش العظيم * المشار اليه بقوله تعالى ﴿ وانه في
ام الكتاب لدينا لعلي حكيم ﴾ (43:4) * امير المؤمنين مولانا علي بن مولانا ابيطالب * اسد الله الغالب * حلال عقد
المشكلات معطي المطالب * مظهر العجائب * ومصدر الغرائب *

VI صلى الله عليهما وعلى مشكاة الانوار * ام الائمة الابرار * ليلة القدر التي ﴿ تنزل الملكة والروح فيها ﴾ (97:4) * التي
كناها ابوها النبي لكمال شرفها بأم ايها * سيدة النساء * خامسة اصحاب الكساء * التي زوجها النبي في الارض بعد ان
زوجها الله في السماء بخير زوج * وزفت اليه وحواليها من الملكة فوج اثر فوج * ازدوج بها الاسلام والايمان * وتسلسلت
في ذريتها الطاهرة سلسلة ائمة الازمان * التي انتقلت من دار الدنيا وهي ساخطة * على امة عن فرض ولاية زوجها ولي الله
وسميه ساقطة * في عشواء الضلالة خابطة * مولانا فاطمة الزهراء ربة العصمة * التي تود مريم العذراء ان تلي لها خدمة
*

VII وعلى ولديها الامامين الطاهرين * ونيري سماء الرسالة الزاهرين * رضيعي دَرها * وقسيمي دُرها * وريحاني جد هما المصطفى نبي الرحمة * وثمرتي فؤاد والدمها المرتضى باب مدينة الحكمة * وقبلي الانس والجنة * وسيدي شباب اهل الجنة * لله من امامي حق * وهماي صدق * سمي مجد هما حتى صارا للسماء سماء * نص عليهما وعلى ايتهما الطهر جد هما المصطفى صلى الله عليهم ماودق همى * بقوله الحسن والحسين اماما حق قاما او قعدا وابو هما خير منهما * يا لعلو جد هما اذ كان جد هما يحملهما على شريف عاتقه * ويركبان ظهره حين يسجد لخالقه * لله من مقامين غرا بالعلم النبوي اللدني الالهي * وحازا باستماعهما من جد هما واستماعه منهما شرفا غير متناهي * مولانا ابي محمد الحسن المستودع لسر الامامة المؤمن * الذي انتقل الى دار كرامة الله مسموما شهيدا * وبقي شقيقه الحسين بعده فردا وحيدا * ومولانا ابي عبد الله الحسين مستقر المراتب الاربع * وارث جده الرضى ووالده البطين الاتبع * الذي اراد الظلمة لعنهم الله بقتله في الطف اطفاء نور الله ﴿ **وَيَأْتِي اللَّهُ الْإِنسَانَ بِنُورِهِ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْكَافِرُونَ** ﴾⁸⁷ (9:32) * فبقي في مثل هذا الخطب الجليل سليله زين العابدين الذي تسلسل في ذريته الائمة الطاهرون *

VIII وعلى الائمة من ذرية مولانا الحسين اهله الحق، وادلة الصدق، ائمة السر والظهور، وصفوة الازمنة والدهور، معادن اشراق النور، ومغارب سكان الطور، وقرناء الكتاب المسطور، ومعاني البيت المعمور، ولجج بحر الحكمة المسجور، ومصابيح الدجى في ظلم الديجور، مظاهر الابداع، ومطارح ذلك الشعاع، عقول عالم الطبيعة، ومنتهى بغية مدبره المظهر في اكوافها الصور البديعة، احباء الله واصفياءه، خلقاء الله واوليائه، خلصاء الله وابداله، جحاجة الخلق واقباله، اركان دين الله القويم، والهداة الى الصراط المستقيم، وارباب جنات النعيم، واصحاب الكهف والرقيم⁸⁸ (18:9)، ومواضع اقسام الله تعالى ﴿ **بِمَوَاقِعِ النُّجُومِ، وَإِنَّهُ لَقَسَمٌ لَوْ تَعْلَمُونَ عَظِيمٌ** ﴾^(56:75-76)، وشفعاء شيعتهم يوم لا يغني مولى عن مولى ولا حميم عن حميم، اهل البيت

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النوبة 32 يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُظْفِقُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَيَأْتِيَهُمْ كَلِمَةٌ إِلَّا أَنْ يَنْتُمْ نُورَهُ وَتَوَّ كَرِهَ الْكَافِرُونَ

الرقيم: اللوح فيه اسماءهم وقصتهم

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الكهف 9 أَمْ حَسِبْتَ أَنَّ أَصْحَابَ الْكَهْفِ وَالرَّقِيمِ كَانُوا مِنْ آيَاتِنَا عَجَبًا

الذين اذهب الله عنهم الرجس وطهرهم تطهيرا⁸⁹ (33:33)، وآتاهم من الامامة نعيما وملكا كبيرا⁹⁰ (76:20)، منابع البركات، وغياث الانام في الكربات، الذين بولايهم وطاعتهم تحى السيئات وتضاعف الحسنات، هم علل المكنونات، لهم سكنت السواكن وتحركت المحركات، وتزمنت المترنات، ذووا لواهيت نورية، تجلى بنواسيت كافورية، للخلائق ارباب وللخالق سبحانه عباد مربيون، مصطفىون مكرمون عنده محبوبون، آل علي وآل ياسين، اثنت عليهم آيات الحواميم والطواسين، في كل عصر منهم ﴿امام مبین﴾⁹¹ (36:12)، اقامه الله علما للعباد، ومثارا في البلاد، وعناؤه في خطابه لنبيه الكريم ﴿انما انت منذر ولكل قوم هاد﴾⁹² (13:7)، ما خلقت ولن تخلو الارض منهم طرفة عين، اذ لهم خلق الله الكونين، وبهم هدى الله الثقلين، ولننشده ههنا قصيدة قافيتها الهاء، لها بدمج خيرة الله وصفوته بهاء، خدم بها اجنبتهم التي تطوف الملكة حولها، عبدهم المشغوف بذكر فضلهم الذي ان يلهو عنه ولا الهى،

IX

1	انتم يا آل طه	اكرم الخلقه جاها
2	قد حوitem مكرمات	غمررا لا تنهاهى
3	جدكم طه اتى للـ	- سل الابرار شاها
4	هل سواء من نبي	لقى الله وجاها
5		

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وَقَرْنَ فِي بُيُوتِكُنَّ وَلَا تَبَرَّجْنَ تَبَرُّجَ الْجَاهِلِيَّةِ الْأُولَى وَأَقِمْنَ الصَّلَاةَ وَآتِينَ الزَّكَاةَ
الأحزاب 33 وَأَطِيعْنَ اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ إِنَّمَا يُرِيدُ اللَّهُ لِيُذْهِبَ عَنْكُمُ الرِّجْسَ أَهْلَ الْبَيْتِ وَيُطَهِّرَكُمْ
تَطْهِيرًا

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الإحسان 20 وَإِذَا رَأَيْتَ ثَمَّ رَأَيْتَ نَعِيمًا وَمَلَكًا كَبِيرًا

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يس 12 إِنَّا نَحْنُ نُحْيِي الْمَوْتَى وَنَكْتُبُ مَا قَدَّمُوا وَآثَارَهُمْ وَكُلُّ شَيْءٍ عِندَ إِمَامٍ مُبِينٍ

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الرعد 7 وَيَقُولُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا لَوْلَا نُزِّلَ عَلَيْهِ آيَةٌ مِنْ رَبِّهِ إِنَّمَا أَنْتَ مُنْذِرٌ وَلِكُلِّ قَوْمٍ هَادٍ

6	ودنى منه كقوسين ⁹³ (53:9)	فتناجى شاه شفاها
7	وابوكم خير شاه	لرسول الله شاهى
8	لم يكن يبلغ وهم	لعالىه اكنهاها
9	شاكها وجدهم في	غرر الفضل شكها
10	انما آخرهم في الـ	مجد لاول ضاهى
11	هم عقول حار فيهم	لبذي اللب وتاهها
12	انما الله تعالى	لهم ذا الخلق لاهها
13	منهم في الارض دابا	قائم يدعى الها
14	سوف ياتي قائلا عبـ	دهم الجنة واهها
15	ومعاديهم سيصلى	قائلا بالنار آها
16	نبهوا نوم جهل	فاز من قام اتباها
17	تضع الاملاك طرا	حيث يشون الجباهها
18	قد ازلتم يا موالى	من الدين اشتباها
19	كل من قد ضل عنكم	مشبه جهلا شياها
20	بواليكم اله الـ	عرش للاملاك باهى
21	عبدكم يذكركم لم	يك عنه يتلاهى
22	فاذكروه خلفاء الـ	له يا ابتاء طه
23	عبدكم هذا التياذا	بكم بالمدح فاهها
24	كم منى عندكم في	النفس فاحبوها مناها
25	وخذوا كل عنيد	ظالم يبغي سفاها
	خص بالتسليم آل الـ	له من ياء تلى هاء

X وعلى خير خلفهم، ووارث مجدهم وشرفهم، سابع دور اشهادهم وفرد افرادهم، وواحد آحادهم، زبدة الذرية النبوية، وغرة العرة العلوية، ودرة الدرر الفاطمية، ونخبة السادة الهاشمية، خاتم الاسبوع الثالث، المولي عذاب الجاحد لعالي منزلته الناكث، وثواب مواليه المطلع على حقيقة امامته الباحث، الامام المستخرج من سلالة النبوة كما يستخرج النور من النور، نجل الامام الأمر المنصور، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، وامام الموقنين، المرخي على نفسه الزكية حجاب التقية، ليميز بين النفوس السعيدة والشقية، الذي آية ملكه الحقيقي ان آتاكم من تسلسل دعائه التابوت فيه سكينته من ريكتم ومما ترك آل موسى وآل هارون بقية⁹⁴ (2:248)،

XI وعلى امام العصر من ولده المعروف باسمه، الذي نفسه كف نفسه وجسمه كجسمه، ولي الزمان، خليفة الرحمن، الغائب عن الابصار الحسية، الحاضر في البصائر الصافية القدسية، امين الله في بلاده، وحجته على عباده، خيرة الله وصفوته، خلاصة التكوين وزبدته، الفاض على شيعته بوساطة دعائه فيوض اشعته، الالاح لوايح بشائر ظهور طلعه، ولعمر الله انه لضروري الوجود مع غيبته، لمكان آية دعائه فينا ودعوته، كما تحقق ان الله سبحانه غير مختلف في الهية مع عدم رويته، لما استبان بدلالة الصنعة على صانعها شان عظمت، وبما اقام لنا من ادلته، صفوة الله وخالصة من برئته، فهو امام المتقين، وكعبة اهل اليقين، لامام على وجه البسيطة سواء، ﴿وهو الذي في السماء اله وفي الارض اله﴾^(43:84)، يتوالى على عبده آله، ويتعالى على السموات السبع علاه، ثمرة دوحه الازل، ووارث مجد آبائه الأول، علة العلل، اول الفكر وآخر العمل، نهاية البغية لوالده وغاية الامل، مفتاح اسرار الجبروت، ومصباح انوار المكلوت، سدرة المنتهى⁹⁵ (53:14)، وقبلة اولي النهى، اليه انتهت نصوص آبائه، وبه تجلّى شان عزته سبحانه وكبريائه، ما اظهرت اعصار آبائه شانا كما اظهره عصره، اذ جاءه من ربه نصره⁹⁶ (110:1)، بابوي مولى آياته

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وَقَالَ لَهُمْ نَبِيُّهُمْ إِنَّ آيَةَ مُلْكِهِ أَنْ يَأْتِيَكُمُ التَّابُوتُ فِيهِ سَكِينَةٌ مِّنْ رَبِّكُمْ وَبَقِيَّةٌ
البقرة 248 مِمَّا تَرَكَ آلُ مُوسَىٰ وَآلُ هَارُونَ تَحْمِلُهُ الْمَلَائِكَةُ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَةً لَّكُمْ إِن كُنْتُمْ
مُؤْمِنِينَ

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النجم 14 عِنْدَ سِدْرَةِ الْمُنْتَهَىٰ

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النصر 1 إِذَا جَاءَ نَصْرُ اللَّهِ وَالْفَتْحُ

باهرة، ومعجزاته ظاهرة، وقدرته قاهرة، ومكرماته زاهرة، منصوب الرايات منصور الاحزاب، مالوف الساحة ماهول الجناب، حبل الله المتين⁹⁷ (3:103)، وعروته الوثقى للمتمسكين⁹⁸ (2:256; 31:22)، وعصمة اللاتذنين، وكهف العائذين، وامير المؤمنين، وعماد الموقنين،

XII صلى الله عليه وعلى آبائه وابنائهم الطيبين، من فاتح دورهم خاتم النبيين الى خاتمه قائمهم ﴿مالك يوم الدين﴾ (1:4)، صلوة زاكية لا تكون صلوة اركى منها، صلوة نامية لا تكون صلوة اتمى منها، صلوة راضية لا تكون صلوة ارضى منها، صلوة لا نهاية لعددتها، ولا غاية لامدها، وسلم عليهم تسليما،

XIII وعلى حملة قوائم عرش دعوتهم، وكعبة اسرار حقيقتهم، المتمسكين بولائهم، المؤمنين بامامتهم، المجتهدين في طاعتهم، المنتظرين ايامهم، المادين اليهم اعينهم، الشاكرين انعامهم، الموجين بتاج ذكرهم السنهم، الخافقة بمساعيهم لمجد مواليهم في الحافقين الاولوية والبنود، القائمين دونهم بالمشاق الصعبة في نشر اعلام دعوتهم حتى استوى قائمها على عمود، وتحقق بما ظهر على ايديهم من اشراق انوارها وعلو سلطانها حين كونهم في كهف التقية ما خوطب به جدتهم في التنزيل ﴿وتحسبهم ايقاظا وهم رقود﴾ (18:18)، فله من دعاة فلقوا اصباح امرهم، حين اختفاء اشخاصهم في مغرب سترهم، فلولاهم لما قامت لله على الناس حجة، ولا وضحت لدين الله محجة، ولا استأفت نسمة من روح الايمان نسيما، ولا اعتاضت عن دار الكون والفساد في دار المعاد نعيما مقيما، ولا استقامت صورة على الطريقة، ولا نجت من بحر الهوى النفوس الغريقة، ولا عرفت لتوحيد المتعالي سبحانه حقيقة، ولا اخضرت من المعارف العقلية القدسية حقيقة،

فله درهم، وعلى الله اجرهم، من دعاة هداة، ورعاة لسرح الايمان ثقات، حجج المقامات الربانية، وسرج الانوار القدسانية، ولجج الاسرار اللدنية النورانية، حفظة دين الله الملك العالم، وسدنة بيته الحرام، آساد غاب الدين، ورجال اسد الله امير

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وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا وَاذْكُرُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِخْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَى شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِنَ النَّارِ فَأَنْقَذَكُمْ مِنْهَا كَذَلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ

آل عمران 103

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لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِنْ بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَىٰ لَا انْفِصَامَ لَهَا وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ
وَمَنْ يُسَلِّمْ وَجْهَهُ إِلَى اللَّهِ وَهُوَ مُحْسِنٌ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَىٰ وَإِلَى اللَّهِ عَاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ

البقرة 256

لقمان 22

المؤمنين، رجال لا يشبههم عن طاعة مواليتهم أهوال ولا أوجال، رجال لهم في فضاء الملكوت مجال، ﴿يَبْتَغُونَ أَذْنَ اللَّهِ أَنْ تَرْفَعُ وَيَذْكُرَ فِيهَا اسْمَهُ يَسْبَحُ لَهُ فِيهَا بِالْغَدُوِّ وَالْأَصَالِ﴾^(24:36)، ﴿رَجَالٌ لَا تُلْهِيمُ تِجَارَةً وَلَا بَيْعًا عَنْ ذِكْرِ اللَّهِ﴾^(24:37)، ﴿يَا اللَّهُ مِنْ رَجَالٍ، رَجَالٌ صَدَقُوا مَا عَاهَدُوا اللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ فَمَنْهُمْ مَنْ قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُ وَمِنْهُمْ مَنْ يَنْتَظِرُ وَمَا بَدَلُوا تَبْدِيلًا﴾^(33:23)، واقعدوا بسنة الله ﴿وَلَنْ تَجِدَ لِسَنَةَ اللَّهِ تَحْوِيلًا﴾^(35:43)،

XIV فسنالك اللهم ان صل عليهم صلوة تبلغنا بركتها، وينالنا نفعها، ويستجاب لها دعاءنا، فهم وسائلنا اليك وذرائعنا لديك وشفعاءنا، واجمع على التقوى امرنا، واصلح لنا شؤنا، وتب علينا، وسق سابع نعمك الينا، وثبتنا على طاعتك، وطاعة اوليائك، وانصرنا على اعدائك، واعزنا بعزك الذي لا يضام، واحرسنا بعينك التي لا تنام، والحقنا باوليائك الكرام في دار السلام، انك اعز الناصرين، وخير الغافرين، وأكرم الأكرمين، وارحم الراحمين،

﴿أما بعد﴾ فاني عبد آل محمد الموالى الغرائمة المؤمنين المفلحين، ومملوكهم المعتمد على امدادهم وتأييدهم في كل حين، المبتهل الى مولاه ومالك امره وصاحب عصره الوارث مجد آبائه الطيبين، في التماس النصر العزيز والفتح المبين، ابو محمد طاهر سيف الدين، نجل داعي امام المتقين، سابع الاسبوع السابع من الدعاة المطلقين، علم الاعلام المفردين، المقدس في اعلى غرفات المخلدين، مولانا محمد برهان الهدى والدين، اسعى لآثار دعاة قبلي هداة مقفيا، وبهداهم مقتديا، ادعوا الى ما دعوا من الحق، واسلك ما سلكوا من سبيل الصدق، ادعوك الى توحيد رب العالمين، والى اتباع اوليائه ائمة الهدى الغر الميامين، ودعاتهم الافاضل الأكرمين، ﴿وَأَنَا لَكُمْ نَاصِحٌ أَمِينٌ﴾^(7:68)، ﴿ادعوا الى الله على بصيرة أنا ومن اتبعني وسبحن الله وما أنا من المشركين﴾^(12:108)، ﴿إِنْ صَلَوَتِي وَنَسْكِى وَمَحْيَايَ وَمَمَاتِي لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ﴾^(6:162)، لا شريك له وبذلك امرت وأنا من المسلمين^(6:163)، اخصكم يا اخواني المؤمنين، وبني دعوة الحق المبين، بسلام هو تحية الملكة الكرام، في دار السلام، واوصيكم كما اوصى بعض دعاة آل محمد المؤيدين المؤيدين الهادين المهدين بتقوى الله العظيم، واتباع صراطه المستقيم، والوفاء بعهد الذي تقلدتم منه ثقلا ثقيلا، والانهاء عما نهى الله سبحانه عنه بقوله ﴿وَلَا تَتَقَفُوا الْإِيمَانَ بَعْدَ تَوْكِيدِهَا وَقَدْ جَعَلَهُ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكُمْ كَفِيلًا﴾^(16:91)، والاستعاذة به من قوم عاهدوا الله فنكثوا، واقسموا به لوليه فحنثوا، وقد دخلوا في ولايته فارتدوا على ادبارهم، ونكصوا على اعقابهم لادبارهم، وبدلوا الطاعة عصيانا، والنصرة خذلا، وجعلوا مواقع ركوعهم

162 الأنعام قُلْ إِنْ صَلَاتِي وَنَسْكِى وَمَحْيَايَ وَمَمَاتِي لِلَّهِ رَبِّ الْعَالَمِينَ

163 الأنعام لَا شَرِيكَ لَهُ وَبِذَلِكَ أُمِرْتُ وَأَنَا أَوَّلُ الْمُسْلِمِينَ

وسجودهم، مقاصد عتوهم وعنودهم، ﴿يُرِيدُونَ أَنْ يُطْفِئُوا نُورَ اللَّهِ بِأَفْوَاهِهِمْ وَيَأْبَى اللَّهُ أَنْ يَتِمَّ نُورُهُ وَلَوْ كَرِهَ الْكَافِرُونَ﴾ (9:32)،

<فصل> معشر المؤمنين، جعلكم الله من شرح صدره للإسلام فهو على نور من ربه، فاجاب الداعي الى دار السلام بصفاء قلبه، اتم اولو الالباب، واتم اهل الحق والصواب، المؤتون تاويل الكتاب، ورمز المسجد والحراب، فتاجروا الله بالمتجر الراجح، وثقلوا ميزانكم بالعمل الصالح، واعملوا فاعمالكم عند ربكم مقبولة، اذ اسبابكم باسباب اولياءه موصولة، وتزودوا فان التقوى خير زاد،

183. End –Tahmīd-Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1335H: Daw' Nūr al-Haqq al-Mubīn

والحمد لله الذي حجته بالغة، ونعمته على عباده الحقيقين سابعة، ونعمته للمبطلين دامغة، وصفوته من خلقه لنفوس عباده المؤمنين بصبغته صابغة،

وصلى الله على خير هاد الى الله هدى، وضوء نور الحق منه بدى، محمد المصطفى الذي جعله الله لسان صدق في الآخرين¹⁰⁰ (26:84)، وعلى وصيه صاحب ذي الفقار يدا ولسانا، ورب الفخار منبرا وميدانا، علي بن ابي طالب الذي آتاه الله من لدنه سلطانا، وعلى الائمة من ذريتهما ائمة الراكعين الساجدين، الذين في ولاءهم بلاغ في النجاة لقوم عابدين، وعلى شمس تقيتهم، وخير بقيتهم، الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين، وسراج المؤقتين، وعلى ولي الله من ولده الامام الحاضر، الذي ناظره الى دعائه بلحظات التائيد ناظر، ووجه الحق بسريران بركاته اليهم ناضر، وعلى آياته الطاهرين وابنائهم الاكرمين المنتظرين الى اليوم الآخر، وسلم تسليما متصلا الى يوم الدين،

واستغفر الله لي ولجميع المؤمنين والمؤمنات بوسيلتهم انه هو الغفور الرحيم، وحسبنا الله ونعم الوكيل، ونعم المولى ونعم النصير، ولا حول ولا قوة الا بالله العلي العظيم، انتجزت الرسالة في شهر ذي الحجة الحرام من سنة الف وثلثمائة وخمس وثلثين، من الهجرة المباركة سلام الله على مهاجرها وآله الطيبين الطاهرين، . . .

184. *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1337H: Thamarāt 'Ulūm al-Hudā-excerpts*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا بمحمد وآل محمد صلى الله عليه وعليهم الى المحجة البيضاء، وافاض علينا على ايديهم سجال اياهم فيضا، وجعلنا من اهل ولايتهم، المهتدين بهدائيتهم، المؤتمنين بامامتهم، المتقادين لزعامتهم، الساكنين في حرم دعوتهم، المعتصمين بعروتهم، نطيع في لباس التقوى اماما منهم بعد امام، وداعيا لهم بعد داعي يحفظ لدينهم النظام، نخلص ولائهم ونحض، ونغسل درن قلوبنا بعلمهم ونرحض، وناخذ ما يوتون ما ينهون عنه نرفض، . . . نحمده سبحانه اذ ﴿هدانا لهذا وما كنا لنهتدي لولا ان هدانا الله﴾، ونشكره على ما انعم به علينا واولاده، ونسبح له تعالى كبرياءه بكره واصيلا، تسبيح مؤمن بدينه القويم ظاهرا وباطنا وذكره الحكيم تنزيلا وتاويلا، سبحان من ﴿جعل الشمس ضياء والقمر نورا، وجعل الليل والنهار خلفه لمن اراد ان يذكر او اراد شكورا﴾، و﴿مرج البحرين هذا عذب فرات وهذا ملح اجاج وجعل بينهما برزخا وحجرا محجورا﴾، سبحان من احسن كل شيء خلقه ﴿وخلق كل شيء فقدره تقديرا﴾، وجعل صفوة خلقه اهل بيت نبيه الذين اذهب الله عنهم الرجس وطهرهم تطهيرا، سبحان من ﴿ان من شيء الا يسبح بحمده ولكن لا تفقهون تسبيحهم انه كان حليما غفورا﴾،

ونشهد ان لا اله الا الله الذي تحيرت الالهام في نعت جبروته، وحصرت الافهام عن وصف ملكوته، وقصرت الابواب عن استعمار معرفة ديمومه، وكلت الابصار عن ادراك كيفية عظمتة، فلا حركة ولا سكون هناك، والعجز عن درك الادراك ادراك،

ونشهد ان محمدا المصطفى عبده ورسوله، الشفيع المشفع الناجح لمن يستشفع به سوله، خير رسول هدى الى خير ملة، . . . وحل من الزلفى عند ربه محلا لم يمكن نبي قبله حله، وملكه تعالى حرمه وحله، واصطفاه للمحبة كما اصطفى جده ابراهيم للخلة، وارقاه من الشرف والفضل الى اعلى قلة، واعز به المؤمنين بعد ذلة وكثرهم بعد قلة، . . .

صلى الله عليه من نبي دنى من ربه كتاب قوسين قنديل، ونوره الشعشعاني في قلبه القدساني تجلى، وحاز من الفيض الالهي القدر المعلى، وتقدم بامر جل شأنه على جميع الانبياء والمرسلين اماما فصولي، . . . صلى الله عليه من نبي اتى بالدين القيم، ونطق بيدائع الحكم، وجوامع الكلم، وساد الانبياء والمرسلين وساد بفضلته امته الامم،

صلى الله عليه وعلى وصيه واخيه وقاضي دينه ومنجز عداته، وراحة روحه وفاتح فتوحه ومهلك عداته، وخير حماته،
واشجع كمامته، ومقيم هداته، وناسر دعائه، كفو مولانا الزهراء وابي حسنيها، رباني الامة وذو قرنينا، . . . فارس المنبر
والميدان، صاحب السيف والبيان، واساس الحكمة الناطق بمحقق القرآن،

وعلى عرسه الحوراء، البتول العذراء، ام الائمة الاطيين الاكرمين، التي كان والدها النبي المصطفى ﷺ يقول لها يا فاطمة فذاك
نفسي انت سيدة نساء العالمين، . . .

وعلى ولديها، الحائزين ما عندها ولديها، سبطي جدما طه، الوارثين منه فضلا عظيما وجاها، . . . نجلي سيد العرب،
ومنتهى البغية منه والارب، مولانا الحسن ومولانا الحسين، سميا من السماء بهذين الاسمين، . . .

وعلى الائمة من ذرية مولانا الحسين حجج الله على البرية، في حالتي الظهور والقبية، ورثة الزعامة الازلية، والكرامة النبوية،
والشهامة العلوية، والسيادة الفاطمية، والرياسة الهاشمية، مطارح الاشعة الملوكوتية، مظاهر الشانات الربوبية، . . .

وعلى اكليل هامتهم، ووارث شرف امامتهم، ومنتهى اشارتهم، وموضع بشارتهم، ووارث سيادتهم، وصاحب رياستهم،
وجامع مفاخرهم، ومفخر اوائلهم واواخرهم، روح دور الاشهاد، موئل العباد، مولانا الامام الطيب ابي القاسم امير المؤمنين
الملقي الى دعائه مقاليد دعوته، ليفتح على ايديهم خزائن حكيمته، ويظل اهل الدين بظلال رحمته،

وعلى امام العصر من ولده الذي هو الخير والذخير مولود، ولي الله الحاضر الموجود، . . . وحبل الله الممدود،

صلى الله عليه وعلى آبائه البررة الاطياب، وابنائهم الطاهرين المتسلسلين الى يوم الحساب، وننشدها هنا قصيدة في مدحتهم،
خدم بها رفيع اجنتبتهم، عبدهم القائم بامر دعوتهم، الدائم كما امر على خدمتهم،

وفصلت بكم الآيات تفصيلا

في مدحك نزل القرآن تنزيلا

...

...

ما زال بالوحي والتأييد ماهولا

هم اهل بيت رسول الله ربهم

به النبوة تميما وتكميلا

هو الرسول النبي الطهر من خمت

اتى لمفرقهم تاجا واكليلا

محمد سيد الرسل الكرام ومن

...

...

الكرار من قتل الكفار ثقيلًا

ابوهم المرتضى المولى ابو حسن

...

...

في مصر دعوتهم من علمهم نيلا

ملوك مصر الهدى اجروا بفيضهم

دعاة حق نقوا عنه الاباطيلا

ومنهم الطيب الطهر المقيم له

اب الى ابن مدى الازمان موصولا

ولم يزل فيهم امر الامامة من

خليفة سيدي في الارض بهلولا

لم يمض سالفهم حتى اقام له

تهدي الى الرشيد تنزيلا وتاويلا

ولم تنزل دائما في الارض دعوتهم

لسنة الله تبديلا وتحويلا

وسنة الله هذي لن ترى ابدا

...

...

ما رتل الذكر تالي الذكر ترتيلا

صلى الله على طه وعترته

وعلى دعائهم المطلقين، الموضحين لاهل دعوتهم طريق الصدق واليقين، القائمين في مقامهم، والسادين مسدهم، الحارسين
بالاذان من السنة ناجوح وماجوح سدهم، اللازمين كما امرهم مولاهم حدهم، العازمين على حفظ نظامهم فلا يستطيع احد
صرفهم عن عزمهم ورددتهم، الباذلين في طاعة مواليتهم جهدهم وجددهم، المتعسين لاعداء الدعوة الهادية جدهم، وان وجدتم
ضدهم، فلن تجدوا ندهم، ﴿الذين هم بشهاداتهم قائلون﴾، وعلى صلواتهم دائمون، ولا ماتهم راعون، وفي خدمتهم
ساعون، ولعلمهم واعون، واليهم داعون، يلي امر الدعوة في زمن الستر بعد همام منهم همام، كالائمة الطاهرين بعد امام منهم امام،

...

اللهم صل على محمد وآله واجعلنا من دعائك الداعين اليك، وهدايتك الدالين عليك، ومن خاصتك الخاصين لديك، يا ارحم
الراحمين،

اما بعد، فانا مملوك من ممالك آل محمد البررة الطيبين، وداع من دعائهم الذين اقاموهم عند استارهم في كهف التقية عنهم ثائين،
مستعين بالله تعالى وبهم على اداء خدمتهم، وحفظ نظام دعوتهم، معترف بان لا حول لي ولا قوة الا بحولهم وقوتهم، مقتد بسلفه

الدعاة الهداة المهتدين، ابو محمد طاهر سيف الدين، نجل الداعي الاجل علم الاعلام المفردين، مولانا محمد برهان الدين،
تحفكم يا اخواني المؤمنين المعصمين بحبل الله المتين، بسلام يحوي من صالح الدعاء على الدر الثمين، . . .

185. *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1349H: Ghars al-Jannah-excerpts*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل دعوة اهل بيت نبيه عليهم السلام سفينة نجاة الناجين، وجعل بيتهم بيت الوحي غاية رجاء الراجين،
ونعتهم في يس، واثنى عليهم في طس، وجعلهم من نوره ناشين، علماء لله خاشين، وعلى الارض هونا ماشين، يعرفون الناس ما
سين وما شين، ويميزونهم من اشباه الانعام ويلحقونهم بغمار الاناسين، وينبهون الساهين عن ذكر الله والناسين، ولا يسوون بين
المطيعين من عباد الله والعاصين، ولا بين قوم كافرين خاسرين وبين قوم مؤمنين بالحق والصبر متواصين، لا يزالون بالحق قاضين،
ويقضاء الله راضين، وفي عزائمهم في الله ماضين،

نحمده سبحانه اذ ركبنا من دعوتهم الغراء في سفينة ﴿بسم الله مجراها ومرساها ان ربي لغفور رحيم﴾، ﴿وهي تجري بهم
في موج كالجبال﴾ من فتنة كل شيطان رجيم، وكل عدو عتل زعيم، ككار اثم، فنحن آمنون بحمده سبحانه من الفرق، دون من
عدانا من الفرق، . . .

ونشهد ان لا اله الا الله المتعالي عن الكيفية، المتجال عن الماثية، المرتفع عن الاينية، المقدس عن الحينية المتمجد عن المثلية،
الذي انشاء الاشياء من غير سنخ وصور ما صور بلامثال، وابدع التمام والكمال فلا ينعت بالتعام والكمال، اذ تشبيه المبدع بما
ابدعه محال، فليس لذي عقل في نيل صفاته محال، . . .

ونشهد ان محمدا عبده ورسوله المبعوث بالنباء العظيم، والقران المستقيم، على حين فترة من الرسل، وضلالة من الملل، رحمة
للعالمين، وضياء للمؤمنين، ﴿شجرة تخرج من طور سيناء تنبت بالدهن وصيغ للأكلين﴾، تنبت بالعترة التي يستضاء بنورها
في مهامه الديجور، وظلمات لجج البحور، وصيغ يصطبغ مرتادوا العلم ﴿صبغة الله ومن احسن من الله صبغة﴾، فهي احسن
الاصباغ، وبلاغها احسن البلاغ، فلم يزل هاديا الى الدين الذي هو عند الله الاسلام، ناهيا عن عبادة الاصنام، منتقدا من آمن به
من مخالب الجاهلية الاولى، منذرا عن الهيمان في اودية مجاهل الجاهلية الثانية المضلة عن سنن الاسلام فروعا واصولا، اذ يقول
وقوله الحق وهو الحق ان يقبله كل من دان بالاسلام قبولا، وقوله نذارة جليلة، من مات لا يعرف امام دهره حيا مات ميتة جاهلية،

...

ونشهد ان سلسلة الامامة، جارية في عقبه الى يوم القيامة، لا يخلو عصر من امام من آل محمد وعلي وفاطمة، حتى يكون للدور الحمدي بظهور القائم من ولده الخاتمة، ونطيع في لباس التقوى اماما من آل محمد بعد امام يقوم لله بحجة، ويهدي الى سواء الحجة، اما ظاهرا مشهورا، او خائفا مغمورا،

ونشهد انه ان احتجب عن اعين الناظرين لما تقتضيه الحكمة الالهية احتجابا، اقام بين ظهرائي الامة نوبا، دعاة مطلقين، يدعونهم باذنه الى حجة الصدق واليقين، بهم تثبت حجة الله عليهم، وبهم تسري فيوض رحمة الله اليهم، ولولا وجودهم عند استتار الامام عليه السلام، لعدم الامام، ولم يصح لاحد بعروة الله الوثقى التي لا انفصام لها اعتصام، ولم يعرف الناس امام دهرهم حيا، ولبقوا ضالين عن طريق الرشد ولقوا غيا، ولا تفكوا من الميتة الجاهلية، ولا زالوا في حبال الاسحار البالية،

صلى الله عليه من رسول بلغ رسالته الى اهل دوره جميعا من سلف منهم ومن غبر الى يوم يقوم الاشهاد، بانذاره لاهل عصره ولكل قوم باقامة هاد، واختصه الله بفضيلتين اذ جعل له مثل فريضتين من فرائض دينه فريضة الحج وفريضة الجهاد، وله خلق الله المهاد، والسبع الشداد، وبه رحم العباد، من كل حاضر وباد، صلى الله عليه من نبي نشر القدس من ثيابه يفوح، ونور الازل من جبينه يلوح، ومن دونه نوره ضوء يوح، ومثل اهل بيته كسفينة نوح، حيث قال صلى الله عليه وعلى آله وهو خير من نطق، "مثل اهل بيتي فيكم كسفينة نوح من ركبها نجي ومن تخلف عنها غرق"، ...

صلى الله عليه وعلى وصيه وصنوه، وتاليه وتلو، سمي من تنزه عن كفو، صفيه من خلقه وصفوه، ...

وعلى عرسه البتول الحوراء العذراء، التي دون اخمص علاءها سمو الجوزاء والعذراء، وما اظلت على مطهرة مثلها الخضراء، ولا اقلت سيدة شرواها الغبراء، مولاة كل مؤمن ومؤمنة مولاتنا فاطمة الزهراء، بضعة رسول الله الذي اختصه بدونه منه قاب قوسين او ادنى ليلة الاسراء، ...

وعلى ولديها وسليبيها، عظيمي المنزلة وجليليها، حبيبي الزمر القدسية وخليليها، ريحاني خلد محمد رسول الله، وقرتي عين ولي الله الذي اتى غاية سؤل الله، راكبي منكبين اقدسين اضحى بهما الملائكة مسبحة لله ومقدسة محدقة، وثمرتي شجرة اصلها المصطفى وحملها الزهراء واللقاح علي وهي بشيعتهم موقرة، حدائق فضائلهم ذات بهجة لابصار اولي الابصار موقرة، ...

وعلى الأئمة من ذرية الامام الحسين القائمين بالقسط، الباسطين معالم دين الله في ارضه كل البسط، الحاليين من درر نص جدهم رسول الله بابهي سمط، الحامين شريعتهم الغراء عن فساد تسعة رهط، . . .

واختص من بينهم بافضل الصلوات وازكاها وانماها، واسنى التحيات واعلاها واسماها، الامام الحادي والعشرين، المنتشر نشر صيته في ارجاء العالم كالورد والنسرين، المسمى بالطيب اذ هو بالطيب الابداعي الازلي مضمخ، والفتح المبين له مؤرخ، وسلطانة اشمخ، وملكه ابذخ، وعنصره في عليين ارسخ، . . .

واختص بضاعيف تلك الصلوات بالاضعاف التي لا يحصيها غير الحميد المجيد، ﴿انه فعال لما يريد﴾، ولده الطاهر، وبرهانه الباهر، ونيره الزاهر، الباطن الظاهر، امام العصر الحاضر، ووجه الحق الناضر، . . .

ولنشد ههنا نظما، يلثم فمه عتبات محامدهم القدسية لثما، على روي الغين، نظمه عبدهم الراجي بهم الفوز بالحسينين،

عين الهدى من سماء مجدكم تيزغ	عين الندى من فناء بيتكم تنبغ
يا آل طه الرضى، يا آل فاطمة	كم نعم لكم على السورى تسبع
ايديكم لم تزل نقوس شيعتكم	بصبغة الله جل ذكره تصبغ

...

صلى الله على طه وعترته ما دامت الشمس من مشرقها تبرع

واسرى الله فيوض تلك الصلوات الى دعائهم المطلقين الذين استحفظوهم سلطان مدينتهم، وفوضوا اليهم سكان سفينتهم، فجزوا كما شاؤا على وتيرتهم، وساقوا نقوس المؤمنين المخلصين الى حظيرتهم، وصلبوا في دينهم وفي ديدنهم لانوا، وبجب اهل البيت الطاهرين دانوا، وحفظوا اسرار مواليتهم في صدورهم وصانوا، وادوا امانة ولي الله التي استودعهم اياها وما خانوا، واصبحوا مع الحق والحق معهم فلا تجد الحق الا حيث كانوا، واليهم توجه قوله سبحانه ﴿...﴾، . . .

(دعاء) وكأين من نبي قاتل معه ربيون كثير فما وهنوا لما اصابهم في سبيل الله ما وضعفوا وما استكانوا

اما بعد، فانا مملوك لآل محمد الطاهرين الذين آتاهم الكتاب وآتاهم ملكا عظيما، وجعل در امامتهم في سلك النص نظيما، وجعلهم محيين باذنه لعظام امست ربما، . . . ولا اعتمد الا عليهم، ولا التجئ الا اليهم، ولا ابتهل الا لدى ربهم ولديهم، في

التماس النصر العزيز والفتح المبين، ابو محمد طاهر سيف الدين، نجل الداعي الاجل الاوحد العلم المفرد برهان الدعاة المطلقين،
ونائب سلطان المؤمنين، وسلم نجاه المرتقين، سيدنا محمد برهان الدين،

اتحفكم يا اخواني المؤمنين، وبني ايتنا في الدين، بسلام منير مبين، على اقتناء الصالحات معين، يويكم من اليقين الى ربه ذات قرار
ومعين، ...

186. *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1350H: Durar Asrār Al al-Karrār-excerpts*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله مرسل اكرم رسول دعى الى لاله الا الله محمد رسول الله، وحصل لما دعى الى الله كما امر رسول الله، وحمّ
لام حلوا حرمه المحرم وصول الله، وعلم مما اصله واسسه اصول الله،

احمده وله الحمد وله الملك وله الامر وله الحكم، واهله كما هلى الله لاله الا هو والملائك واولو العلم،

احمده لاله الا هو وما سواه اله، والى على العالم الآه، لاله الا هو لها واحد احدا، اولاعددا، ملكا عادلا
صمدا، لا والد له ولا ولدا، لاله الا هو لا عدد ادركه ولا معدود، ولا حد ولا محدود، ورد كرمه مورود، وهو
على كل حال محمود، كور ما كور، ودور ما دور، وصور ما صور، وسور على مصر اسرار علمه ما سور، ارسل
رسله، واسعد كل امرء اطاعهم وامره وصله، وادكره كما امروا اسحاره واصله، واصعد الى السماء عمله،
واعطاه امله،

احمده حمد حامد حمده دائما طول عمره، واطاع الله واطاع رسوله واطهار ولده الاولى هم اولو امره، لاله الا هو
سمع دعاء كل حامد دعاء، ورعى كل راع لحده رعاه، لاله سواه، صور المرء وسواه، واره مسلك هده،
واسعده لواطاعه ولم الهدى حواه، واهلكه لو اصار الهه هوا، لا حول الا حوله، ولا طول الا طوله،

لا اله الا الله سمك السماء ولا عمد لها، والى الآلاء ولا امد لها، لاله الا هو ﴿علم آدم الاسماء كلها﴾، وهدى
الى اسماء هؤلاء اولاد آدم ودلها، ...

187. *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1353H: Masarrāt al-fatḥ al-mubīn* excerpt

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي فتح لنبيه محمد صلى الله عليه وآله فتحا مبينا، وجعل دينه دين الاسلام متينا، وقطع بسيف وصيه ذي الفقار للكفر وللكفار وتينا، واكمل لنا بفرض ولايته ديننا واتم علينا نعمته ورضي لنا السلام ديننا، واقام في كل عصر من ذريته اماما هاديا الى الله امينا، بهولا مباركا ميمنا، لرب العرش العظيم ميمنا، وحلاه من لآلي النص عليه درا ثيمنا، . . .

188. *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1355H: Karāmat al-'Uqūl al-Waḍiyyah*-
excerpts

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

﴿الحمد لله رب العالمين، الرحمن الرحيم، مالك يوم الدين﴾، الذي جعل تقي الصفات عن هويته مع معرفة حدوده نظام توحيد الموحدين، وسلب الاهلية عن جميع المبدعات والمخلوقات واثباتها لمبدعهم تبارك وتعالى ملاك تجريد المجردين، . . .
فالحمد لمن قامت العوالم كلها بحمده، واستندت الموجودات كلها الى مجده، ووقفت عند حده، واسترقت عطايا رفته من عنده، وعرفت المعبود بمعرفة عبده، . . .

لا يعزب عن العقول الدراكة الاكنهه، ولا ينصف بالجلال والاكرام الاوجهه، ولا يستحق ﴿الحمد﴾ الا اسمه الاعظم الذي هو غاية الاسماء، وهو ﴿رب العالمين﴾ ومصورها ومدبرها وله ما في الارض والسماء، وهو ﴿الرحمن الرحيم﴾ المقيم للنطق والاسس والائمة الذين هم اسماءه الحسنی، ولهم الجلال الاسمى والاكرام الاسنى، وهو ﴿مالك يوم الدين﴾ الذي هو الايوم الآخر، وبجر النور الزاخر، الذي اليه تنتهي الاسباب وبه يختم الكتاب وعنده تجتمع المفاخر، وقيامه يرتبط بالآخر بالاول الذي هو العلة المطلقة والآخر هو المعلول المطلق، . . .

﴿الحمد لله الذي خلق السموات والارض وجعل الظلمات والنور، ثم الذين كفروا بربهم يعدلون﴾، هو الذي خلق اولياءه الطاهرين من النور، وجعلهم سكان الطور، وفرض مودتهم في الكتاب المسطور، ثم الذين كفروا في جهنم يعدلون، ويبغضون ﴿امة يهدون بالحق وبه يعدلون﴾، ويولون امرهم من شاؤا باختيارهم ويعزلون، . . .

﴿الحمد لله الذي انزل على عبده الكتاب ولم يجعل له عوجا﴾، وجعل التنزيل بالتاويل مزدوجا، واوضح بمن عنده علم الكتاب من الكتاب لدينه الخفيف به حججا، وملاء من علمه المحيط بكل شيء في ارض الملة البيضاء لججا، واضاء بحفظة

التنزيل وخزنة التأويل من ذريته البهاليل للهدى سرجا، وبهم احبى الله ملة ابيهم ابراهيم وما جعل عليهم في الدين حرجا، وبهم يرجو الراجون من الله لشدتهم فرجا، وبهم يرفع الله الذين آمنوا والذين اوتوا العلم درجا، وبهم اصبح وجه الحق مبلجا، وقلب الدين مبتهجا، . . .

﴿الحمد لله الذي له ما في السموات وما في الارض وله الحمد في الآخرة وهو الحكيم الخبير﴾، ﴿يعلم ما بلغ في الارض وما يخرج منها وما ينزل من السماء وما يعرج فيها وهو الرحيم الغفور﴾، وهو الذي جعل في ﴿خلق السموات والارض واختلاف الليل والنهار آيات لاولي الاباب﴾، ودلالات على ائمة الهدى الذين هم الصفوة منها واللباب، فجحد بها المنافقون الذين اوتوا نصيبا من الكتاب، ﴿وما يجحد بآيات الله الا كل خثار كفور﴾،

﴿الحمد لله فاطر السموات والارض جاعل الملائكة رسلا اولي اجنحة﴾، وجاعل المتقين لفوائدهم المكونية اولي مساع منجحة، ولموازن اعمالهم الصالحة مثقلة مرجحة، ولماجرهم الراجحة التي لن تبور مضعفة مرجحة، . . .
نحمده سبحانه على ان هداانا لحمده وجعلنا من اهله لنكون لاحسانه من الشاكرين، ونشكره على ان هداانا لذكره كما امرنا في ذكره ليدكرنا بفضلته فكما له بمنه من الذاكرين، . . .

189. *Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah-1356H: Ṣafḥat ‘Arafāt al-Ma‘ārif-excerpt*

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله الذي جعل الكعبة البيت الحرام قياماً للناس^(5:95)، وجعله مثلاً كريماً على كل قائم له بحجة جعله اماماً للناس، وظهره للطائفين والقائمين والركع السجود^(2:125 and 22:26) من جميع الأوصار والأدناس، وجعل كلا بيته المطهرين رفيع القواعد ثابت الأساس، وأسدل على كليهما ستراً شرفاً هو من أفخر اللباس، وجعله مثابة للناس وأمناً^(2:125)، ملاءة بركة وبئنا، وضمن لمن حج إليه عظيم ثوابه ضمناً، وجعل فيه الحجر الأسود مكان يمينه، إشارة الى يد ولي الله في أرضه وأمينه، وجعل استلامه مثل البيعة والميثاق يشهد لمن أدى أمانته وتعاهد ميثاقه بالبلاغ، وأعد اليم عذابه لمن عدل عن هذه الطريقة المثلى وزاغ، . . . وجعل بينه الحي الناطق أفضل من البيت الجماد، وأرفع في المجد عماداً وان كان البيت الجماد رفيع العماد، وجعل الكيف قبله الكيف، واللطف قبله اللطف، وشرقهما جميعاً من مثل كريم وممثول شريف —

نحمده من اله جعل دعائم الاسلام سبعا كما جعل الايام سبعة، وجعلها امثالا على النطقاء السبعة الذين عمر بهم لدينه القيم ربه، . . . وجعل ممثل الجمعة منهم من جمع الله له افراد الفضل وجمعه، وجعل محله من شخص الكمال محل الراس الحاوي

ذوقه وشمه ولمسه ونطقه وبصره وسمعه، وزكى اصله كما زكى فرع، واكمل بوصيه الدين فاكمل شرعه، واتم به ويوليه النعمة على عباده فاتم وضعه، واسعد من قدر له من مراضع الحكمة المنطوية فيه رضعه، ..

190. *Qaṣīdah-Autobiography-Tahmīd*

<p>Praise be to Allah The Exalted and The Powerful; The Creator of the creation, the Maker, the Originator¹⁰¹.</p>	<p>1 الحمد لله العلي القادر باري البريات البديع الفاطر</p>
<p>And may His blessings cover the Prophet Muhammad, The best of mankind, both nomads and city dwellers.</p>	<p>2 وصلوته تغشى النبي محمدا خير الورى باديهم والحاضر</p>
<p>...And his <i>waṣī</i> [legatee] 'Alī, the best of the best from among those who have passed and those who remain.</p>	<p>3 ووصيه المولى عليا خيرة الـ أخيار من ماضيهم والغابر</p>
<p>...And their [Muhammad and 'Alī's] sons, the sons of Faṭimah- the one with whom God is pleased,¹⁰² The purpose of Creation and the essence of cycles of Time.</p>	<p>4 وبنيهما ابناء فاطمة الرضى غايات أكوان وصفو دوائر</p>

¹⁰¹ Two of the 99 names of Allah used here are al-'Aliyy and al-Qādir. Interestingly the second shares its root with the word *qadar*, or destiny. Since this is an autobiography, by thanking God as *al-Qādir*, a connection is established between the destiny and the one who determines it. The choice of words is also worthy of note, *al-ḥamd* using the same root letters as Muhammad, the paronomasia between al-'Aliyy and 'Alī the Prophets son in law, and eventually *Fāṭir*—from which it is said in Ṭayyibī theology the name Fāṭimah was extracted.

¹⁰² The dual in this verse and the mention of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, is in reference to the title *fāṭimiyyīn*, availed by the Ismā'īlī Imāms establishing their lineage both to Muhammad and 'Alī.

5 وأئمة الحق الهداة الأصفيا-
...And the righteous *imāms*, the
guides, the pure,
-ء الأتقياء خيار خير عشائر
the God fearing, the best of the best
tribes.

6 الطيبين الطاهرين الباطنيين—
The good, the pure, the concealed,
من الظاهرين لكل مرء باصر
The evident/manifest to every
perceiving man¹⁰³.

7 من كل مولى كان أصدق
Each *mawla* (master) was the most
truthful,
ص _____ اداق
For knowledge among the people
the most noble disseminator¹⁰⁴.

8 وكذا دعائهم الأولى نصبوهم
...And [Allah's blessings on] their
Dā'īs (callers to religion) whom they
appointed
لمقامهم في الستر خير مظاهر
In their position, in the [time of]
seclusion as their best
manifestation.

9 نابوا مناب أئمة الحق الأولى
They deputed in the place of the
righteous Imāms, who are
هم صفو أهل هدى وأهل بصائر
The essence of the rightly-guided
people and the people of perception.

¹⁰³ The usage of *baṭinīn* and *ẓahirīn* here may also be taken as an allusion to the seclusion of the Imām (*baṭinīn*) and his manifestation in the Dā'īs (*ẓahirīn*) for those who perceive, with the word *baṣir* containing the added meaning of perception with *ma'rifa*-or knowledge; based on the Quranic verse: *wa tarahum yanzurūna ilayka wa hum la yubṣirūn*—and you see them looking at you but they do not perceive (7:198).

¹⁰⁴ There is a clear reference in this verse to the 5th Imām-Ja'far al-Ṣādiq and 4th Imām-Muhammad al-Bāqir, in the Ismā'īlī line of Imāms.

GLOSSARY

Asās: literally foundation; refers in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition to the *nātiq*'s successor. The successor is the 'foundation' upon which the *Da'wah* is established and continues.

Awliyā': sing. *waliyy*. lit. friends, which can be understood as followers. In its usage alongside *Allāh*, *awliyā'* *Allāh* also signifies a holy men, or more specifically in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī context those who represent God on earth. In this context 'Alī is proclaimed as *waliyy Allāh*.

Bāṭin: in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the hidden or esoteric, intellectual and rational signification of the laws and practices of the *Sharī'ah* and the true meanings of the Qur'ān. Complements *ẓāhir*, as part of the *ẓāhir-bāṭin* binarism. Muhammad is responsible for the *ẓāhir* (or *tanzīl*) while 'Alī is responsible for the *bāṭin* (*ta'wīl*).

Dā'ī--Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq: in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, in the time of the Imām's seclusion, the individual who represents the Imām and is vested with full authority by him. Each Dā'ī is entrusted to appoint a successor before his death. The Dā'ī appoints two *ḥudūd*, the *Ma'dhūn* and the *Mukāsir*, who aid him in the establishment of the *Da'wah*. The three *rutbahs* collectively represent the Imām. The current incumbent of the position of Dā'ī al-Muṭlaq is Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin, the 52nd in the line of Dā'īs since the seclusion of the 21st Fatimid Imām al-Ṭayyib in the 6th/12th century. The First Dā'ī Muṭlaq was appointed by al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah (a *ḥujjah*) of the 20th Imām al-Āmir upon his instructions. (See chapter-VI).

Da'ī al-'asr/Da'ī al-zamān: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the Dā'ī of the Age, or the current or contemporary Dā'ī.

Da'wah (Da'wat al-Ḥaqq): lit. invitation or mission. *Da'wat al-ḥaqq* refers to the eternal *Da'wah* that begins in the spiritual realm, continues on earth as the *Da'wah* of the Prophets including Muhammad, further continues with the Imāms and persists under the auspices of the Dā'īs. While the stipulations and *Sharī'ah* of the *Da'wah* change from one Prophet to another, it is the very same *Da'wah*, and its essence (*bāṭin*), and the *'ilm* that supports it, remain the same: that is, they are permanent. This phrase '*lahū Da'wat al-ḥaqq*' becomes the symbol of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*, identified as God's *Da'wat al-ḥaqq*. The term is used to collectively refer to the mission of the

Imām and religious establishment, including the hierarchy of *ḥudūd* and the followers (the Taḥmīd discussed in chapter-VII focuses on the permanence and righteousness of the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah*).

Descriptive-Dimension: The descriptive attribute of one of the entities that relate. The descriptions may also lead to implicit *fikrah*-relations. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Taḥmīds, discussed in chapter-IV.

Eisegetical Approach: synchronic or neo-critical approach that looks at the relations in the Taḥmīd outside their original historical context, transplanting them to a new context, or examining them in an absolute theological and ontological sense without any reference to the original context or authorial intention. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Taḥmīds, discussed in chapter-IV. Also see *exegetical approach*.

Esoteric fikrah-relation: where a *fikrah*-relation is created with the esoteric signification of the verse or concept based on the context of the Taḥmīd and the audience's background in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *ta'wīl*. For examples see chapter-V.

Esoteric nisbah-relation: where the *nisbah*-relation explicates the unspecified or vague in Qur'ānic verses, relating them to particular individuals or concepts. For example the statement: 'blessings on the pure pentad whom God referred to in the Qur'ān *'innamā yurīd Allāh li yudhhib 'ankum al-rijs ahl al-bayt...*' (33:33), identifies Muhammad, 'Alī Fāṭimah, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn as those who are pure and referred to as *ahl al-bayt* in the Qur'ān. For more examples see chapter-V.

Exegetical Approach: or hermeneutical approach, focuses on the relations that may be to a reasonable extent justified as those the author most likely intended his contemporary audience to grasp with reference to their local context. Such relations, once evoked, would create a worldview that would fulfill the original purpose of the Taḥmīd and document it introduced. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Taḥmīds, discussed in chapter-IV. Also see *eisegetical approach*.

Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Tradition: refers to Shī'ā Muslims of the Ismā'īlī-Musta'lian-Ṭayyibī sect now better known as Dawoodi-Bohras (the Dawoodis are the largest denomination of Bohras; other comparatively minor denominations include 'Aliyas, Sulaymanis and Mahdibaghwalas). They believe in the rightful Imāmate of the Fatimids until al-Ṭayyib, who is believed to have gone into seclusion. The Imāmate continues in his progeny during seclusion. The *Da'wah* is deputed to the *Dā'ī Muṭlaq* who represents the Imām and is entrusted with his authority,

alongside the two ranks of *Ma'dhūn* and *Mukāsir*. The head of the community today is the 52nd Dā'ī Muṭlaq Syedna Muhammad Burhanuddin b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

Fikrah-Relation: The implicit thought-based relation that is created in the audience's mind based on their background. Relies on audience's association of ideas on the basis of the *nisbah*-relation. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Taḥmīds, discussed in chapter-IV.

Ghadīr Khumm: The name of the spring, on the road from Mecca to Medina, where according to Shiite tradition Muhammad overtly proclaimed 'Alī as his successor on his return from the Last Pilgrimage.

Hudūd: sing. *ḥadd* the set limit of a particular rank in the religious hierarchy. The term is defined by Walker (1996, p. 68): "In the terrestrial abode of humans, there is likewise a hierarchy arranged in ascending, vertically organized ranks. Unlike the concept of past and of historical development, this hierarchy operates in theory throughout time. The difference is that, while its ranks are fixed and do not change, its personnel – those who hold the position of each rank – are individually mortal...The *ḥudūd*, to use the Arabic term for hierarchical ranks, were, for the Ismailis, both a theoretical explanation of higher order, angelic beings which all have special roles in the cosmic structure and a practical organization of quite secular officers of the Ismaili movement... The word *ḥadd* (singular of *ḥudūd*) indicates a boundary, a set limit, a fixed rank. The world is according to Ismaili theory, governed by its hierarchies."

Hujjah: pl. *hujaj*, literally argument or evidence. Refers in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition to specific ranks in the spiritual hierarchy of *ḥudūd*, referred to above. Every Imām has twelve *hujaj*, repeated twice: twelve of the night (*hujaj al-layl*), who stay with the Imām, and twelve of the day (*hujaj al-nahār*), who spread around the world to invite people to the *Da'wah* of the Imām. According to the tradition, the number of these *hujaj*, twelve, is signified by other Qur'ānic verses as well, for example 5:12, 2: 60 and 7:160.

Hybridity: a text that is simultaneously oral and written such as *sūrat al-Fāṭihah* (see chapter-I) and *risālahs* (see chapter-II). The majority of Taḥmīds display characteristics of hybridity. An awareness of this hybridity has serious implications on the understanding and appreciation of texts that are otherwise cast aside as repetitive, verbose and obsessed with rhyme and rhythm. Hybridity affects both expectations, that of the author and the audience.

‘Ibādah ‘amaliyyah: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the physical aspect of worship. It is complemented by the *‘ibādah ‘ilmiyyah*, the intellectual aspect of worship (See discussion in chapter-VI).

‘Ibādah ‘ilmiyyah: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the intellectual aspect of worship. It is complemented by the *‘ibādah ‘amaliyyah*, the physical aspect of worship (See discussion in chapter-VI).

‘Ilm: in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the knowledge of the principles of the overt laws (*zāhir al-Sharī‘ah*), the esoterics (*ta’wīl*) and the divine Truths (*ḥaqīqah*). Passed on from predecessor to successor, and from teacher to pupil, its continuity is vital for the survival of the *Da‘wah*

Imām al-‘asr or Imām al-zamān: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the Imām of the Age, or the current contemporary Imām.

Immanent Relations: refers to relations between individuals forming a community. If the community is a body then these are relations between the various organs. Also see *transeunt relations*.

Individual stock relations: the relations that are customarily created with particular relata.

Inshā’ style: a style of writing that developed within the state chanceries and became increasingly popular in the 4th/10th century onwards. It features an acute awareness of the working of rhyme and rhythm in the persuasion process. See for example the writings of Hilāl al-Ṣābi’ featured in chapter-IV.

Iqtidā’: the philosophy of emulating an ideal or model. In the context of Ṭaḥmīd it is manifested in the vast number of chancery manuals starting with ‘Abd-al-Ḥamīd’s treatises in the 2nd/8th century (the first Islamic manual). The persistence of the Ṭaḥmīd tradition is primarily due to the need to emulate the example of *sūrat al-ḥamd*, the praise-preambles of the Prophets and the early orators and writers. The concept and its manifestations are discussed in chapter-III.

Jismānī (or jasadānī): Refers to that which is physical and perceivable through the five senses. In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the physical or perceivable (*maḥsūs*) symbol (*mathal*), symbolizes a spiritual and intellectual (*ma‘qūl*) ‘symbolized’ (*mamthūl*).

'*Ālam al-jism* refers to the temporal physical world (*dunyā*). See Fig.1 in chapter-V. *Jismānī*, complements *nafsānī* (or *rūḥānī*), part of the *Nafsānī-Jismānī* binarism.

Kalimah: pl. *kalimāt*. in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the words of God, i.e. the Imāms, who 'cannot be changed' as referred to in Qur'ān 6:34 and 115 and 18:27. The Dā'īs are in turn referred to as the Imām's *kalimāt* during his seclusion.

Khaṭābah: *khaṭābah* is the verbal-noun of *khaṭaba*, which denotes the act and art of oratory. The word is also often synonymously used with *balāghah*. In *Lisān al-'Arab* and Lane *khiṭābah* denotes the office of the preacher. However, in modern times the distinction between *khaṭābah* and *khiṭābah* has become hazy and lexicons of Modern Standard Arabic such as Hans-Wehr also define *khiṭābah* as oration and rhetoric. For a detailed discussion of these terms see T. Qutbuddin (2008, pp.180-184).

Khuṭbat al-Kitāb. In the chancery *risālahs*, a full section for *ḥamd*, termed *khuṭbat-al-kitāb*, was added after the *taṣḍīr* and the *ammā-ba'd*. Crucially, the name itself, *khuṭbat-al-kitāb*, denotes its affinity to the beginning of the *khuṭbah* and acknowledges its debt to it. While the *taṣḍīr* was used exclusively in correspondence, the *khuṭbat-al-kitāb* was used within the chancery and without it. In *risālahs* emanating from the chancery, where Taḥmīd is used, it follows the *taṣḍīr* and *ammā-ba'd*. In monographs, however, a short or long Taḥmīd is used without *taṣḍīr* and is followed by *ammā-ba'd*.

Kitāb (or Qur'ān) Nāṭiq: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the Imām who is the Speaking and animate counterpart to the Silent inanimate Qur'ān (See chapter-V). The term *Qarīn al-Qur'ān* is also used.

Kitāb (or Qur'ān) Sāmī: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the Silent and inanimate text of the Qur'ān (whether oral or written). It is complemented by the Speaking and animate *Kitāb Nāṭiq*: the Imām (See chapter-V).

Ma'dhūm al-Da'wah (or al-Ma'dhūm al-Muṭlaq): In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, in the time of the Imām's seclusion, one of three *ḥudūd* who represent the Imām. Ranking below the Dā'ī (appointed by him). The present incumbent of the position is Syedi Khuzema b. Syedna Taher Saifuddin.

Ma'qūl: See *Nafsānī*

Maḥsus: See *Jismānī*

Majālis al-Ḥikmah; sing. *Majlis*: a framework for the dissemination of knowledge in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. The most iconic are the *Majālis al-Ḥikmah* of al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī. Also called the *Majālis Mu'ayyadiyyah*, they are an eight volume collection of *Majālis* lectures delivered by al-Mu'ayyad on each Thursday in Fatimid Cairo in the time of the Fatimid Imām al-Mustansir (d. 486/1094). Each volume comprises one hundred *Majālis* (hence the name '*me'at*'), possibly compiled as such at a later date. Each *Majlis* begins and concludes with a Ṭahmīd and in between addresses the esoteric signification of selected Qur'ānic verses. While the length varies, each *Majlis* is on average 4-5 printed pages. Earlier works, such as al-Qāḍī al-Nu'mān's two volume work *Ta'wīl al-Da'āim*, are also in the same format, but the Ṭahmīds within al-Mu'ayyad's work are a milestone within the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. The *Majālis-Mustansiriyyah*, one volume of less than a hundred *Majālis*, written in roughly the same period as al-Mu'ayyad, are also in the same format. In the Yemeni phase, 'Alī b. Muhammad b. al-Walīd's *Majālis al-Nuṣṣ wa al-Bayān* also follow the pattern set earlier in Fatimid times. The sheer volume of Ṭahmīds in the *Majālis*, 1600+ in al-Mu'ayyad's *Majālis* alone, facilitates the observation of recurring patterns and relations (See chapter-V and VI).

Majmū' al-Tarbiyah (vol.I and II): is a collection of short epistles mostly authored in the early Yemeni phase (6th-7th/12th-13th century), but including a few from Fatimid times. The collection is commonly attributed to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī scholar Muhammad b. Ṭāhir (d. 584/1188), who is also the author of a number of its epistles. The compendium provides a wide sampling of Ṭahmīds from both the Fatimid and Yemeni phase and, crucially, from a wide selection of authors.

Mamthūl: living animate symbolized, which complements the physical inanimate symbol (*mathal*). Also see *nafsānī*.

Mathal: physical inanimate symbol, which complements the living animate 'symbolized' (*mamthūl*). Also see *jismānī*.

Mukāsir al-Da'wah (or *al-Ma'dhūnn al-Maḥṣūr*): In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, in the time of the Imām's seclusion, one of three *ḥudūd* who represent the Imām. He is appointed by the Dā'ī and ranks below the *Ma'dhūn*. The present incumbent of the position is Syedi Husain Husamuddin.

Nātiq: A Prophet who brings forth a new *Sharī'ah*. Muhammad is believed in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition to be the sixth *Nātiq*. A *Nātiq* is necessarily also a *Nabiyy*.

Nabiyy: Prophet. In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition Muhammad's Prophethood (*nubuwwat*) is complemented by 'Alī as his successor (*waṣiyy*, *waṣāyat*). The two couch the binarism of *tanzīl-ta'wīl*. Muhammad is responsible for the encoding of the revelation he receives into the Arabic Qur'ān and the rites of the *Sharī'ah* while 'Alī is responsible for the expounding (*bayān*) its true inner (*ta'wīl*) meaning.

Nafsānī (or **rūḥānī**): Referring to the spiritual realm. This realm is akin to the intellectual (*ma'qūl*) which complements the physically perceivable (*maḥsūs*). A physical symbol (*mathal*), in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, symbolizes a spiritual and intellectual 'symbolized' (*mamthūl*). 'Ālam al-nafs refers to the omnitemporal world, the Hereafter (*al-dār al-ākhirah*). See Fig.1 in chapter-V. *Jismānī*, complements *nafsānī* (or *rūḥānī*), part of the *Nafsānī-Jismānī* binarism.

Naṣṣ: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition the divinely inspired act of appointing a successor.

New-risālah: emanating from the *khutbah* tradition functionally and stylistically, was *hybrid* in nature, with an ornate register, and often sustained a syllogistic argument. The framework of the *new-risālah* ensured the endurance and development of Ṭahmīd, which was one of its significant formal aspects. See chapter-II.

Nisbah-Relation: The explicit relation between two entities. These relations form the core of the Ṭahmīd. For example Muhammad's relation to God, with the proposition that he is His messenger, servant...etc. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Ṭahmīds, discussed in chapter-IV.

Old-risālah: *risālahs* roughly prior to 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Kātib (d. 132-3/750-1), was predominantly instructive with a plain register. The *taṣdīr* (which includes a brief *ḥamd*) was a key characteristic of the old-*risālah*. See chapter-II.

Principle of Correspondence: the principle relies on a vertical non-conventional understanding of time. On the one hand there is a correspondence with the divine order of the cosmos, whereby the principles and cycles of nature are continuously, 'omnitemporally', mirrored, or deemed equivalent to the contemporary circumstantial context: for example, the mirroring of the cycle of the stars with the divinely ordained rise and fall of kingdoms, the ups and downs in

life, °*usr* and *yusr*. On the other hand, there is a correspondence, not in an absolute sense but with respect to the qualities which the context entails, between individuals and events in the sacred epic past. However, these events that occurred in the past are, due to the principle of correspondence, also happening or mirrored in the present. Therefore the sacred past becomes 'absolutely present'. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Taḥmīds, discussed in chapter-IV.

Relata: the entities that relate (*Primary*: God, Muhammad, etc.; *Secondary*: cycles of nature, day and night, sun and moon...etc.). There are three main levels of relata. The *first level* is exclusive to God. The *second level* includes those individuals, past and present, who are considered intermediaries between God and the individual or community. This comprises the Prophets, especially Muhammad who is considered the Seal of the Prophets, the caliphs and for the Shiites the progeny of Muhammad, the Imāms. The second level also includes abstract concepts such as guidance (*hidāyah*), knowledge (°*ilm*), the religious mission (*Da'wah*), the metaphysical Pen (*qalam*), etc.; and concepts that constitute the unseen (*ghayb*), such as heaven, hell etc. The *third level* comprises individuals as part of the community of God, those who follow the guidance of the Prophet (*awliyā*); or as part of the assembly of the enemies of God (*a'dā*). This level directly connects the audience with the Taḥmīd. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Taḥmīds, discussed in chapter-IV.

Relational-Proposition: the nature of the relation (e.g. mercy, eradication, guidance, etc.), that defines the relation between entities that relate. The relational proposition determines the mood of the Taḥmīd and is able to trigger *fikrah*-relations. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Taḥmīds, discussed in chapter-IV.

Risālah-Ramaḍāniyyah: pl. *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah*; the *risālahs* became an annual tradition in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī *Da'wah* in India from the 12th/18th century. They were written to encourage followers to take full advantage of the season of worship. Discussions on the esoteric signification of Qur'ānic verses, historical narratives and wise counsel was also included. They were written by learned scholars in the Dā'ī's name. The milestone of personally authoring the *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* was reserved for the fifty-first Dā'ī Syedna Taher Saifuddin. All *Rasā'il-Ramaḍāniyyah* begin with a comparatively long Taḥmīd (See chapter-VI and chapter-VII).

Rūḥānī: See *Nafsānī*

Sabk –i Hindi: the Indian style of Persian literature popular in the 12th-14th/18th-20th centuries known for its elaborate constructions and fascination with rhyme and rhythm.

Satr: in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the term used to refer to the period in which the Imām is in seclusion and is represented by the Dā'ī and two other *rutbahs* entrusted to him (*zayr-i-dast*) the *Ma'dhūn* and the *Mukāsir*.

Secondary Relata: the secondary relata are the entities that are used to mirror or represent [as manifestations] the relational-propositions in the primary relata. The planets, day and night, rain, sky, illness, medicine, path, rope, light and darkness are a few examples of secondary relata. These phenomena of nature, the physical entities and cycles created by God, are often presented as manifestations of the will of God and of entities and cycles in the spiritual universe. These secondary relata play an important role in the creation of metaphors, bringing abstract notions closer to our understanding, and in broadening the scope of relational-propositions. Part of the relational approach for the analysis of Ṭahmīds, discussed in chapter-IV.

Sight and sound patterns: the audible and visual patterns created by rhyme, rhythm and parallelism in texts. These patterns often *tacitly persuade* the audience, regardless of any underlying logic. In Ṭahmīds they also enhance the relations and often even aid in their creation.

Al-Ṭayyib: the 21st in the line of Imāms according to the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition. Birth of al-Ṭayyib was announced by his father al-Āmir in *Sijill al-Bisharah*, sent to al-Ḥurrah al-Malikah in Yemen. After al-Āmir's assassination, al-Ṭayyib is believed to have been taken into hiding and seclusion by a number of his father's trusted advisors and Dā'īs. The Dā'īs (Dā'ī Muṭlaq), appointed by al-Āmir to represent al-Ṭayyib and his progeny and continue the *Da'wah* in al-Ṭayyib's name. The present Imām, in the progeny of al-Ṭayyib, is known as Ṭayyib al-'Aṣr. In the Yemeni and Indian phases, *ṣalawāt* on al-Ṭayyib and Ṭayyib al-'Aṣr is a common feature in Fatimid-Ṭayyibī Ṭahmīds (See chapter-V and VI).

Tacit persuasion: a term coined by Lanham (2004, p. 178). "Shapes, either sound patterns or sight patterns, often seem to bring with them their own kind of illogical persuasion. For the most part, we simply don't know why they affect us as they do. It must come from how the brain processes information but that doesn't really tell us anything".

Tahmīd: the word Tahmīd, a verbal noun, is defined literally as the act of praising and offering thanks. The tradition labelled Tahmīd, however, is defined by four core components that constitute its basic structure in this order: 1- *basmalah* (beginning with the name of God with the formula: *bism Allāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm*), 2- *Ḥamd*, praising and thanking Him, most commonly with the formula *al-ḥamd li Allāh alladhī...*, 3- *Shahādah*, the proclamation of the Unity of God and the Prophethood of Muhammad: *ashhad an lā ilāha illā Allāh-wa ann Muḥammad rasūl Allāh*, and 4- *Ṣalawāt*, beseeching blessings on the Prophet and his progeny, usually based on the formula *Allāhunna ṣalli ‘alā Muḥammad wa ‘āl Muḥammad kamā ṣallayta ‘alā Ibrāhīm wa ‘āl Ibrāhīm*. Various other terms have also been used to refer to Arabic laudatory preambles that begin with the name of God, praise Him, proclaim His Unity and beseech blessings on the Prophet and his progeny. These include *taṣdīr*, *khutbat al-kitāb*, *ḥamd*, *ḥamdalāh*, and *ṣadr al-kitāb*. For the sake of consistency, I use the term Tahmīd to refer to the tradition in general, and the other terms to refer to specific sub-types. The reason I choose Tahmīd over others is because of its distinction from other words (*khutbah* confused with oration, *taṣdīr* confused with address or other kinds of beginnings etc.) and because it is a compact single word that conveys the essence of the tradition: praise and thanks, in perpetuity and in absolute terms since it is a verbal noun.

Tanzīl: the term in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the revelation to Muhammad including the Qur’ān and the divine rites of the *Sharī’ah*. In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition forms part of the *tanzīl-ta’wīl* binarism. Muhammad is responsible for *tanzīl* while ‘Alī’s role is to expound its hidden meaning (*ta’wīl*).

Taṣdīr: Is the standard beginning ‘*innī aḥmad ilayk Allāh alladhī lā ilāh illā hū*’ in the beginning of chancery documents. The formula originally consisted of *ḥamd* and a *shahādah*. The *ṣalawāt* was added later in the Abbasid period. It is consistently seen from the very early days of Islam and persists virtually unchanged. It is the origin of the more elaborate Tahmīd (*khutbat al-kitāb*) in chancery *risālahs*.

Tasalsul: from *silsilah*, lit. chain. Refers in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition to the concept of continuity of the chain of Imamate in ‘Alī, after the Prophet, then in Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and in Ḥusayn’s progeny till the Day of Judgment. The succession of the Imāms, with the exception of Ḥasan, must be father to son. The line of Imāms persists from father to son even in times of seclusion. In these times, *tasalsul* also refers to the succession and continuity of the chain of Dā’īs (Dā’ī Muṭlaq) who represent the Imām, but not necessarily from father to son. The appointment of a successor is a divinely inspired act called *naṣṣ*. A number of Qur’ānic images are used to represent this concept, most importantly the image of the rope of God (*ḥabl*

Allāh) from verse 3:103. The structure of the Taḥmīds in the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition are a reflection of their concept of *ḥabl Allāh*.

Tawḥīd Paradox: we are close to God yet far. We are related to God in that we perceive His power through His creation but at the same time we are unable truly to comprehend Him. Our relation is with the creation; the creator is impossible to perceive.

Transeunt Relations: refers to relations between communities as *relata*. If each community is an individual, then these are social relations between individuals.

‘Unwān: lit. the address, in chancery manuals mostly refers to the phrase: *min-fulān-b. fulān-ilā-fulān-b. fulān*. It is thus part of the *taṣḍīr*.

Walāyah: specifically the allegiance to and acceptance firstly of ‘Alī as Muhammad’s heir and the master of the *unmah* (*mawla*) after him, and then of the chain of appointed successors from among their descendents – is considered by Ismaili-Shiites as one of the pillars of Islam. For the Fatimid-Ṭayyibīs it involves an acknowledgment of a specific chain of Imāms in Muhammad and ‘Alī’s progeny, different from other Shī‘ahs such as Twelvers, as well as the *walāyah* of the Dā‘ī Mutlaq-s in time of seclusion, culminating in the allegiance to and obedience of the present concealed Imām and the present Dā‘ī.

Waṣīyy: literally legatee; refers in the Shiite tradition to ‘Alī as the Prophet’s successor.

Worldview: (*weltanschauung*) 1-the overall perspective from which one sees and interprets the world. 2- a collection of beliefs about life and the universe held by an individual or a group. Taḥmīds embody the author’s worldview.

Zāhir: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition refers to the overt physical laws and practices of the *Sharī‘ah* and the literal meaning of the Qur’ān. Complements *bāṭin* as part of the *zāhir-bāṭin* binarism. Muhammad is responsible for the *zāhir* (or *tanzīl*) while ‘Alī is responsible for the *bāṭin* (*ta’wīl*).

Zuhūr: In the Fatimid-Ṭayyibī tradition, the term used to refer to the period in which the Imām and his whereabouts are known.